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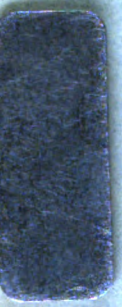
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THE
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CONTENTS.

1. THE PATRONAGE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.
2. BENGALI FESTIVALS AND HOLIDAYS.
3. THE HIMALAYA IN KUMAON AND GURHWAL.
4. THE HONORABLE COMPANY'S ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENT.
5. ANCIENT INDIAN BALLADS.
6. INDIA AS A MISSION-FIELD.
7. DR. MOORE ON CHOLERA.
8. THE BURMESE WAR.
9. MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

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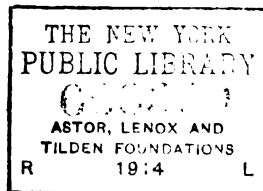
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"No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long, as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect, they were not utterly to be cast away."—MILTON.

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HARRY W. HARRIS
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I. I.—Tl

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III.—

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 Society
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 Brief
 H

CONTENTS

OF

No. XXXV.—VOL. XVIII.

I.—THE PATRONAGE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

mination of Statements made during a recent debate at the East India House; in a letter to Lieutenant-General Welsh, and the 220 Service Memorialists. By a Proprietor. London, 1852. 1

II.—BENGALI FESTIVALS AND HOLIDAYS.

view of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindus. By W. Ward. Serampore, 1818 . . . 49
 Nandan's Institutes of the Hindu Religion. Sanskrit MS. *ib.*
 Panjika, a new Almanac. Serampore, 1852 . . . *ib.*

III.—THE HIMALAYA IN KUMAON AND GURHWAL.

ial Reports on the Province of Kumáon, with a Medical Report on the Mahamurree in Gurhwál, in 1849-50. Edited under the orders of the Hon'ble the Lieut.-Governor, N. W. Provinces, by J. H. Batten, Esq., C. S., Commissioner of Kumáon. Agra, 1851. 72
 e Tarai and outer Mountains of Kumáon, by Major Madden, Bengal Artillery. (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.) 1848 *ib.*
 es of an Excursion to the Pindri Glacier, in September 1846, by Capt. Ed. Madden, Bengal Artillery. (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.) 1847 . . . *ib.*
 Himálayan Coniferæ—being a supplement to the "Brief Observations," &c. Journal of Agricultural and Horticultural Society, Vol. IV. Part IV. By

- Major E. Madden, Bengal Artillery. (Journal of Agricultural and Horticultural Society.) Calcutta 1849
5. Narrative of a Journey to Cho Lagan (Rakas Tal), Ch Mapan (Mánaserówar), and the valley of Pruang i Gnari, Húndés, in September and October, 1846 By Henry Strachey, Lieut., 66th Bengal N. 1 (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.) 1848
 6. Description of the Glaciers of the Pindúr and Kuphin Rivers in the Kumáon Himálaya. By Lieut. R. Strachey, Bengal Engineers. (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.) 1847.
 7. Note on the motion of the Glacier of the Pindúr in Kumáon. By Lieut. R. Strachey, Engineers. (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.) Calcutta, 1848..
 8. On the Snow-line in the Himálaya, by Lieut. R. Strachey, Engineers... Communicated by order of the Hon'ble the Lieut. Governor, N. W. Province (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.) 1849
 9. On the Geology of Part of the Himálaya Mountain and Tibet. By Capt. R. Strachey, Bengal Engineer F. G. S. (Proceedings of the Geological Society (London.) June, 1851
 10. On the Physical Geography of the Provinces of Kumáon and Gurhwál in the Himálaya mountains, and the adjoining parts of Tibet. By R. Strachey, Esq Bengal Engineers. Read before the Royal Geographical Society of London, on the 12th of May, 1851
 11. Report on the Cultivation and Manufacture of Tea Kumáon and Gurhwál. By William Jameson, Es Superintendent, Botanical Gardens, N. W. Provinces. (Journal of Agricultural and Horticultural Society, Vol. IV.) Calcutta, 1845
 12. Report on the Progress of the Culture of the China Tea Plant in the Himálayas, from 1835 to 1847. By Forbes Royle, M. D., F. R. S. (Journal of Royal Asiatic Society.) London, 1849
 13. Report upon the Tea Plantations in the N. W. Provinces, by Robert Fortune. Printed by the Government, N. W. P. Agra, 1851
 14. Suggestions for the Importation of Tea-makers, Implements, and Seeds, from China into the N. W. Provinces. By W. Jameson, Esq., Superintendent Botanical Gardens, N. W. Provinces. Printed by the Government, N. W. P. Agra, 1852

ART. IV.—THE HONORABLE COMPANY'S ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENT.

- Colonial Ecclesiastical Establishment ; to which is added a Sketch of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India. Humbly submitted to the consideration of the Imperial Parliament. By the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, D. D., late Vice-Provost of the College of Fort William in Bengal, and Member of the Asiatic Society. London, 1813 116
- A Practical Analysis of the several Letters Patent of the Crown, relating to the Bishopricks in the East Indies. By William Henry Abbott, Esq., Registrar of the Archdeaconry, and Secretary to the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. Calcutta, 1845 *ib.*
- A Charge delivered to the Reverend Clergy of the Diocese of Calcutta at the Sixth Visitation, on Wednesday, October 1, 1851. By Daniel Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan in India. Calcutta, 1851 *ib.*
- The Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal. Nos. LIV. and LVL. London *ib.*

ART. V.—ANCIENT INDIAN BALLADS.

- The Poems of Chand. MSS. 137
- Tod's Annals of Rajasthan, 2 vols. London *ib.*

ART. VI.—INDIA AS A MISSION-FIELD.

- The Urgent Claims of India for more Christian Missions. By a Layman in India. London, 1852 151

ART. VII.—DR. MOORE ON CHOLERA.

- Selections from my Medical Note-Book, or Practical Observations on the Indian Village Cholera, &c., &c. By Thomas Moore, B. A., Assistant Surgeon, Bengal Medical Service. Calcutta, 1852 181

ART. VIII.—THE BURMESE WAR.

- Papers relating to Hostilities with Burmah. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Her Majesty's Command, June 4, 1852. London. 1852 201

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

1. A Dictionary, English and Sanskrit. By Monier Williams, M. A., Professor at the East India College, Haileybury, formerly Bodén Sanskrit scholar in the University of Oxford. Published under the patronage of the Honourable East India Company. London. W. H. Allen and Co., 1851
2. A Vocabulary, Bengali and English, for the use of Students, by the late Mohan Prasad Thakur, Assistant Librarian in the College of Fort William, Third Edition. Calcutta. Sanders, Cones and Co. 1852
3. Memoir of the First Campaign in the Hills North of Catchee, under Major Billamore, in 1839-40. By one of his surviving Subalterns. London. Allen and Co. 1852.
4. Third Report of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society. Bombay. 1852.
5. Notes on the North Western Provinces of India; by Charles Railles, Magistrate and Collector of Mynpuri. Dedicated to the Members of the Civil Service in India. London. Chapman and Hall. 1852
6. Falconry in the Valley of the Indus. By Richard F. Burton, Lieutenant, Bombay Army, Author of "Goa and the Blue Mountains," &c. London. 1852. xviii
7. Rough Notes of a trip to Reunion, the Mauritius and Ceylon, with Remarks on their eligibility as Sanitaria for Indian Invalids; by Frederic J. Mouat, M. D., Medical Staff. Calcutta. Thacker, Spink and Co., 1852 xix

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

L—*Examination of Statements made during a recent debate in the East India House ; in a letter to Lieutenant-General Ash, and the 220 Service Memorialists. By a Proprietor. London. 1852.*

SINCE the last enquiry into the working of the Company's administration in India, the field of discussion has been much widened. There is no commercial question now to be agitated, and the political question seems to have been pretty well settled, by the notorious mis-government of the Crown colonies. No one hesitates to admit, in these days, that of all the dependencies of Great Britain, India, though the most extensive and the most important, is infinitely the best governed. Now, therefore, that the great question of the future administration of the affairs of our Eastern Empire is again brought under Parliamentary discussion, and largely debated in public prints, scarcely one sane man is found hardy enough to jeopardise his reputation, by recommending that the Government of our Indian dependencies should be transferred to the Crown.

The questions, therefore, which are now likely to engage the attention of the Parliamentary committees, and to be discussed by journalists, pamphleteers and reviewers, are, for the most part, questions of secondary interest and importance. If changes are to be introduced into the system of administration now in force, they are not fundamental changes. It is admitted, on all hands, that as a whole, the machinery works well.

Even Lord Ellenborough does not recommend the abolition of the Leadenhall-street Council. He would reduce the number of Directors, and he would extend the electoral franchise; he would, of course, deprive the Company of the right of recall," and otherwise limit their powers, if he could; but he is still obliged, at least constructively, to acknowledge, that the system on the whole is the best that can be devised, and that India must, in future, as heretofore, be governed by the magnates of Leadenhall-street and Cannon Row.

On one point—and a very important one, as it affects the whole body of the Indian Executive—there seems to be a re-

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markable concurrence of opinion. It is admitted by men of all varieties of political faith, that the great bulk of the India patronage must remain in the hands of the East India Company. "It would be dangerous," it is said, "to transfer it to the Crown." One man has one scheme to propose for the future distribution of a portion of this patronage; a second proposes another project; a third has also his scheme; but all are agreed, in opinion, regarding the expediency of leaving the great bulk of the India House patronage in the hands of the East India Directors. The changes proposed are rather changes of degree than of kind. There is sufficient faith among all classes of men, in the character of the Court of Directors, to induce them, confidently, to leave in the hands of that great body the appointment of the mass of covenanted officers, civil and military, to whom the administration of the affairs of India is entrusted. There may be ignorant men, or disappointed men—men who think they have some particular grievance of their own, or are smarting under the effects of mortified vanity, or are altogether reckless and unscrupulous,—there may be men of this kind, professing to believe that the patronage of the East India Company has been grossly abused, and that nothing but nepotism and corruption run riot in the cavernous abysses of the great mansion of Leadenhall-street. But the general impression is that, on the whole, the patronage is fairly and wisely distributed, and that it would be well to leave it as it is.

We shall not, therefore, take the trouble to discuss a question where, in reality, no question is. If the present system be not a faultless one, it is, on the whole, the best that can be devised. We do not deny that it is open to some objections. What system is not? But as the transfer of the patronage to other hands would be open to many more objections, and as this fact is generally acknowledged, we should only be wasting our own and our readers' time, by making a moot point of that which, in reality, is never mooted.

But the subject of India House patronage, generally, is one of much interest and importance; and it is one too regarding which, in spite of the general estimate of which we have spoken, some misapprehensions exist even in candid and impartial minds. We propose to give, therefore, some account of the system under which the patronage of the Company is distributed; to touch upon some of the historical events connected with the public discussion of the subject, and to consider some of the plans which have been proposed for the improvement of the system which now exists.

The Court of Directors of the East India Company consists

of thirty members, of whom six go out every year by rotation, and constitute a kind of non-effective list. There are, therefore, twenty-four acting Directors, including a Chairman and a Deputy Chairman elected annually by their own body. The Directors are elected as vacancies occur, for life, by the proprietors of East India stock. The possession of £1,000 stock confers on a proprietor one vote; £3,000 stock gives two votes; £6,000 three; and £10,000 and upwards, four votes. No proprietor can hold more than four votes. Widows and spinsters are allowed to vote, according to their stock; but trustees have not the electoral privilege.

The manner of election is this. When a vacancy occurs, by death, resignation or disqualification, a day is fixed for the election of a new member of the Court, and publicly advertised.* It is necessary that the candidate should possess £2,000 stock. If he has held office in India, he must have resided two years in England, before he is eligible for election. It seldom happens that more than two candidates go to the poll, though many more are, probably, in the field. The result of the canvass is generally ascertainable before the election takes place, but the defeated candidate at one election is generally, though not always, the favorite for the next; and few men have the good fortune to be elected without sustaining one defeat.

It generally happens that the success of the candidate is determined by the activity of his canvass. As soon as he has made up his mind to start for the Direction, if in England, he advertises his intention in the public papers. Then he presently begins his canvass. A party of his friends get together, and enroll themselves into a committee. A few members, more active than the rest, probably do all their work; the rest are in the list merely *nām ka waste*—for the sake of their names. But the candidate himself is the real workman. He goes about with an interleaved list of the Court of Proprietors. He soon knows the residences of all who have votes to give; he knows their histories, their families, their characters; if he cannot approach them directly, he is sure to be familiar with some indirect means of approach, which may be equally cogent. It is a weary and harassing, in some cases, a humiliating task, that he has set himself; but the object is a great one, and the ordeal must be gone through. There is no help for it. An active canvass is the first thing, and the second thing, and the third thing. The highest public character, and the most distinguished public services, if accompanied by inactivity in the field of

* The election is to take place within forty days of the declaration of vacancy, and ten days' notice of the day of election is to be given.

competition, will not avail against the active canvass of an opponent. A large amount of importunity is necessary to success. You must not be disheartened by failure. A proprietor who refuses you his vote this time, may promise it to you for the next election, or for the election after the next. If he will do it for no other reason, perhaps he may do it to get rid of you.

It is not altogether impossible, that he may receive you with some discourtesy; and, if he be a vulgar purse-proud man, (and there are such men among the proprietors of India stock,) he may treat you as he would a mendicant. This is not pleasant, we acknowledge; but it must be borne. There is no other alternative except failure.

Wherefore some sensitive people may ask, how any high-minded gentlemanly man can submit to the degradation of the canvass. It is very unpleasant, we admit; but rightly considered, it is not degrading. The object is an honorable one; the legitimate means of attainment are not otherwise than honorable. If the proprietor, who is solicited for his vote, conducts himself with any want of courtesy towards a man, who, in all probability, is greatly his superior, he degrades himself; but he does not degrade the candidate. Many men may not think that the object to be attained is worth the trouble indispensable to its attainment. This we can very well understand. But, so long as candidates for the direction only adopt legitimate means of accomplishing the end, they cannot degrade themselves. An insolent voter is really an object of compassion, some may say of contempt; but an honorable candidate for an honorable office cannot degrade himself, by soliciting that which is not to be obtained without solicitation. There is no instance, we believe, on record,—certainly not in modern times,—of any distinguished Indian statesman or warrior being solicited by the Court of Proprietors. The Court of Proprietors must be solicited. They will never go out of their way to carry a man on their shoulders into the direction, with a burst of enthusiastic applause. Every man, who obtains a seat at the India House, must go through the ordeal, must pass over the hot plough-shares with his bare feet. It demands some courage to undertake the task; but there is some satisfaction afterwards in the thought, that he has not shrunk from it, whilst others have recoiled in dismay.

Still, in as much as many very able, very experienced, very honorable, and very distinguished men *have* recoiled from it, we must admit that there is something bad in a system, which closes the doors of the India House against many of those who are most worthy to enter it. The higher the position, and

the more distinguished the character, of the candidate, the more irksome the canvass to him. He is habituated to command, and he cannot readily adopt the language of entreaty. Moreover, many men of high merit, very sage in council, are naturally of a retired disposition, and of a nature which will not suffer them readily to place themselves under obligations, to either friends or strangers. A question, therefore, suggests itself, as to whether some plan might not be adopted, whereby the services of eminent men might be secured to the direction, without subjecting them to the annoyance of the canvass. For our own parts, not having before us the fear of Lord Ellenborough, and such of his supporters, as would advocate with him an extension of the electoral franchise, we cannot help thinking, that if a certain number of vacancies, say one in every six, were to be filled up by the process of internal election, the Directors alone voting on these occasions, the *personnel* of the Direction would be greatly improved, and the interests of India promoted. There would be little chance of any abuse of this privilege. Even if indisposed upon abstract principles of honor, for which we would willingly give them credit, to use the discretion vested in them wisely and well, public opinion would declare so loudly against any abuse of the privilege, evidenced by the selection of unworthy men, that there would be sufficient security against it. Whether such a design has ever been considered by the Directors themselves, we have no means of ascertaining; but as the tendencies of the age, generally, are towards the extension of all kinds of electoral franchises, it may be doubted whether any proposal for their restriction would be met with acceptance from the public at large.

There is an evil in the present system of election, at which it is necessary to glance. We have said that there can be nothing really degrading in the canvass, so long as an honorable object is sought to be obtained, by honorable means. But if other than legitimate and recognized means of obtaining votes are resorted to by the candidate, the canvass at once becomes a really degrading occupation. Among the bye-laws of the Company relating to the election of Directors, is one to the effect, "that if any member of this Company shall, by menaces or promises, collusive transfer or transfers of stock, by any fee, present, reward, or remuneration, under the plea of defraying travelling expenses, or under any other plea or pretence whatsoever, directly or indirectly, obtain any vote for the election of himself, or any other, to be a Director, and be declared guilty thereof, at a general court, to be called for that purpose, such person shall be incapable, thereafter, of holding any office, the

‘ qualification for which is subject to the regulation of the general court, and, if a Director, be further liable to be removed from his office!’ Now, we are almost afraid that in some recent instances votes have been obtained by means forbidden in this passage of the law. “Promises” of a future bestowal of patronage have, in some instances, been largely made; but the system is repudiated and condemned by the general body of the Directors; and we know candidates now in the field, who have declared that nothing would ever induce them to obtain a single vote by such illegitimate means. Sir James W. Hogg, the present chairman of the East India Company, declared in his place in Parliament, in the course of the opening debate on the Charter question, that nothing could be more reprehensible than such a system, and that for his own part, on the only occasion when a proprietor had ever hinted to him, in the course of his canvass, at a future bestowal of patronage, he had left the room indignantly, and declared that nothing would induce him to have the man’s vote after such a proposal. And we know another high-minded Director who repudiated a similar offer in equally emphatic terms. But all men are not equally scrupulous; and we are afraid that the traffic of which we speak, has been carried on in a manner which cannot be too deeply deplored;—we had almost written, “too severely condemned.”

But the fact is, that the system having once obtained, candidates are driven into it in self-defence, and honorable men find in the practices of their predecessors and competitors, an excuse for their own deviation from the straight path of strict integrity. Unhappily, a large number of proprietors have come to set a price upon their votes, and have learned how to turn them to the best account, as marketable commodities. They have learnt the dangerous art of combination. A single vote will not fetch its price; but a bundle of votes will. And so a party of friendly proprietors agree together, to *club* their votes. It becomes a matter of arrangement amongst them as to who, in the first instance, is to represent the collective body, and obtain the required “consideration” for himself. This is, probably, decided with reference to the respective ages of the sons, nephews, or other relatives, for whom writerships or cadetships are sought. Mr. Smith’s son is eighteen years of age; it is time that he were on his way to India; so Mr. Smith takes the bag of votes in his hands, and makes the best bargain that he can. Capt. Jones’s eldest boy is but fourteen; he can afford to wait till the next election; and as for Miss Brown, she has a nephew and god-son only twelve years old; she can do no-

thing for him at present, but by lending her two votes to Mr. Smith and Capt. Brown, and the other proprietors in turn, with whom she has clubbed, she can accumulate a little stock of votes against the time, when her protégé will be old enough to take a slice of the patronage-loaf; and, in due course, she takes the bundle in her hand, and makes her bargain with the embryo Director. Practically she reserves her votes throughout five or six successive elections, and then, just as she is in a position to profit by them, the accumulated treasure looks her pleasantly in the face. Thanks to the principle of combination, she has not wasted her votes. Her two votes could have secured her nothing at any one of the past elections, but now she has a dozen in her hand. Miss Brown aspires to a writership, but a cavalry cadetship is pretty certain at the least; such is the virtue of association. Every year it is better understood; and thus the independence of the Directors is being sacrificed to the rapacity of the proprietors. The evil certainly is a great one; but we do not clearly see in what manner it is to be suppressed, except by a vigorous determination on the part of the Court, to investigate all cases of supposed illegitimate acquisition of votes, and, upon conviction, to declare the seat in the direction so attained to be, *ipso facto*, vacated; and if the proprietors so convicted were, by another bye-law, to be disqualified from ever voting again, so much the better for "purity of election."

We would not do the Directors of the Company the injustice of defending them, on a plea often set up in such cases, to the effect that they are "not worse than other men;" that if they do resort to illegitimate means of obtaining votes, they only do that which is done largely in political life, by ministers who have measures to carry, or would-be legislators who have seats to obtain. We would not say that they are not worse than other men, because we wish them to be better; and we always regard such references to the offences of others as a virtual abandonment of the case of one's client. If nothing better is to be said in defence of a man than that he has brothers in iniquity, it is better to say nothing at all. But at the same time, it may be profitable to remind some people, who have a good deal of virtuous indignation to expend, when corruption, not of their own particular kind, is hinted at, that, perhaps, they are not exactly in a position to be privileged to throw the first stone.

Having canvassed actively and skilfully, for some years, and been defeated once or oftener, in a contested election, the candidate goes again to the poll; the ballot takes place; and the scrutineers declare that a majority of the votes have been

given in his favor. He then takes the oath of office, a room is assigned to him at the India House, and he is now a full-fledged East India Director. It has cost him a vast deal of trouble and some money to obtain his seat; but now he begins to reap the reward. The salary is but a small one—£300 a year (the “Chairs” drawing £500), but there is a large amount of valuable patronage at his disposal. He has now the power and privilege of “serving his friends.” He has writerships, cadetships, and assistant-surgeons to give away. He has attained the object of his ambition.

The amount of patronage placed, annually, at the disposal of each Director is, of course, dependent upon the exigencies of the public service, as determined by passing events. An augmentation or a reduction of the army, the result of a declaration of war or the re-establishment of peace, has an immediate effect upon the patronage barometer. No returns of the number of writerships and cadetships given away under the now expiring Charter, have yet been published; but the following may be relied upon as confidently as though it bore the regular official *imprimatur*.

Number of Writerships and Cadetships allotted in each year, since 1834.

<i>Years.</i>	<i>Writerships.</i>	<i>Cadetships.</i>
1834-35	28	168
1835-36	28	168
1836-37	26	252
1837-38	56	196
1838-39	56	224
1839-40	56	364
1840-41	56	596
1841-42	28	266
1842-43	28	420
1843-44	28	252
1844-45	28	448
1845-46	28	336
1846-47	28	280
1847-48	28	252
1848-49	28	224
1849-50	28	252
1850-51	28	196
1851-52	56	224

From this table the reader may learn for himself (bearing in mind that the Chairman and Deputy Chairman have double shares of patronage, and that the President of the India Board has a share equal to the Chairman's) what is the average amount of patronage allotted yearly to each individual Director. An approximation to the value of it may also be attained

without any very elaborate arithmetical efforts. It may be calculated, indeed, that each Director has offices in his gift averaging in value little less than £10,000 a year—his own salary being £300. So great a disparity between the actual emoluments of office, and the power conferred by it, has led people to suspect that the latter sometimes resolves itself into the former, that the actual pecuniary emoluments are not always limited to the legitimate salary drawn by the Directors. The sale of appointments is forbidden by law, and constitutes a misdemeanour. But it is sometimes hinted, that the Directors have indirectly achieved that, which directly they could not venture to be concerned in, and that intermediate agents have trafficked to a large extent in writerships and cadetships. That intermediate agents have carried on such traffic, is a plain historical fact. The abuse of India House patronage has more than once formed a topic of Parliamentary enquiry and judicial investigation. We should exceed our space, if we were to dwell upon the different instances of the former that are recorded in the Parliamentary Registers; but we cannot refrain from alluding to some of the principal cases of alleged abuse of patronage investigated by the English Law Courts, since the commencement of the present century. From these it will be gathered that the intermediate agents of whom we speak, have carried on the trade to their own advantage; and that in no case have corrupt practices been proved against the Directors themselves.

In 1809, there was a Parliamentary enquiry into certain alleged abuses of India House patronage. Mr. Thellusson was the Director, whose patronage was supposed to have been abused. He had given some writerships to a Mr. Woodford, who had sold them. Woodford was a friend and cousin of the Director; they were of the same age—born in the same month, and had been brought up together from their infancy. At the time of the discovery there was a schism between them; the old love had been transmuted into that kind of feeling which may be supposed to exist, where two relatives and bosom friends have a ruinous Chancery suit between them, and one suspects the other of falsehood, ingratitude, and dishonesty. Such was the state of things, when the discovery was made; but when Mr. Thellusson placed the writerships at his cousin's disposal, he had every reason to believe in his friendship and his integrity. Woodford, however, seems to have been a man intent upon the acquisition of money, and unscrupulous about the agency to be employed. He obtained the nominations from his friend, and sold them through a solicitor named Ta-

hourdin. One writership was sold for £ 3,500, of which the lawyer received £100—the gentleman nominated being Mr. Charles James Smith. Another was sold for the same sum (Mr. Tahourdin receiving £150, and two other agents, named Donovan and Garret, sharing £450 between them); Mr. Fry Magniac was the party nominated. Both had been despatched as writers to Bengal. A third case was also inquired into and reported upon. A Madras writership was given by Mr. Thellusson to Mr. Woodford, and sold by Mr. Tahourdin to a Mrs. Gardener for £3,000. This money Tahourdin received on his own account, but he stipulated to obtain for a friend of Mr. Woodford some Church preferment, about soon to become vacant, of the value of £300 a year. All these cases were fully proved. Mr. Woodford acknowledged his culpability, Mr. Tahourdin stated unreservedly his complicity in the transactions; but both of them seemed inclined to extenuate their conduct, upon the ground that such transactions were understood to be of frequent occurrence, and as long as the Director himself did not touch the money, there was supposed to be no great harm in its transfer from one unofficial pocket to another.

The enquiries thus instituted were continued through a considerable number of less important cases. It soon appeared that a traffic in cadetships had been, for some time, going on to a very large extent, and that some parties had been driving a brisk business in this article of commerce. Eighteen cases of sale were clearly established. The cadetships, however, do not seem to have fetched a very good price. The average sum given was £200. In some cases the military commission did not fetch more than £150. There was a Mr. Shee, who, at that time, acted as a kind of general agent in these transactions, and into whose pocket a considerable portion of the price of these cadetships, passed. He was an ambitious man, and he aimed at a higher class of business, but he acknowledged on his examination, that he had never been able to compass a traffic in writerships. "Indeed, I never had a writership," he said; "I never succeeded in getting one." But he succeeded in buying and selling a good number of cadetships. It was his business, and he advertised it in the public papers. Men and women of all kinds, wanting to buy or sell cadetships, made their way to Mr. Shee. The Court of Directors had instituted a criminal prosecution against him, and he had got into difficulty on account of debt, whereby he had been lodged in the Fleet Prison for six years; but on accomplishing his release, he had gone about his old business as confidently, but not quite as success-

fully, as before. He declared that he had very unjustly been made a scape-goat, and that the Directors were largely implicated in the sale of their patronage; but the Parliamentary Committee took a different view of the matter, and declared in their report, that "no one case of corruption or abuse, which had been before them, affected any member of the Court." "It is in the passing through several hands," they added, "which happens frequently with regard to the numerous and less valuable appointments of cadets, that opportunities for this sort of negotiation are presented, which, without a greater degree of vigilance and strictness on the part of each Director, at the time of making such nomination, it will be impracticable to prevent in future." The intermediate agents were shown indeed to have been many and various, men and women of almost every class, half-pay officers, attorneys, army agents, ladies of good and bad reputation, lodging-house keepers, portrait-painters, clergymen, and a baronet or two. The evidence brought forward in the course of enquiry involves many amusing incidents of the high-comedy kind, which renders the report very agreeable reading. The greater number of them declared that they did not know at the time that they were doing wrong; and, to do them justice, it must be admitted that they endeavoured in some measure to atone for the offence they had committed, by giving their evidence before the Committee without any reservation or deceit.

The result of the investigation was a suggestion from the Committee, that "as an additional check against those who are inclined to purchase such appointments, it may be expedient that a bond should be given by the parent, guardian, or friend of every person receiving a nomination, containing a penalty to be paid to the East India Company, upon proof being made at any subsequent period, that any valuable consideration was given for such appointment; that species of proof being deemed sufficient to levy the penalty, upon which the Court of Directors may think themselves authorised to vacate the appointment."* And it was added in conclusion, that "it would depend upon the step which might be taken in consequence of these enquiries, whether such abuses should receive a permanent check or a virtual encouragement." That the abuses thus brought to light did receive a check is certain. The traffick in India House patronage, if it were not smothered altogether, was assuredly very much restricted; and for a long time, no

* The suggestion was acted upon, and the bond is now given.

such abuses as those we have glanced at, became a subject of enquiry either in the Law Courts or the Parliament of Great Britain.

In 1828, however, a very remarkable case of abuse of patronage was brought before the British Public, through the medium of a criminal prosecution, instituted by the Court of Directors, against one of their own body and several less distinguished offenders. The story, which we shall tell as briefly as possible, is not without interest. In 1827, there lived at Little Hampton, in Sussex, a clergyman named Bark. He was a doctor of divinity ; and it was alleged that some years before, he had resided and held preferment in Devonshire. The preferment, however, was at least doubtful ; and at the time indicated, he was certainly without a cure. The intervening period had been mainly spent on the continent. Now Dr. Bark was, as many clergymen of the present day are, a reader of the *Morning Herald*, and one August morning, glancing over the advertisements, he alighted on one in the following words:—"To Parents and *Guardians*.—A permanent situation, of a respectable nature, now offers for a youth under twenty, to go abroad. His outfit would require means, without which none need apply. Address by letter only, postpaid, to M. N., 33, Craven Street, Strand." Upon reading this, Dr. Bark, having a son requiring a respectable occupation, bethought himself of answering the advertisement, and shortly afterwards went up to London, for the purpose of communicating in person with the advertiser. There seems to have been, in the nature of the reverend gentleman, a curious mixture of cunning and simplicity. He was told that the parent and guardian would not be treated with in person, so he introduced himself to the opposite party, as "Colonel Edwardes." He had married the widow of a Colonel Edwardes, and among other worldly goods which he had received with his wife, was a packet or two of the Colonel's visiting cards ; so the Doctor thought that, without much harm, he might make use of them to pass himself off as an officer in the army, and a friend of the Rev. Dr. Bark. In this capacity, he was introduced to a Mr. Wright, who told him that the appointment for sale was a cadetship. The price of cadetships seems to have risen since Mr. Shee's time, when the average demand was £200. Mr. Wright asked £600 for an infantry, and £800 for a cavalry cadetship. The demand startled Dr. Bark. He had believed that the appointment was to be given him for nothing, and that all that was required was, that he should pay for the outfit. "Had you learnt," he was asked in court, "that any price was to be paid for the appointment?" and

he answered, "No; I understood *quite the contrary*." That is, we presume, that the benevolent advertiser rather thought of paying Dr. Bark for taking the appointment, than of Dr. Bark paying anything for receiving it! So Dr. Bark, finding that he had a large sum of money to pay for the appointment, and not possessing, perhaps, the means of meeting the demand, broke off the negotiation, returned to Little Hampton, and took no further steps in the business, until the following February, by which time his son had come of age and inherited a little money. This tempted him to renew the negotiation. But the doctor had doubts and misgivings. He thought that there was something mysterious about the affair; and he determined not to commit himself, if he could help it. So he sat down and wrote a letter to the Chairman of the East India Company, stating that a cadetship had been offered to him for a certain sum of money, and asking if it was a legitimate transaction to which he might properly become a party. Upon this the Chairman immediately sent down a confidential agent to Little Hampton, to communicate with Dr. Bark; and the result was, that the doctor and the Company entered into a compact to lay a trap for the offending parties, and to expose their guilt.

It may be a question with severe moralists whether this course of procedure was altogether justifiable. The offence had not been actually perpetrated, though the intent had existed for some time; and it was now the object of the Company to turn the intent into the fact, and bring about the actual commission of the offence, which they desired to punish and suppress. We do not intend to discuss the moral bearings of the question. It is sufficient that the direction of 1827-28 thought themselves fully justified in bringing the conspiracy to a head. Dr. Bark, still passing himself off as Colonel Edwardes, went up to London again, and was soon in treaty for a cadetship with a Mr. Wright, whose place was subsequently taken by other agents nearer the right hand of the convenient Director himself. The Company supplied the money, with which the criminal, or criminals, were to be angled for and caught. After Mr. Wright, one Gibbons appeared as an agent in the questionable transaction, then a Mr. Tyndale, then a Mr. Anstice, then a Captain Despard, then a Mr. Andrews, then Mr. Sutton, who appears as the real vendor; and then Captain Prescott, the Director, who gives the cadetship to the gentleman whom we have last named. We cannot afford to give a detailed narrative of the several parts taken by all these different agents, in the transfer of the cadetship to the hands of young Mr. Bark. It is enough for our purpose, that Mr. Sutton obtained the appointment from

Captain Prescott, and that although the transaction was never actually completed, a portion of the purchase-money found its way into his hands.

Mr. Sutton was an intimate friend of Captain Prescott. He had materially aided him during his canvass for the direction; and he had, as was stated more than once, saved the life of his friend's son. Captain Prescott had every reason to bestow kindness upon him, and none to doubt his integrity. It happened, however, that when Mr. Sutton applied to Captain Prescott for a cavalry cadetship, the latter had not one at his disposal. But Mr. Sutton urged his claims; the case was a pressing one; the young man, on whose account the application was made, was fast approaching the fatal age of twenty-two. Could not Captain Prescott exchange a cavalry cadetship with some other member of the direction? He was very anxious to oblige Mr. Sutton, and he did it. Colonel Sweeney Toone consented to an exchange of an appointment with his brother Director; and the nomination so obtained, was placed at the disposal of Mr. Sutton. Colonel Toone affirmed that Captain Prescott had informed him that the candidate was "a very fine youth, the son of a respectable clergyman in Devonshire, with whom he was acquainted." This Prescott denied, but he filled up the necessary paper of recommendation to the effect, that he was acquainted with the family and connexions of Mr. Bark; and he admitted afterwards, that he had never seen either the youth or his father, until after the disclosure had taken place, and that he was surprised to find that the former was so small, as Mr. Sutton had told him that he was a fine young man. Whatever may have been the statements made to Colonel Toone, he had such entire confidence in Captain Prescott, that he did not hesitate to meet his wishes. But now comes the strange part of the proceeding. It was customary, at the India House, in such cases of exchange, that the appointment should be transferred from the name of one Director to that of the other, and that the recipient should sign the nomination. Captain Prescott ought to have signed the nomination, and Mr. Sutton ought to have written the commendatory letter. But instead of this, Colonel Toone signed the former and Capt. Prescott wrote the latter. Why this departure from the India House routine took place, does not very clearly appear. It may have been, as was attempted to be shown, a clerical error; or it may have been, as Lord Tenterden obscurely hinted, because Captain Prescott had very recently given another appointment to Mr. Sutton. At all events, the irregularity took place; but before young Mr. Bark himself appeared at

the India House, Captain Prescott had taken alarm, and sent directions to stay all further proceedings. The trap had, by this time, closed upon the offenders; the whole party, from Mr. Wright to Captain Prescott, were in the toils. Sutton was in an agony of alarm. The plot was "blown"—all the conspirators were trembling in their shoes, and thinking how they might escape the ruin that was impending over them. This was at the end of April, (1827.) On the 2nd of May, the Secret Committee took cognizance of the matter, and resolved to recommend the Court to appoint a select committee to enquire into the whole affair. The Committee was appointed. The case was laid before the Company's Law Officers. They were of opinion that there were ample grounds for a prosecution against the whole party concerned, Captain Prescott included. But the Directors, convinced of the propriety of fortifying themselves by further legal advice, before instituting proceedings against one of their own body, submitted the case to the Attorney and Solicitor-General (Scarlett and Tindal), who concurred in opinion with the Company's standing Counsel (Bosanquet,) and the prosecution was commenced.

The trial came off in the Court of King's Bench, on the 8th of March, 1828. All the prisoners, with the exception of Captain Despard and Captain Prescott, pleaded *guilty*, or consented to a verdict against them. Evidence was taken against the two remaining persons. Serjeant Spankie defended Captain Despard, and Mr. Brougham defended Captain Prescott. The trial lasted throughout the whole day; and at the end of it, the jury returned a verdict of *guilty* against Captain Despard, and *not guilty* for Captain Prescott.

In the meanwhile another enquiry had been going on at the India House, into the circumstances attending the previous appointment of another cavalry cadet, on the nomination of Captain Prescott, and the recommendation of Mr. Sutton. It was sufficiently clear that Sutton had received the greater part of the money, for the notes were traced to a stock-broker, to whom he had paid them, but as there was no direct evidence against the parties, (for the cadet himself had sailed,) and as Sutton and his accomplice, Gibbon, had been already convicted under the previous prosecution, the Court contented themselves with the recall of Mr. Beale, for whom the cadetship had been purchased.

The impression produced by these enquiries, was, that although there might be some laxity in the observance of official forms at the India House, or rather that there was some

laxity in the manner in which forms were observed, as though they were mere forms signifying nothing (for Captain Prescott had repeatedly stated that it was the custom to sign papers without examining their contents,) the Court of Directors were, as a body, free from every taint of corruption, and laudably anxious to expose the mal-practices of any one of their number who might be suspected of an abuse of patronage.

The next case of alleged abuse of patronage, which excited a very large amount of public attention, is in the recollection of the majority of our readers. The case was tried in the Queen's Bench, on the 18th and 20th of December, 1847. Captain Charette, and Sir William Young, an old Director, were the defendants. The facts may be thus briefly recited. Some ten years ago there resided, and perhaps still resides, in the city of Edinburgh, a "writer to the signet," named Wotherspoon. He had a son, then verging towards adolescence, for whom the dry studies of the law had no charms—who, like the younger Norval, had "heard of battles, and longed to follow to the field some warlike lord," but more fortunate than that hero, had a sire who did not deny the young aspirant's request. The elder Wotherspoon, probably thinking a good soldier better than a bad lawyer, consented that his son should enter the army, and began to cast about for the means of obtaining for him a commission. But this was a line of business in which he had no experience. The canny writer to the signet was here simple as a child. He knew nothing about the mysteries of the Horse Guards; or the Arcana of the India House. But he had a friend, who professed an intimate acquaintance with both—a lady friend, named Stewart, the widow of a Queen's officer, who had served in India—a widow, it would seem, with wit enough to turn her experience to profitable account. Wotherspoon had known her as a child, had renewed his acquaintance with her at a later period of life, and there seems, at the date of the opening of the story, to have been a close intimacy between them. She knew how affairs were managed at the Horse Guards, she said. There would be no difficulty in obtaining a commission for the young man. It needed only an advance of £1,000. Let Mr. Wotherspoon place the money in Mrs. Stewart's hands, and all the rest would presently follow. Mrs. Stewart went up to London; the money was advanced, and subsequently another hundred pounds was added to the purchase-money; but the commission was not forthcoming. Mrs. Stewart was not successful; so her friend reasonably enough solicited the return of the money. The

money, "after repeated applications," was returned, less £20, which Mrs. Stewart retained in remuneration for her trouble: and here the matter dropped for a time.

But a year or two afterwards, that is, in the summer of 1844, the negotiations were renewed. Mrs. Stewart declared herself to be now really in a position to obtain for young Wotherspoon a commission, either in the Queen's or the Company's service; and again the young man's father placed in the scheming lady's hands the money which he had withdrawn. But after the first failure, Mr. Wotherspoon was naturally a little anxious and impatient, and, some delay having arisen, he required from Mrs. Stewart some evidence that matters were progressing; and soon Mrs. Stewart sent him the following satisfactory letter from an East India Director:—"MY DEAR CHARETTIE,—I shall have much pleasure in giving an appointment to your young friend, William White Wotherspoon, in November. (Signed) WILLIAM YOUNG." This was something like business. Mr. Wotherspoon may have been, perhaps, a little surprised at seeing his son described as the "young friend" of Captain Charettie, of whom he knew nothing; but there was the veritable signature of the East India Director, and he believed that it was all right. And so, in one sense, it was; for with November came the appointment. Young Wotherspoon went up to London, and passed through the usual formalities at the India House. The papers were filled in, and in these papers it was stated that the cadet had been appointed on the recommendation of his father, who had never seen Sir William Young, and in all probability had never seen, or heard his name, until he read it at the end of the letter to Captain Charettie. Still Mr. Wotherspoon seemed to think that it was all right. He was very innocent about all such matters. He did not know that cadetships were not legally articles of merchandise; and he signed the declaration that the appointment had been obtained without fee or reward, according to his own account, without reading it. The father, the son, and the Director, all put their names to falsehoods; so the appointment was obtained, and young Wotherspoon went out to India.

Now here we see two parties co-operating with each other, to bring about a certain result, and yet to all outward seeming, having no kind of connexion the one with the other. There are the Wotherspoons, father and son, on one side; Sir William Young and Captain Charettie on the other. Sir William Young, on the recommendation of Captain Charettie, gives a cadetship to the Wotherspoons; but the Wotherspoons know nothing whatever either of Captain Charettie or Sir William Young.

It will be surmised, that Mrs. Stewart knew both parties, and was the connecting link between them. But in reality Mrs. Stewart knew nothing either of the Captain or the Director. There are other links in the chain yet to be found. Mrs. Stewart knew the Wotherspoons, and Captain Charettie knew Sir William Young, but there is a chasm still to be bridged over between Mrs. Stewart and Captain Charettie.

Captain Charettie had been a sea-captain. He was a man of an enterprising character. If we were to describe him as a *buccaneer*, it would be hard to define the limits of the metaphorical and the actual, which meet in the word. He was ripe for all kinds of adventure, from a speculation in Railway shares, or the establishment of a Chimney-sweeping Company, to a revolutionary enterprise and the equipment of a hostile armament. Nothing came amiss to him. "One down, t'other come on," was his motto. He was a man of many experiments and many failures. He was precisely the sort of person, around whom desperate adventurers and bankrupt schemers were likely to cluster; for something of outward respectability adhered to him, and they might gain something by clinging on to his skirts. He had friends, indeed, without the pale and within it; and was, therefore, one of the best of go-betweens. Now, Captain Charettie, as we have said, did not know Mrs. Stewart; but he knew a Mr. St. Clair Trotter. He had known him for some years. Their acquaintance had commenced in Devonshire, where Charettie was once settled; and seems to have been renewed at intervals, up to the year 1844. Trotter had gone down, when a young man, to one of the pleasant little towns of that pleasant county, to establish a branch of some joint-stock bank, and the "venerable vicar" of the place, we are told, introduced him to Captain Charettie, who took the young man in hand with much cordiality, and made him a frequent guest at his house. The branch bank was not successful, and a few years afterwards, Captain Charettie and Mr. Trotter met, under altered circumstances, in London. Of the history and character of the latter, we know little, further than that he was not a successful man. Want of success is, in the eye of the world, the greatest of all possible crimes; but in spite of it, Mr. Trotter may have been a very respectable man. At all events, Captain Charettie, when he renewed his acquaintance with him in London, was still anxious to serve him; and the "Ramoneur" or Patent-Chimney-sweeping Company, of which Charettie was a director, had then just started, or was about to start, into life. Mr. St. Clair Trotter was appointed, through his friend's inter-

est, to the secretaryship of it. The intercourse then, between the two gentlemen, was frequent and familiar; and one day, presuming upon this familiarity, Mr. Trotter asked Captain Charettie if he thought that he had sufficient interest to procure a cadetship; and requested him to exert it in behalf of one of his friends. Captain Charettie consented to do so—and here, if we are to believe his own version of the matter, the chain of evidence would be complete. Mr. Trotter, he declared, sought his interest to obtain a cadetship for Mr. Wotherspoon. So the links run thus, Wotherspoon—Trotter—Charettie—Young.

But what then becomes of Mrs. Stewart? And what connexion had Trotter with the Wotherspoons? Captain Charettie told the Chairman of the India House Committee, by whom he was examined (Sir James Hogg,) that he had undertaken to procure a cadetship at Trotter's request, simply on account of the esteem he bore him, the respectability of his connexions, the amiability of his character, and the old recommendation of the venerable Devonshire vicar. But it puzzled the Directors, as it will puzzle the reader, to know what induced Mr. Trotter to solicit a cadetship for Mr. Wotherspoon. The fact is, that he knew nothing about Wotherspoon, but that he knew a Mr. Rallett. This Rallett was a man of dubious reputation, whose exploits had already, we believe, brought him under the notice of the East India Company; and he it is who now supplies the missing link between Mrs. Stewart and Mr. Trotter. Rallett asked Trotter to introduce him to Captain Charettie. The introduction took place, and some weeks afterwards, Trotter received £50 for the service. The bank-notes were put into his hands, and, according to his own statement, Mr. Rallett told him that he was entitled to the *douceur*, as through his introduction, he (Mr. Rallett) had obtained what he desired. The chain now is complete. It runs thus; Wotherspoon—Stewart—Rallett—Trotter—Charettie—Young.

Wotherspoon, as we have said, placed £1,100 in Mrs. Stewart's hands; and Trotter, as we have shown, received £50. There are then £1,050 to be accounted for. Of these, it was clearly proved by the evidence of Captain Charettie's bankers, that £800 were paid to his account. The remaining £250 were retained by Mrs. Stewart, a portion of it, we presume, having been paid to Rallett.*

Such are the facts of the case, as they transpired in the course of the trial, in the Court of Queen's Bench. The result was

* Mrs. Stewart and Rallett were indicted, with Charettie and Young; but the former hid herself in France, and the latter himself in Belgium.

that, after two days' trial, Captain Charettie was found guilty of corruptly receiving money, &c., and on another count, of conspiracy ; and Sir William Young, on that other count, of being party to the conspiracy. Before the defendants were brought up for judgment, Sir William Young, an old and infirm man, died. Charettie was sentenced upon the first count of the indictment (for obtaining money, &c.) to be imprisoned for the term of one year, to pay a fine of £800, and to be further imprisoned till that fine should be paid ; and upon the other count, (of conspiracy) " to be imprisoned for one year—the same year as the other."

So far we have adduced the most prominent circumstances of this case, for the purpose of illustrating the extent of the intermediate agency between the actual donor and recipient of the patronage, and the difficulty of following all the different stages of collusion which make the completeness of the fraud. But the case has other more important features. That Sir William Young derived, directly or indirectly, any advantage from the bargain made with Mr. Wotherspoon, does not appear on the face of the trial, and was only asserted by Captain Charettie, after the aged Director had ceased to be in a position to reply to the imputation. But he appears to have been, as Captain Prescott was, very remiss, officially, in the first instance, and, subsequently, to have been an accessory after the fact. If he did not connive at the commission of the offence, he certainly endeavored to screen the offender. But he was an old man, of feeble understanding, and he does not seem to have seen very clearly the position in which he was placed. He retired from the direction before he died ; and it is not to be doubted, that the feeling of the Court was strongly against him. The conduct of the Court of Directors, throughout the whole of these proceedings, was dignified and straightforward. They instituted, in the first instance, a rigid private enquiry, at the India House, and then submitted the case to the investigation of a public law-court. They did all that could be done to elicit the truth, and to punish the offenders ; and their conduct, in the next case—the last which we purpose to adduce, was distinguished by the same characteristics.

There are many features in this case, resembling those of its predecessor. A gentleman named Moore, a ship-owner by profession, resided at Plymouth. He had a son, rapidly approaching the fatal age of twenty-two, for whom he desired to obtain a commission in the Company's army. Having little or no interest of his own, he cast about for some intermediate agency, whereby to accomplish his object ; but he believed

that the real motive power was to be found in the money at his bankers'. Accordingly, he put himself in communication with a Mr. Lavers, a sort of general agent, residing in the somewhat obscure regions of China Place, Lambeth; and freely stated his wishes. This Mr. Lavers, it appears, had been introduced to him by a Captain Mathias, of whom we know little, for death removed him from the scene, at an early stage of the drama. Lavers, ready for any kind of business, undertook the commission entrusted to him, and wrote an encouraging letter to Mr. Moore, which speedily brought him up to London. Lavers then took Moore to a house in Foley Place, where he introduced to him a Mrs. Violet Linley (wife of a musical composer of that name, and daughter of Dr. Gilchrist), and they at once entered upon the business of the cadetship. The lady had before suggested to Lavers that it would be necessary for Mr. Moore to advance the sum of £1,000; and now she suggested, that it should be lodged in the hands of the party who was to obtain the appointment. Against this course of procedure, Lavers, fearing that the whole of the money would slip through his own fingers, and that he would lose his expected share of the spoil, seriously protested; but after some conversation, it was agreed that Mrs. Linley should introduce Mr. Moore to the person who had promised to obtain the cadetship. This person was extolled as a "high lady," with great influence and great connexions. But before Moore was brought face to face with this illustrious personage, he was introduced to a man named Kendall, who was described by Mrs. Linley, as being in the "household of the high lady." It was said, on the trial, that he was a "tutor in her family," but his position is, at least, dubious. That he did business for the high lady is certain, but in what recognised capacity, does not clearly appear. He now met Mr. Moore at Mrs. Linley's house, and told him, that unless he deposited the £1,000, neither he nor the high lady would move any further in the matter. Mr. Moore hesitated, and, although he was assured, that the high lady was "a cousin of the Queen," could not induce himself, at that meeting, to deposit the money. A meeting, however, was fixed for the following day. Kendal repeated, that his friend would do nothing without the money, and, at last, it was agreed that, for the security of both parties, bank notes amounting to £1,000 should be produced by Mr. Moore, and cut into halves, Kendall retaining one set of halves and Moore the other. This accordingly was done, and then an early day was fixed for the introduction of Mr. Moore to the high lady herself.

On the day appointed, Mr. Moore went to Foley Place, and

after he had waited there for an hour and a half, the high lady, accompanied by Mr. Kendall, arrived in her carriage. She rejoiced in the magnificent name of Binckes; at least, she had a husband of that name belonging to her; but he appears to have been of little account. She was, she said, a cousin of the Queen, and report has given her out as a natural daughter of one of the royal dukes. A lady of a certain age and good address, seemingly with some acquaintances, if not friends, in high places, she played the part of a notable schemer, and lived bravely upon her wits. She was one, indeed, of that class of ladies which is typified by Mrs. Rawdon Crawley, in the novel of *Vanity Fair*. She kept a "little carriage;" but she did not pay her little milk-score. She had a "gentleman of her household," but was distained upon for the taxes of her cousin, the Queen. She was hand-and-glove with countesses and earls; but she could not pay her grocer's bill. Money was scarce, and creditors were inexorable. But the fertile genius of this high lady suggested to her a new way of raising the wind. She might turn her high connexions to profitable account; and still keep her head above water—still visit her friends in her little carriage, attended by her gentleman of the household. India House patronage was always in requisition, what if she could manage to sell a little of it. Her dear friend, Mrs. Linley, knew an old gentleman in the country, in search of a cadetship, and she, the cousin of the Queen, was intimate with people of rank and influence. There was no doubt that she could manage the business, if Mr. Moore would produce the money. She knew Lord Ripon—Lord Ripon's family were under great obligations to her; and he was president of the Board of Controul. But she must see Mr. Moore's son, to satisfy herself that the young man would do credit to her recommendation. So Young Moore was brought up from Plymouth; and Mrs. Binckes "was kind enough to say, that she approved of his appearance." Days passed, and days grew into weeks. The Moores dined with the high lady at her Villa, in St. John's Wood; but the appointment was not forthcoming. The elder Moore could not neglect his business any longer, so he returned to Plymouth, and left his son in London, to be smiled on by the fascinating Binckes. The cadetship, however, did not make its appearance; Mr. Moore lost his patience, and was fearful of losing his money. So he wrote for the return of the half-notes; and, subsequently, went up to London to obtain them. The half-notes had been pledged by Kendall for £50; and as money was scarce in the "household," there was some difficulty in relieving them.

They were, however, redeemed ; and Mrs. Binckes declared that she had borrowed £100 from her god-papa, to enable her to restore them to their rightful owner. The affair was, therefore, at an end, for the present. But, at the suggestion, it would seem, either of Mrs. Binckes or her solicitor, Mr. Moore presented the "high lady" with £100, to repay her god-papa. He gave Mrs. Linley, too, £50 for her trouble ; and he placed his son with a stock-broker in the city.

But it was not very long before the negotiations were renewed. Mrs. Binckes and her household were not inclined to suffer the country gull to slip so easily through their fingers. He had money, and was disposed to spend it. The cadetship might really be obtained. Mrs. Binckes was acquainted with Lady Ripon ; and Lady Ripon was really disposed to serve Mrs. Binckes. So the promise of a cadetship from Lord Ripon was at last obtained. Mrs. Binckes lost no time in writing to Mr. Moore, enclosing Lady Ripon's note ; and Mr. Moore came up quickly to London. His son was still of the same mind—still preferred soldiering to stock-jobbing ; so the negotiations were renewed ; the parties met again ; it was arranged that Mr. Moore should pay £1,000 on the appointment being formally conferred upon his son. There was no mistake about it this time. The appointment was made out. Moore paid the money ; filled in the declaration that he had obtained the nomination gratuitously ; and in due course, the young man proceeded to India, and died.

It was in the autumn of 1845, that the appointment was made out. In the course of the following year, rumours, that all had not been quite right in this matter, were afloat at the India House, and enquiries were commenced. But the high lady was not easily frightened. She wrote to Mr. Moore, exhorting him to have no anxiety about the matter ; and soon afterwards offered, for a further consideration, to get Young Moore appointed A. D. C. to the Commander-in-Chief. The Queen's cousin was a woman of lofty aims and sublime daring ; and there was nothing which she did not declare herself capable of achieving, for the advancement of her young protégé. At one time she promised him "a cavalry staff appointment" (the young man being an infantry ensign,) and at another, she declared that, as Sir Hugh Gough's nephew, and A. D. C., was about to throw up his appointment, £1,000 would secure it for young Moore. And as for the India House people, she said, there was no need to be afraid of them ; and hinted, that Lord Ripon would soon make them hold their peace.

But the India House people were not to be quieted. They determined to get at the bottom of this strange story; and they instituted a searching enquiry into all the circumstances connected with it. The result was, that proceedings were commenced against Moore, Kendall, Bickley (Mrs. Binckes' lawyer,) Mrs. Linley, and Mrs. Binckes. The trial did not come off until the commencement of 1849. Moore pleaded "guilty" and was admitted as a witness. The other defendants were found guilty on different counts, of conspiring to defraud; and sentenced Kendall to pay a fine of £1,000 and to be imprisoned for a year; Binckes to be imprisoned for a year; Linley to be imprisoned for six months; and Bickley to be imprisoned for a year.

This is another remarkable instance of the difficulty of tracing and defeating that complicated intermediate agency between the donor and the recipient of the patronage, which is seldom suspected by the former. No taint, in this matter, seems to attach itself to Lord Ripon. Accidents of this kind may happen, to presidents of the Board of Control, no less than to members of the Court of Directors. Here it would seem that the several links of the chain were Moore (Mathias, dead) Lavers, Mrs. Linley, Kendall, Binckes, Lady Ripon, Lord Ripon;—to say nothing of Mr. Bickley, the lawyer, who acted no insignificant part in the business as Mrs. Binckes' professional friend. It is hard to fight against such a confederacy as this. There was no reason why Lord Ripon should not have believed, that Mr. Moore was a friend of Mrs. Binckes. He gave his evidence at the trial in a straightforward manner, and regretted that Lady Ripon was prevented, by severe indisposition, from appearing before the Court. As to the Directors of the East India Company, not only were they blameless in the matter, but their conduct, as declared by Lord Denman, in summing up the evidence, was in the highest degree creditable to them. Mr. Moore stated, in the course of his examination, that he thought nothing of giving £1,000 for a cadetship, for he knew that half the officers in the Company's service purchased their commissions. A statement of equal veracity with that which he made when he signed the declaration, that he had obtained his son's cadetship without fee or reward. He admitted that this was very wrong; but he said that he had suffered for it; and our indignation is, in spite of ourselves, turned into pity, when we read, in the short-hand writer's notes, the touching words, "*I have suffered for it. I have lost my son.*"

Such are the principal cases of "abuse of patronage," which have excited public attention, since the commencement of the

present century. The inference to be drawn from the entire group is, that it is very difficult, if not impossible, entirely to suppress an indirect trade in appointments. The patronage of the most careful and conscientious Director may be abused by a friend or a friend's friend. The chances are greatly against detection. No one, in these days, would think of carrying on the regular trade in cadetships, which was so unblushingly pursued by Mr. Shee and his son. But there may still be many Charletties and Binckeses floating about the surface of society. There are so many ways, indeed, of evading the law, that the wonder is, that any one in these cases lays himself open to an indictment for the misdemeanour. The gross form of an open and undeniable money payment is one which only the hardest adventurer, the merest bungler, would incontinently adopt. There are so many other less tangible shapes which the "consideration," in these cases, may take. It is hard, indeed, to draw the exact line of the legitimate, and to say at what particular point the law is outraged. The consideration in many cases may be merely implied or understood. It is not necessary that it should even be named. A's father is an East India Director, and B's uncle is a bishop. B. wants a writership for one of his sons, and A. is on the look-out for church preferment, either for himself or some member of his family. There is no occasion for one to say to the other, "If you get me the living, you shall have the writership." The two transactions may be kept perfectly distinct from each other. They need not be named on the same day. We know that an old gentleman who was, as his sons now are, among the wealthiest commoners in the country, used to boast that he could always obtain a cadetship by writing to his banker for it. His banker may have been an East India Director; but if he was not, he probably had some East India Director among his constituents. Mr. — kept so large a balance at his bank, that the withdrawal of his account was not to be risked; and the required cadetship was always forthcoming. There are some constituents whom bankers cannot afford to offend, and others who cannot afford to offend their bankers. At all events, in such a case, there is a "consideration." It is of an intangible and unindictable kind, but it is not less a "consideration," because the law cannot twist it into a misdemeanour. A score of other illustrations might be readily adduced; but there is little advantage to be derived from an amplification of this part of the subject. The fact is, that the evil is not peculiar to India House patronage. Every description of patronage is liable to this kind of abuse. As long as there are needy and

unscrupulous men and women hanging on the skirts of the great, there will be found intermediate agents between the giver and the receiver of public patronage, who, in common language, "will make something out of it." It is the duty of every Director to learn as much as he can regarding the histories of the young men on whom he confers his patronage, and the circumstances under which it has been elicited from him; but it is impossible for him to acquaint himself with all the remote wheels and springs of the corrupt agency which may be set at work, by certain interested parties in the back ground, whose names he has never heard in his life.

It is enough that we should be satisfied of the grand fact, that the Directors are not themselves corrupt. No one but a Napier would ever think, in these days, of describing them otherwise than as thirty as honourable gentlemen as are to be found in the greatest capital of the world. The worst that can be said against them is that which is to be said of Ministers of State, Commanders-in-Chief, Governors-General, Archbishops, Bishops, Lord Chancellors, Lords of the Admiralty, and other great patronage-bestowers, that they are mindful of their own friends. Heaven help them, poor men, if after years of wearisome and humiliating canvassing, they were not suffered to relieve the tedium and brighten the gloom of the dreary routine-work to which they have dedicated themselves, in one of the dingiest corners of the dingiest city of dingy Europe, by thinking that what they have at last achieved may profit those friends who are nearest and dearest to them in the world. We confess that we should not think better of them if, in the hour of prosperity, they were to turn their backs on their friends. They do the best that they can for their sons and nephews. Who, that has anything to give, does not? When a Governor General goes out to India, in all probability he takes a son or a nephew as his private secretary. A lucrative sinecure in the Ecclesiastical Court becomes vacant, and the Archbishop of Canterbury appoints his son to it. The Lord Chancellor has some obese law-appointment in his gift, and his nearest qualified relative is necessarily appointed to it. It is a law of nature—not to be wondered at; hardly to be condemned. But Directors, even though they belong to the most prolific families, cannot bestow all the writerships and cadetships and assistant-surgeoncies in their gift upon their sons and nephews—there must be a large surplus for the general public, and a question has arisen, as to whether that surplus is well and wisely bestowed.

There is one answer to this question, which will readily sug-

gest itself to all who give the subject a thought. The patronage of the East India Company cannot be very grossly misappropriated, so long as the great end of providing a sufficient supply of well-qualified civil and military officers for the public service is thoroughly attained. And that it has been attained, all men not blinded by prejudice or self-interest cheerfully admit. It is the fashion to support the proposition, by asserting that the services which have produced such men as Elphinstone and Metcalfe, Malcolm and Munro, must be very noble services. But we would rather write that the services, which have produced so large a number of Joneses, Browns, and Thomsons, that is, so many industrious collectors, honest magistrates, wise judges, astute diplomatists, and gallant soldiers, cannot have very much that is defective in their constitution. The real glory of the Indian services is not to be found in those lustrous examples of individual merit and personal success, which stand out boldly from the page of history, but in the general worth and efficiency of the men of whom history takes no note—the great mass of the Indian executive. In general intelligence, in aptitude for official business, in integrity and benevolence, the civil servants of the East India Company are not surpassed by any body of administrators in the world; whilst the officers of the Company's military service are inferior only in respect of the accidents of birth and fortune to their brethren of that great army, which on the battle-fields of Europe, has made England the foremost nation of the world.

But this test may not be deemed sufficient. It is not enough, some will say, to declare that the results have, on the whole, been satisfactory in themselves, and creditable to the East India Company. The question may be raised as to whether the Company's patronage is distributed with due regard to the relative claims of different classes of society—whether, on the whole, the great field of employment afforded by the Indian services to the energy and activity of the youth of Great Britain is parcelled out in such a manner as to scatter blessings, proportionate to the opportunity presented, in the quarters where we ought rightfully to look for their growth. The opportunity, doubtless, is an immense one. Some hundreds of the young men, belonging to the upper and middle classes of society, are every year despatched to India, some to the enjoyment of a liberal income, and all to the possession of a gentlemanly competence. In days such as these, when every profession in England is over-stocked, the advantages of such an outlet as this are not to be over-estimated. There is scarcely a family in Great Britain that is not eager for a slice of this great

patronage-loaf. All cannot feed off it. Some must be disappointed, and the question is, whether those who succeed have better claims than those who are disappointed; or whether those who are disappointed have better claims than those who succeed.

Now, there are three different views, which may be taken, of the question—a broad and liberal view; a narrow selfish view; and one, which ranges mid-way between the two, and may be described as a *class* view of the question. The first supposes that every Englishman has an equal claim to participate in the advantages which India holds out, in common with the other dependencies of Great Britain, as a field for the employment of British intelligence and industry; and that the Directors of the East India Company are nothing more than dispensers of a certain fund, which they are permitted to hold in trust for the benefit of the people at large. The next, which is the very antithesis of this, supposes that no one has any claim to the patronage of the East India Company—that the patronage is entirely the private property of the Directors, as much their own, as the stock that qualifies them; and that as long as they distribute it in conformity with the Act of Parliament, no one has a right to complain. They, who take the third, and middle view of the question, deny both these propositions. They contend that the patronage of the East India Company is only held by them in trust, and that the Directors are answerable for its proper distribution; but they deny that all have equal claims to it. They contend that some classes have better claims than others—that these claims are not natural and indefeasible claims, but artificial and acquirable—the results of accident and position—only to be established by a reference to certain antecedents which distinguish such claimants from the rest of the world. In more specific language, it is asserted that the families of those who have served the Company, have better claims to the patronage of the Directors than any other class of society; and the Directors have recently been accused of disregarding the claims of men who have grown grey in their service, and turned a deaf ear to the entreaties of the widows and orphans of those who have died with the harness on their backs.

The question of fact involved in this last assertion we shall come presently to consider. We would, first of all, however, say a few words regarding the claims of this particular class of society. Taking, as we would wish to take, a large and humane view of the question, and regarding the interests of the community at large, no less than those of the particular class to which we are now referring, we cannot help perceiving that

the case of the Indian officer calls for especial consideration, upon grounds intelligible to all classes of society, and, we little doubt, recognizable on principles of abstract justice. There are loaves and fishes for those who go abroad; and there are loaves and fishes for those who stay at home. Now it would seem to be only just, that as the Indian employé deprives himself of almost every chance of obtaining for his children any share of the loaves and fishes to be found at home, he should have a more liberal share of those to be found abroad. He has withdrawn himself as it were from competition with those, who are in search of professional employment of any kind at home, and has so far benefitted his home-staying brethren. Every man, who goes out to India, as a writer, a cadet, a chaplain, or an assistant-surgeon, confers a certain amount of benefit upon all who are employed, or are seeking employment, in the law, the church, the medical and mercantile professions, &c. &c., inasmuch as he widens the field of competition and increases the chances of professional success. It is just, therefore, that, inasmuch as, by withdrawing into voluntary exile, he not only removes himself from the sphere of competition, but narrows, or, in all probability, wholly destroys his chance of advancing the interests of his children in these domestic fields of enterprise, he should enjoy additional facilities of obtaining for them employment in the country which has absorbed his life.

On the simple ground of abstract justice, this appears to be a proposition, which those who represent the general public, in contra-distinction to the class of which we are speaking, will hardly endeavor to gainsay. But there is, in the very nature of things, ordinarily some compensation in all human affairs. The balance is very equally held. The same circumstance which presents the bane, supplies the antidote. The Directors of the East India Company are now mainly drawn from the Indian services.* Among the members of those services are all

* From 1834 to 1852, *twenty-one* Directors were elected, of whom only *one* (Mr. Martin Tucker Smith) had had no connexion with India. During the period of the preceding Charter, out of *twenty-six* Directors elected, seven had not been previously connected with India. The Indian element has entered also more largely into the constitution of the proprietary body since the expiration of the last Charter. The number of voters was :—

In 1837.			In 1852.		
	Males.	Females.		Males.	Females.
Unconnected with India.	1,198	223	Unconnected with India	1,059	257
Connected with India ..	299	46	Connected with India..	381	77
Total..	1,497	269	Total..	1,440	334

From this, it will be seen, that the number of voters having a direct connexion with India, had increased from 345 to 458—or, in round numbers, 30 per cent. Proprietors in India are not included in this list.

their early friends. We do not believe that there is anything in the atmosphere of Leadenhall-street to harden the heart and to cloud the memory. We appeal to all, who, after spending many years in India, have returned to end their days in their own country, whether the new friendships, which they form at home, are as strong, as genuine, and as unfailing as the old ones which they have brought with them from their adopted country. We know no reason why those who canvass for the East India direction with success should present an exception to the general rule; and we do not believe that they do. There is something, doubtless, in the unhappy aphorism—"Out of sight, out of mind." Hazlitt says, that "if we are long absent from our friends, we forget them—if we are much with them, we despise them"—so even in that there is compensation. We have heard much about the manner in which those, who either cannot, or will not, "haunt the avenues of the India House," are sure to be overlooked. We remember being told by one of the ablest members of the Civil Service in the three presidencies, that, after holding some of the highest offices under Government, he wrote home to a friend—an ex-civilian and an active member of the Court of Proprietors—to ask whether there was any chance of his obtaining a seat in Council, and that the answer he received from England was, that he had "as much chance as his khitmudgar." He had never been home since he went out as a young writer, and it was presumed that, having no India House interest, his claims would be overlooked. But he is a member of Council at this time. Still, even if we were to assume that men who remain in India are forgotten, the Company's services might still receive a good share of India House patronage. A large number of those, who have families to provide for, take their pensions and return to England. It would be preposterous to affirm that they have not as good a chance of obtaining a slice of the great patronage-loaf, as members of any other class of society. The fact is, that they have a much better one. Even if the claims of service were wholly disregarded, the claims of private friendship would be operative, directly or indirectly, to obtain for them what they seek.

It was, doubtless, different when the East India Company was a commercial Company, and the commercial elements preponderated in the East India direction. London bankers and merchants competed largely for a seat in the Councils of Leadenhall-street, and generally carried the proprietors with them. Now, a large proportion of those who canvass the proprietors of East India stock are old civil and military servants of the Company, and their friends are chiefly to be found among the members of those services. The result of this striking change

in the constitution of the Court of Directors is the gift of a much larger number of appointments to the children of the old civil and military officers of the services to which the majority of the Directors belong. This is not a mere conjecture; it is a statistical fact. Since the abolition of the Company's commercial privileges, the proportion of appointments given to the "services" has steadily increased. The last printed returns were made up to 1833, just before those privileges ceased. They embraced a period of twenty years, and showed that out of 5,092 (military) appointments, only 404 had been bestowed upon the sons of officers of the Indian army*—less than one in every twelve; whereas it has been shown, from the records of the India House, upon official authority, though not by official returns, that in addition to a large number of appointments given to the sons of civilians, a proportion of about one-fourth of the entire patronage is bestowed upon the sons of the military officers of the Company.

This question, of the claims of the Company's officers to a larger share of the India House patronage, has recently been forced into unusual prominence by the exertions of Captain Macgregor, an officer on the retired list of the Bengal Artillery, who, after some years of employment in the Audit Office, withdrew from the effective branch of the service, to take the chief management of the Agra and United Service Bank, and is now

* We give the return in full :—

"Return of the number of cadets appointed each year, from 1813 to 1833, distinguishing, as far as is practicable, those who were the sons of officers either in the Civil or Military Service."

YEARS. From January to December.	Number of cadets appointed.	Sons of Civil Officers.	Sons of Military Officers.
1813.....	59	2	6
1814.....	47	2	4
1815.....	65	3	9
1816.....			
1817.....	85	5	11
1818.....	336	14	26
1819.....	527	25	37
1820.....	499	20	30
1821.....	403	18	17
1822.....	314	18	20
1823.....	211	10	12
1824.....	383	13	26
1825.....	353	17	36
1826.....	509	19	42
1827.....	359	14	33
1828.....	358	11	34
1829.....	183	5	10
1830.....	117	5	19
1831.....	139	4	5
1832.....	96	12	15
1833.....	49	7	9

in charge of the Home department of that institution. The high character, which he has always borne, is sufficient guarantee for the fact that he has promoted this enquiry into the distribution of the Company's patronage in no spirit of factious opposition to the Government which he long and honorably served, but with the sole object of advancing the interests of his brother officers of the Indian Army. With this object, he prepared a memorial to the Court of Directors, which was signed by Lieut.-General Welsh of the Madras establishment, on behalf of 220 General, Field, and other officers of the Indian Army, who had signified their approval of its contents. The prayer of this memorial is, that a certain portion of the India House patronage should pass out of the hands of individual Directors, and be thrown into a general fund, to be administered by the Court collectively, or by the Chairman as the representative of the Court, and that the appointments thus distributed should be given to the sons of Indian officers, solely upon public grounds, application being made after a prescribed form, unaccompanied by private solicitation. About the same time Captain Macgregor, being himself a proprietor of India Stock, gave notice of his intention to ask, at the next quarterly meeting of the Court, for certain returns, especially relating to the military seminary at Addiscombe, in illustration of this important question of the distribution of the Company's patronage; and on the 24th of March, in prosecution of the notice given, formally made his motion. He asked for three returns—"the first, a return, which shall show an abstract of
' all the expenses of every kind incurred by the East India
' Company at or on account of the military college at Addis-
' combe, showing the total amount of charge connected with
' that institution. The second return, an abstract of the sums
' received from the cadets in each half-year for board, clothing
' and education, including extra expenses of all kinds. And
' the third return is one showing the number of cadets receiving
' education there from the 1st of December, 1851, distin-
' guishing the sons of officers in the Company's service, whe-
' ther retired or deceased, from all others." "With regard to
' this return," said Captain Macgregor, "I should request that
' not only might a distinction be made between the cadets who
' were the sons of Indian servants, from those who were the
' sons of other parties, but I ask that there shall be a distinction
' made as to the presidencies to which they belong." In reply to this the Chairman remarked, that the first two returns, which had been moved for by Captain Macgregor, were made regularly in the September of every year. "With reference," he said,

"to the third return, requiring a description of the various
 ' classes of cadets at Addiscombe, with designations as to whe-
 ' ther they are the sons of officers or of civilians in the service
 ' of the Company, or of private gentlemen, I beg to say that
 ' I have had an abstract drawn up which the Court will allow
 ' me shortly to read. The number of cadets at Addiscombe is
 ' 146. Of these, nineteen are the sons of military officers on
 ' the effective list; five are the sons of officers on the retired
 ' list; ten are the sons of deceased officers; fourteen are the
 ' sons of effective officers of other departments, the civil and
 ' the medical and the ecclesiastical; six are the sons of such
 ' officers retired, and three are the sons of such officers deceased
 ' —making a total of all these classes of fifty-seven. Now
 ' this number of fifty-seven, as compared with the remaining
 ' eighty-nine, of all other classes of cadets, is, I trust, a piece
 ' of information calculated to give satisfaction not only to the
 ' Honorable Gentleman (Captain Macgregor), but to the Court
 ' generally." And, doubtless, so far as regarded the Addis-
 ' combe appointments, the statement was a very satisfactory
 ' one; and, for our own part, we should have been well content
 ' to take this statement of the distribution of one particular por-
 ' tion of the patronage as a fair specimen of the whole. Indeed,
 ' if there were any difference, it might fairly be assumed to be
 ' in favor of the Chairman's position; inasmuch as that, as he
 ' has himself stated, there is a general disposition in the Court
 ' to give direct appointments to the children of their officers,
 ' whenever, as very frequently happens, the charges of Addis-
 ' combe education cannot be conveniently borne by the parents
 ' of the cadet. Mr. Shepherd, however, to guard against any
 ' complaint that might be made of so partial a revelation, extend-
 ' ed his explanatory statement to the entire mass of India House
 ' patronage. "In the first place," he said, "in his (Captain
 ' Macgregor's) computation of the number of appointments
 ' given to the servants of the Company, he alleges them to
 ' amount to about one-eighth of the whole. Now I am sure
 ' it will be satisfactory to the honorable proprietor himself to
 ' hear that, instead of an eighth, the number of those appoint-
 ' ments amount to one-third of the whole. From the statement,
 ' which I hold in my hand, giving an account of the appointments
 ' from 1840 to 1851, both years included, the number of the
 ' appointments given to the sons of the Company's officers had
 ' increased from 1,100 to 2,652, being about $2\frac{1}{4}$ of the entire
 ' appointments [at the previous date], or say, about one-third of
 ' the whole. Then, with reference to the observation that few of
 ' these appointments are given on public grounds, this is an opi-

‘ nion rather than an accusation, as it is very difficult to tell what
 ‘ the honorable gentleman considers to be public grounds. If
 ‘ he means to say that the fact of an individual applying for
 ‘ an appointment, or applying on the part of a friend for an
 ‘ appointment, is from that circumstance contrary to the prin-
 ‘ ciple of making appointments on public grounds, why, then,
 ‘ the whole of the appointments may be said not to be given
 ‘ on public grounds. If such a principle were to be maintain-
 ‘ ed, we must refuse every person who makes application, and
 ‘ must take up the army list and search for the sons of officers
 ‘ who have most distinguished themselves by their services.
 ‘ Surely, my honorable friend cannot contend that that should
 ‘ be. I say we do make the whole of these appointments on
 ‘ public grounds. Let these appointments be compared with
 ‘ the same number of individuals in any other profession.
 ‘ Take the same number from the Bar, or from independent
 ‘ gentlemen of this country, and see what proportion their
 ‘ numbers bear to the appointments given to the sons of offi-
 ‘ cers; I will venture to say, you will find that nine out of ten
 ‘ are bestowed in favour of our army.”

We need not follow Mr. Shepherd along his statement of the different objections of a practical nature to be urged against the plan proposed by Captain Macgregor, (we shall come presently to speak of them in detail,) but would confine ourselves, in this place, to the statistics of the case. Colonel Sykes, who is one of the most eminent statisticians in the country, spoke after Mr. Shepherd, and adduced some further interesting facts. He said that he had once entertained opinions similar to those of Captain Macgregor, but that, upon instituting an enquiry into the distribution of the India House patronage, he had been impressed with an opposite conviction. “Some four years,” he said, “after he came into the direction, he obtained a return of the distribution of patronage by the Court from the year 1813 to 1833; the substance of the statement contained in that return was quoted by Mr. Fergusson in the House of Commons on the 26th of July, 1833, when a motion was brought forward by Mr. Wynn on the very subject which Captain Macgregor had just introduced. On that occasion the motion of Mr. Wynn was negatived without a division. It appeared that the number of cadets were in the whole 5,092. Of these 490 were the sons of officers of the royal army; 124 were sons of officers of the royal navy; 224 were the sons of the civil servants; 401 were the sons of officers of the Company’s army; 40 were the sons of retired officers, and 390 were the sons of clergymen—

‘ showing the proportion to be exactly one-fourth. He, however, was not satisfied with that return, and he obtained another return, showing the distribution of patronage from the year 1840 to 1843. This return was drawn up according to the ranks of the parties, and he found that the total number of appointments was 1,976—that there were given to the sons of officers of the Company’s army below the rank of captain 128 appointments in these four years ; to the sons of captains, majors, lieutenant-colonels, and surgeons of the first rank 143 ; to the sons of full colonels and major-generals 77—making a total of 348 appointments. In the same four years, there were given to the sons of the officers of the royal army and navy, 380, being still in excess to the royal army ; and very properly and justly so.”

This is rather a startling assertion, and when we come to it, we are anxious to see what Colonel Sykes, a Company’s officer, has got to say in its support. The explanation, however, as given in the report of the short-hand writer, is hardly a sufficient one. “ The royal army,” said Colonel Sykes, “ was constantly in the service of the Company fighting their battles ; these officers, therefore, had as much claim to the patronage in India as the Company’s servants themselves, and he was glad that they had met with reward for their public services in India, even though it had been to a larger extent than to the Company’s own officers.” This is hardly sufficient to justify the assertion that the officers of the Royal army “ very properly and justly” receive a larger share of India House patronage than the officers of the Company’s army. It is to be borne in mind, that the disproportion is really much larger than at first appears. Positively, as is here shown by Colonel Sykes, the royal officers receive more appointments than the Company’s officers ; comparatively, then, the disproportion must be immense ; for the royal officers, who entitle themselves to a share of the patronage by fighting the Company’s battles in India, constitute but a small body in comparison to the great mass of Company’s officers, who also fight the Company’s battles. But we may suspect that Colonel Sykes’s speech has been imperfectly reported. Probably he said, or at all events, he might have said, that the children of the royal officers, who have served the Company, are for the most part greater objects of compassion than those of the Company’s service, inasmuch as that the latter enjoy many advantages, which the Queen’s officers do not. More lucrative staff-appointments are open to them while in India ; and the liberal pensions, which are granted to them, and after their deaths to their widows and

orphans, raise them above the class of extremely necessitous applicants, of which the royal army presents so many touching examples. It may also be urged that, in proportion to their numbers, more officers of the royal army fall in battle, as the posts of honor and danger are given to the European troops. It is right that these things should be fairly considered. Still, when all possible allowance is made for them, we can hardly reconcile ourselves to the belief, that a larger share of patronage is "very justly and properly" given to the officers of the royal army and navy. The Company's army, whatever assistance it may derive from the royal regiments, must always be considered as *the* army which does the Company's work; and we are sorry, therefore, to see its claims estimated by a lower standard than those of the royal army. We only admit of course that those royal officers, who have actually served in India, have any especial claims on the patronage of the East India Company. The rest must take rank with the general mass of lawyers, merchants, and country gentlemen. Their claims are recognizable at the Horse Guards; but at the India House they are "justly and properly" of no account.

This, indeed, is the most unsatisfactory part of the statement made by the two Directors. It scarcely, however, affects the real question, which is not whether any particular class of men receive more than their share of patronage, but whether the Company's officers receive less. We think it has been demonstrated that they do not. It is certainly proved—and this we think is of more consequence than anything else—that there is a *growing* desire on the part of the Directors to distribute their patronage among the children of those who have served the Company. It is more to the purpose to trace the progressive amount of patronage bestowed upon this class, than to strike general averages, or to refer, except for purposes of comparison, to the statistics of by-gone years. If nothing else is generally apparent, we think all men will cheerfully admit that the present Directors are better disposed towards the services than their predecessors were. A larger number of them are drawn from the services; and not only, therefore, do their sympathies set in more strongly towards their old comrades, but it is sure, in the very necessity of things, that their private friends should lie among that particular class of applicants.

But it is alleged, that even if the distribution of patronage be such as it is stated to be by the Directors, the system under which it is distributed, is radically bad—that the appointments so given away have been the private gifts of individual

Directors—that they have been probably wrung from them by the importunities of the applicants—extorted by a process of humiliating mendicancy, and that all this should be abolished. A certain number of appointments, it is said, should be annually set aside for the exclusive use of the sons of Company's officers, and that these appointments should be given to those whose claims, as set forth in a prescribed form of application, should prove upon enquiry to be based upon the most solid foundation of merit, and to recommend themselves most imperatively to the compassion of the dispensers of public patronage.

There are many well-wishers of the Indian army—members themselves, perhaps, of that army—who, whilst honoring Captain Macgregor for the zeal and energy displayed on behalf of his brother officers, conscientiously believe that the present system is, on the whole, more advantageous to the service than that which he has attempted to substitute. It is doubted, indeed, whether the establishment of a public patronage fund, for the special benefit of the Indian army, would not rather narrow than extend the amount of patronage to be received by its members, inasmuch as the establishment of such a fund would be regarded by each individual Director as a kind of quittance in full for all public obligations, and would be generally referred to in satisfaction of all claims put forth on the score of public service. We are ourselves inclined to take this view of the case. We doubt whether the Indian army would gain anything by the proposed change. The experiment at least is a dangerous one. We know that some of the Directors themselves have said—"Under the old system we have always given away a certain part of our patronage to those whose claims upon us have been rather those of public desert than of private friendship; but if our private patronage were restricted for the purpose of establishing a public fund, all who urged their claims on the score of public service would be referred to that fund—and the balance in the end would be against the public claimants." And we honestly believe that it would. Moreover, we are quite certain that there would be more jealousies and heart-burnings, and more complaints against the injustice of the Directors, if the proposed system were established. It would be continually alleged by disappointed parties, that they had better claims than others, who had succeeded; and the patronage committee would certainly be accused of favoritism and partiality. The system is a very good one in theory; but we do not think that it would work well—we do not think that it would give satisfaction. Let the public patronage be ever so conscientiously administered, there would

surely not be wanting those who would accuse the administrators of partiality, favor and affection. It would be no easy matter to decide on the relative claims of a large number of candidates; and from want of sufficient information, and the impossibility of instituting adequate enquiries, the selection (for it must be a matter of selection,) might not always be made in accordance with the strictest principles of justice, or always fairly reflect the humane intentions of the givers. If there were to be an authorised form of application for cadetships, which any officer in the Company's service, or any widow of such officer, or any guardian or friend of the son of such officer, might fill in and forward to the India House, in the ordinary course, we may be pretty sure that such applications would be forwarded by nearly every officer in the service having sons to provide for; and certainly, by *almost* every officer's widow, if not every *one*. As it is, the widows of our officers, many of whom have rather obscure notions of the manner in which India House patronage is distributed, often make pilgrimages to Leadenhall-street in search of cadetships, as though they grew there, like wild violets, and had only to be picked. We remember hearing a lady, who had just drawn her Military Fund pension in the Old Jewry, say that she was going on to the India House to put her son's name down for a cadetship. When she was told that there was no such process known in Leadenhall-street, and no place wherein to write down the name, unless she wrote it on the slate of the portly *durwan* or *janitor*, who is always to be found at the principal entrance of the India House, she was both surprised and disappointed. But if there were an established *formula* to be filled up, by all qualified applicants, and sent or taken to the India House, it is not difficult to conjecture that the committee appointed to decide on these claims, would be overwhelmed with applications, into the merits of which they would find it impossible to make due enquiry. The amount of disappointment created would be immense. Hopes would be raised only to be cast down; and many who, under the present system, being without private interest, do not turn their thoughts towards such a provision for their children, would be kept in an uneasy state of expectation, from one year to another, until the time is past, and no other channel having been in the mean time explored, it has become doubly a difficulty to provide for the youth elsewhere. It appears to us, indeed, that as the number of unsuccessful candidates would greatly exceed the successful ones, there would be more disappointment and louder complaints under the proposed system than under that which at present exists.

Still the question is an open one, and on a first view, the

common sense of the matter would seem to be on the side of Captain Macgregor and the memorialists. More closely examined, however, the proposed change appears to contain the germs of other results than those contemplated by the able and energetic promoter of the movement. But at all events, though the system remain unchanged, the officers of the Company's service have still to thank Captain Macgregor for having obtained from the East India Company an open and unqualified recognition of the principle which he advocated. The discussion, indeed, which ensued upon Captain Macgregor's motion, was reduced to a mere question of fact. The claims of the Company's officers to a large share of India House patronage was admitted by the Directors, but it was contended that already the claimants were in the enjoyment of this share. If it were only that the discussion had the effect of eliciting the statistics of India House patronage, given by Mr. Shepherd and Colonel Sykes, it would have been one of the most profitable debates recently originated in the Court of Proprietors. Moreover, from such discussions as these, often flow other results than those which take a formal, official shape, and are grafted upon existing institutions. It does not follow that, because the laws or bye-laws of the Company remain unchanged, nothing has been effected. The unrecognized results of such movements are often as important as those which take greater shape and substance under the public eye. The Directors of the East India Company are, we believe, sincerely desirous of doing something more than justice towards their old servants. They have always been—and have always been accounted—the most liberal of masters; and we feel assured that, if the claims of their old servants had, in any wise, been disregarded, the mere demonstration of the facts would have been sufficient to secure redress for the palpable grievance. And, as the matter stands, it is more than probable that what has recently taken place, will give an additional impetus to the distribution of patronage among the appellant classes, and that thus the end will be attained without any change of the existing law.

It was on the 24th of March, that Captain Macgregor made his motion in the Court of Proprietors. On the 2nd of April, in the House of Lords, the Prime Minister, in an elaborately got-up speech, full of theme-ish common-places, moved for a select committee on Indian affairs. He was followed by Lord Ellenborough, who, in an address, which all who heard it, represent to have been extremely well delivered, poured out some of the accumulated venom of years, upon the devoted heads of the

magnates of Leadenhall-street. After touching on a variety of subjects, with more or less effect, he came to speak of the patronage question, and complained that the claims of deserving officers were culpably disregarded. "He had sometimes read," he observed, "in the newspapers, accounts of the extraordinary liberality with which Mr. This or Mr. That had given his patronage to the son of this or that deserving officer. Now, he had seen a great deal of those officers, and had often heard their complaints, and the expression of their utter hopelessness of obtaining the least favour from the Directors, for the benefit of their families. He had known them leave India in a most desponding state of mind, because no provision was made for their children. He recollected a most striking case. It was that of an officer who had most ably distinguished himself, in General Sir George Pollock's army. He was an officer upon whom he (Lord Ellenborough) had felt it not only his duty but his privilege to confer honour. He recollected that officer coming to him and saying to him—'I cannot get a cadetship for my only son; all my desire is to get him into the service; I have made applications to the Directors, but every one of them has been in vain; and my son will now soon be of that age in which he will hardly be able to get (into) a regiment in the royal service.' Such was the case of this meritorious officer. He (the Earl of Ellenborough) had placed the case of this young man before his noble friend, the noble Duke; and thus the case of the son of one of the most deserving officers in the Company's service was at present under the consideration of the noble Duke, simply for the purpose of being permitted to purchase a commission in Her Majesty's service, he having been unable to obtain an appointment from any of the Directors of the East India Company. What were the feelings of the father of that youth? His desire was to send his son to the scene in which he himself had acted so long and so meritorious a part; but this he was debarred from doing, by the present system of the distribution of patronage."

It is believed that the distinguished officer here alluded to is Colonel Richmond. Now, supposing Captain Macgregor's proposition had been carried into effect, and that a certain proportion of the India House patronage had been set aside for distribution among the officers of the Company's army, would Colonel Richmond's application have been granted by the patronage committee? Certainly, on the score of distinguished service. Certainly not, on the score of need. They who deserve such bestowals of patronage most, are not always those who need

them most. The distinguished officer cited by Lord Ellenborough, wanted a cadetship for his only son. Other distinguished officers might need a cadetship for one of half a dozen sons. Lord Ellenborough's distinguished officer had been rewarded for his services in India. He had received one of the best appointments in the gift of the Governor-General. Other distinguished officers might have returned home without receiving any reward. The principal object of such a fund as that contemplated by Captain Macgregor, would be to afford assistance to distressed families, to provide for those for whom there is difficulty in finding provision elsewhere. Now, the only son of the distinguished officer, whose case Lord Ellenborough brought forward, had no claim upon the score of charity. His father, in all probability, had the means of buying a commission for him, or providing for him in some other capacity. It was not a case that appealed strongly to the compassionate feelings of the Directors. If it had, it is more than probable that the request would not have been made in vain.

A case of this kind always *tells* in a speech or an article—and is effective, too, in common conversation, when the question to which it relates is in course of agitation. But stories may be told of an opposite tendency, and it is only fair that they should be related. We are informed that the case of the son of Lieutenant Stewart, of Captain Nicoll's famous troop of horse artillery, which perished on the retreat from Caubul, was much talked of at the time when General Welsh's memorial was gaining signatures. It was alleged, that the widow had tried, in vain, to obtain a cadetship for her orphan boy. But she did obtain a cadetship from the late Chairman, Mr. Shepherd; and he is now either at Addiscombe, or preparing himself for examination. A correspondent in London wrote to us, a little time ago:—"I heard much of poor Stewart's case. I had never known him personally, but I had more than one reason for feeling an especial interest in the case; so I determined not to lose an opportunity of speaking to all the Directors that I knew, about it. The first to whom I spoke, told me at once, that it was a case that could not be overlooked. That he himself had heard nothing of it, but that he was quite sure that it needed only to be properly represented at the India House, to secure a recognition of the boy's claims; and he asked me to obtain for him all the particulars of the case that I could, to whom application had been made for an appointment, &c., &c. I wrote immediately for the required information, and learnt that the youth had already been pro-

‘mised an appointment; and I have since seen the fact announced ‘in the papers.” Now, this was one of the strong cases on which an especial stress was laid, when the memorial was in course of signature. It was the case, indeed, which rose most readily to the lips of all complainants. But now history places it in the opposite category, as an example of what Lord Ellenborough sneers at as the extraordinary liberality with which Mr. This or Mr. That had given his patronage to the son of this or that deserving officer. It may be said, perhaps, that as the agitation preceded the appointment, it may have been the cause of it. This may, or may not, have been the case. We do not know. Perhaps, the Chairman had previously heard nothing of the unsuccessful applications made on the boy’s behalf. It often happens, in these cases, that failure results from some merely accidental circumstance; that the case has not been properly represented, and that the merits of it are wholly unknown to those who are most likely to regard it in a compassionate spirit. Our belief, indeed, is, that a considerable number of appointments are given away, every year, to applicants, who have very little private interest to back their claims, and that the trumpeted cases at which Lord Ellenborough sneers, bear only a small proportion to those of which the world knows nothing. The correspondent, whose letter we have above quoted, alludes to a recent case, which came under his own immediate observation, the applicant being his near neighbour in the country. She was the widow of a Queen’s officer, who had seen some service in India, and whose father, a general of some note, had been killed there at the head of his men. The widow had two sons; one had been already provided for in the Company’s service, and she was anxious to obtain a cadetship for the other. She went up to London to urge her claims; made an application in one or two quarters; but returned dispirited, and, as she thought, unsuccessful, to the country. Two or three days, however, after her return, the post brought her a letter from one of the Directors, to whom, as she thought, she had appealed in vain. It stated that on a careful consideration of the respective merits of the different applications before him, it seemed to him that Mrs. —’s claims, upon public grounds, were superior to those of the other applicants, and that therefore a cadetship would be placed at her disposal. The appointment was given, wholly upon public grounds; for her personal acquaintance with the Director was of the slenderest possible description, and could never have availed to extract a promise from him. This is only one, we believe, of a large number of similar cases, in the experience of those who mix largely with

the petitioning classes. We quote it, because we find it ready to our hand, not because there is any thing remarkable in it. It may, at least, serve as a set-off to the case adduced by Lord Ellenborough ; and may, perhaps, indicate the reason why, in the latter, the applicant was unsuccessful. The difference in the result was, in all probability, occasioned by the difference in the circumstances of the two cases. The one was a necessitous applicant ; the other was not.

We do not know what may have been the feelings with which these recent demonstrations were regarded at the India House ; but it appears to us, that they are calculated rather to strengthen the position of the Directors, than to do them any detriment in the eyes of the community at large. For it is not to be denied that there is a large party at home, whose conception of the manner in which India House patronage is distributed, is very different from that of the military memorialists, and the "friend of the army." It is averred, indeed, by a large party beyond the pale of the services, that the patronage ought to be more widely diffused—that it descends too much from sire to son—that there is altogether too much exclusiveness about it. The general public, it is said, do not participate sufficiently in the loaves and fishes of Leadenhall-street. They all go to certain privileged classes. And even in this country we have heard it said, that it is almost a miracle if a *new name* finds its way into the East India Register. The case is, doubtless, put here with a large amount of exaggeration ; but there is a sufficiency of truth under the *hyperbole*, to suggest a doubt whether the complaints of the general public may not have more foundation than those of the service classes. At all events, the one complaint is an answer to the other. Both classes of complaints cannot be right. The inference is, that both are wrong. For the Directors, the conjuncture is a fortunate one ; one party says that they are too exclusive ; another, that they are not exclusive enough. The probability is, therefore, that they have hit the mark ; that whilst they have taken care not to overlook the especial claims of their own servants, they have avoided all ultra-exclusiveness, and never closed the doors of the India House against the community at large. So long as a proportion of the entire patronage, averaging between a third and a fourth, is bestowed upon the families of the Company's own servants, we do not think that either the services or the public have any just cause of complaint. That they both complain, is a fact perhaps more significant than their silence.

On the whole, then, we arrive, and by no devious paths, at the conclusion, that the patronage of the India House is well and

wisely distributed, and that no change in the manner of its distribution would be advantageous, either to the general public or to the classes which are supposed to have an especial claim to participate largely in it. Indeed, when we consider that the patronage of the Directors is private patronage—that so long as there is no infraction of the written law, they are not responsible for the manner of its appropriation, and that they are necessarily exposed to indirect influences, which reaching them through private channels, it is difficult, if not impossible, to detect and counteract, the wonder is that there is so little abuse of patronage to be brought home, even by the most rancorous of their opponents, to the magnates of Leadenhall-street. The safe-guard of the public is in the personal character of the Directors. Sir Charles Napier has said of them, that they are, doubtless, not less honorable than other men, but that they are “always in a false position, as *merchants* ruling a vast and distant empire, *solely for their private advantage*.” “No man,” he adds, “ever seeks to be a Director from mere patriotism, or *thirst for military glory, unaccompanied by profit*,” and elsewhere he talks of the “*fierce nepotism of the Directors*,” and the “*spleen of men incapable of patriotism, and senseless in their anger*.” But upon the florid absurdity of all this we have already commented, and it is too patent to call for further exposure. The Directors are no longer “merchants;” and it is hard to say what can be the “loss of profit” which they dread, seeing that their only profit (beyond an annual salary equal to a lieutenant’s pay and allowances) is the patronage at their command; and that is diminished, not increased, by the very thing which the Napiers accuse them of,—ignominiously shrinking from the declaration of war. Indeed, no better proof that the Directors do not govern India for their private profit, and are not always thinking of their own personal advantage, need be sought for, than the admitted fact of the Company’s disinclination for war, although war notoriously increases their “private profits”—i. e., their private patronage. It is not supposed, nor indeed is it intended, that the Directors should not enjoy the privilege of serving their friends. A salary of £300 per annum would not induce many retired Indians, of rank and character, to forego their ease and leisure, and attend almost every day at the India House, and immerse themselves in administrative and financial details, any more than it would induce Sir Charles Napier to go out to India as Commander-in-Chief. It is intended that the patronage should be at least a part of the inducement. As for patriotism, we believe that there is quite as much of it among East India Directors as among Lieutenant-Generals; but a little of it goes a great way in these times;

and if we were to condemn men for not being swayed in all that they do by the purest feelings of patriotism, we should have to comprehend in our condemnation an unhappily large section of the world. Men may be very honorable and very conscientious, and they may have a sincere desire to promote the welfare of the country, with the administration of which they are connected, and yet not be wholly oblivious of self. A certain amount of "nepotism" is allowable in an East India Director, as it is in any other official person. We believe that the staff which clustered around Sir Charles Napier, was not always entirely free from the presence of the "nepotes" of the gallant General. And "fierce" nepotes they were too, (if we are to believe all that the two Generals have said about them), in battles; and all that in controversy they have said for themselves.

But Lord Ellenborough thinks that the number of the Directors should be reduced, that the patronage of the East India Company would be more beneficially administered, if there were twelve instead of twenty-four Directors. "Another alteration he would suggest" (we quote from the report of his speech, on the 2nd of April, 1852, given in the *Times* of the following day) was that the number of members constituting the 'Court of Directors, should be reduced from twenty-four to twelve; not that he meant to say that no Cabinet council consisting of twenty-four persons could, by possibility, transact business; or that no body of men exceeding twelve could, with convenience, transact business of a highly important, confidential and political character. But he looked in this alteration for that which he thought should be the foundation of all their improvements;—an improvement in the administration of patronage. If the patronage were divided among twelve, instead of being distributed among twenty-four, what would be the consequence? Their lordships might recollect what was said by Lord Bacon. That charity, when dispersed, hardly watered the ground where it had first been a pool; so patronage, when dispersed, would hardly water the ground where it had first been a pool. In this case there must be filled, not one pool only, but thirty pools, before there could be an overflow of patronage to be distributed among those who were deserving of it for the services they had rendered. Some of those pools were large indeed. He recollected looking over a list of persons on whom patronage had been bestowed, and he saw the names of fourteen gentlemen, who all rejoiced in the same surname, and which was exactly the same name as that of one of the Directors; and he had

‘ not the slightest doubt, but every one of them was a member
 ‘ of the same family. It was not only that those persons who
 ‘ were entitled to have this patronage exercised in their favour
 ‘ did not obtain it, but by the present system on which it was
 ‘ dispensed, the relations of the twenty-four Directors were
 ‘ scattered over the whole face of India, which most materially
 ‘ interfered with the due exercise of authority there. It was
 ‘ to enable those twelve persons, with this much larger amount
 ‘ of patronage, to be distributed among those who deserved it,
 ‘ that he, among other reasons, proposed the reduction of the
 ‘ number of the Court of Directors.”

Now, it appears to us, in the first place, that if Lord Chancellor Bacon had taken his old seat on the wool-sack for that night only, he would have been scandalized in the extreme by Lord Ellenborough’s misapplication of his suggestive metaphor. It was Bacon’s intention to show how charity too widely diffused loses its efficacy. That it is better really to serve a few, than to make a show of serving many. That having only a limited amount of time and money to bestow upon those who claim our charity, we shall act wisely by not frittering it away in infinitesimal doses, the benefit of which is scarcely perceptible by one of the recipients. But this argument against the diffusiveness of charity, Lord Ellenborough bungles into an argument in its favor. He says, that he would fain see only twelve Directors; because if there were only this number to serve themselves, there would be a larger surplus of patronage for the public. Lord Ellenborough, we doubt not, recollects the heroic act recorded by Statius in that noble heroic line—

Excussit galeam, suffecitque omnibus unda.

The warrior to whom, in the heat and turmoil of battle, a helmet full of water is brought, touched by the imploring looks of the wounded men by whom he is surrounded, strikes the helmet with his hand, and the water suffices for all. The action was a noble one; so is the line. But we very much doubt the fact. We rather incline to the opinion that the helmetful of water, unless endowed with some supernatural properties, was more likely to have been thrown away upon the many, than to have sufficed for them all. Such a sprinkling would hardly have satisfied them. But still in the words of the poet, Lord Ellenborough might have found a better illustration than in the words of the philosopher. The “hardly waters the ground” is very different from the “*suffecit omnibus unda* ;” and it is more true. St. Martin divided his cloak with the beggar; but if he had cut it into too many pieces, he would have stripped

himself, and covered no one with the fragments. It was in this sense that Bacon employed the illustration of the pool. Lord Ellenborough may employ the same illustration—he may show that twelve pools are more easily filled than twenty-four, and that therefore when there are only twelve pools, they begin to over-run sooner, and to diffuse their waters over the general level of the country. The illustration may be a good one, or it may be a bad one; but it was in a precisely opposite sense that Lord Bacon applied to the matter that was under his consideration.

There would appear, however, to be something inconsistent with itself in Lord Ellenborough's proposition. For whilst it is based upon the assumption that the Directors are not fit to be entrusted with the patronage at present in their hands, it proposes to double it for them. They abuse what they have already got, and so they are to have more. It is his belief that under such a system, a larger share of the general stock of patronage would be diffused among the general body of claimants, or rather among those, who are not immediately connected with the Directors themselves. But there are those, who, whilst entertaining a high opinion of the character of the Directorial body, think that there would be something dangerous in the concentration of so large an amount of patronage in so few hands. Each individual Director would, under such a system, be less able than at present, to acquaint himself with the circumstances of the different applications made to him; there would be greater fear of indirect influences being brought to bear upon him; and, above all, such influence as may be exercised, upon men so situated, by the Government of the day. There is safety in numbers. Four and twenty men may preserve their independence, when it is probable that twelve might not. We do not know anything more likely to lower the character, and diminish the power of the Court of Directors, than the reduction of their numbers. In the mere matter of patronage, it is by no means clear, to borrow Lord Ellenborough's metaphor, that a larger quantity would flow over the sides of the pool to fertilize the general country. There would only, supposing them to exist at all, be deeper and wider pools. If a man is inclined to keep his patronage for the exclusive use of his relatives and friends, he is sure to find relatives and friends enough to absorb it. Instead of fourteen members of the same name in the services, Lord Ellenborough might, under his proposed system, find twenty-eight. As we have already shown, the Direction now mainly consists of retired members of the two services—at all events, of men, who have spent a

great part of their lives in close connexion with the country, which it is now their proud lot to govern. They bestow a large portion of their patronage upon the children of friends; but those friends are, precisely, the men, whom Lord Ellenborough would wish to see so rewarded. In one sense, they may be in the pool; in another sense, they are out of it. If the Directors were, for the most part, as once they were, London bankers and merchants, there might be a fear of the "services," whose cause Lord Ellenborough advocates, being neglected by their masters; but there is no fear of it now. The probability is, too, that if the number of Directors were reduced, as seats in the Direction would be more valuable, elections fewer, and therefore proprietors' votes more valuable, a larger proportion of the India House patronage would find its way into the hands of the electors. Whether *there* it be in the pool or out of the pool, we leave it to Lord Ellenborough to determine.

Little more remains to be said. We have no great faith in the perfection of any human institutions, and we do not maintain that the system under which the patronage of the East India Company is administered is a perfect one. But we believe in the human wisdom of "letting well alone;" and we have not yet been challenged to consider any scheme which we believe to be really calculated to improve it. At least, it may be said of it, that it has worked well. No one has ever objected anything against the 'style' of young men, who are sent out to administer the civil affairs of India, and to officer its armies. Finer young men are nowhere to be seen than those who flit across the Egyptian desert 'overland' to India, or saunter about the quarter-decks of our first class passenger-ships. It is not pretended that any change in the mode of administering the patronage of the India House would improve, either the *physique* or the *morale* of the Indian services. If then, in addition to this, the patronage is so distributed, as to confer large benefits upon all classes of English society, whilst it especially benefits that class which has the best claim to profit by the distribution, it appears to us that, both as regards India and England, the great end has been attained, and that we may safely leave in the hands of the Directors for another term of twenty years, the PATRONAGE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

- ART. II.—1. *A view of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindus.* By W. Ward. Serampore, 1818.
2. *Raghu Nandan's Institutes of the Hindu religion.* Sanskrit MS.
3. *Nutan Panjiká, a new Almanac.* Serampore, 1852.

IN a foregoing number of this periodical, we attempted, very briefly, to give an account of some of the games and amusements of the Bengalis; we purpose in this article to describe some of their leading festivals and holidays. The festivals of the Bengalis, like those of every other people, are partly religious and partly social, though the former exceed the latter in their number and variety. Instead of treating of them separately, we shall take them up in the order of their occurrence, beginning with the month of *Baisákh*, or the end of April and beginning of May, which, as is well known, commences the Bengali year.

It is not a little singular, that the first day of *Baisákh*, or the Bengali new year's day, is not celebrated by public rejoicings. The commemoration of the nativity of a new year, by religious solemnities and social merry-makings, is so natural, that it is observed by almost every nation. By the greater part of the people of Bengal, however, the commencement of a new year is hardly noticed. It is a day remembered only by tradesmen and shop-keepers, who, on that occasion, close their yearly accounts, exchange their old journals and ledgers for new ones, and paint on their door-posts the images of the god *Ganesha*—a custom not unlike that of the ancient Romans. New year's day gifts, so common in Europe, are here utterly unknown. But in place of making presents on new year's day, a custom prevails, which illustrates several points in the character of the people. If the Bengali is too tenacious of his money to part with it, he may be persuaded to deposit it, for a certain period, in the hands of tradesmen. Hence it is customary to deposit a few rupees on new year's day in the safe-keeping of tradesmen, who return them after a short time, and who are eager for the deposits, as it is thought very auspicious to fill their books with monetary accounts at the commencement of the year.

Though the day which ushers in the year is not celebrated, yet the commencing month itself is regarded as peculiarly holy: it is, pre-eminently, the month of good works and religious duties. Whatever may be said of the unreasonableness of the ancient Hindu legislators and sages, in prescribing many un-

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meaning ceremonies, it must be confessed, that some of their religious injunctions were based on rational grounds, and that some of their institutions were established with a view to general utility and the public good. The month of *Baisákh* is, perhaps, the hottest month on the plains of Bengal. The atmosphere, exposed to the direct rays of a vertical sun, becomes surcharged with fiery exhalations; the chafed soil, as if heated by a universal furnace, burns the bare foot; the reservoirs of water are, in general, dried up; and man and beast pant for breath. In this season of drought and extreme heat, it is wisely-ordained by the Hindu law-givers, that men, beasts and plants should be religiously provided with ample supplies of water. In this month may be seen, by the doors of the houses of respectable Hindus, a number of jars of water, for slaking the thirst of cows, and vessels containing the same element, put up in high places, for the use of the feathered race; while an inclined wooden frame, through which sola grain, treacle and water are constantly being poured, is set up for the refreshment of the weary traveller. In this month, the wide-spreading *Ashwat* tree, and the humble *Tulsi* plant, may be seen to have their roots refreshed by water-pots hung over them. In this month, the very gods are fed more daintily than usual, inasmuch as an extra allowance of all sorts of fruits and delicacies is given to their images in the cool of the evening. In this month, pots of *Gangá* water are suspended over the heads of *Shiva* and the *Shálgráms*, to preserve them from the influences of intense heat. In this month, presents of cocoa-nuts, betel-nuts, plantains, the sacred thread, bathing-towels, and last, not least, money, are made in abundant profusion to brahmans. In this month, too, are all sorts of religious vows observed, by mothers for the benefit of their children, by husbands for the benefit of their wives, and by wives for the benefit of their husbands. Two festivals are held in this month, the worship of the river *Bhágirathi*, and the bathing of *Vishnu*, which are too insignificant to merit description. In addition to these, however, is celebrated, in this month, a third festival, which deserves notice on account of its singularity. We allude to the worship of the *dhenki*. What is a *dhenki*? our readers will naturally ask. The *dhenki*, or pedal, is a beam balanced on a pivot, placed horizontally, with a piece of wood attached vertically to one extremity, which serves the purpose of a mallet. The object of this simple machine is to separate rice from its husk, which is put in a hole, into which the head of the engine falls. The force by which the *dhenki* is moved, is neither that of steam nor electricity, but the foot of a woman, which is ever and anon applied

to the shorter arm of the lever. This primitive machine, so necessary to the purposes of Bengali life, is set up in almost every household in the Mofussil. Agreeably to the well-known principle of Hindu theology, that what is useful is adorable, the *dhenki* has divine homage rendered to it, on the occasions of giving the first rice to a child, of marriage, and of investiture with the sacred thread. But besides these occasional adorations, the homely pedal is regularly worshipped by females, in some parts of the country, with much pomp, once a year, in the month of *Baisákh*. On that occasion, the head of the rice-cleaning machine is painted with vermillion, anointed with the consecrating oil, and presented with rice and the *durva* grass. The origin of the worship of the pedal is no less singular. A worthy religious preceptor had commanded his disciple to repeat the word *dhenki*, at least one hundred and eight times a day. *Nárad*, the musician of the celestials, and the patron deity of the pedal, delighted with the devotion of the disciple, paid him a visit riding on a *dhenki*, and gave him a blessing, in virtue of which the self-denying votary was translated into heaven.

In addition to the great swinging festival, to be noticed in its proper place, there is held in this month a swinging festival, on a smaller scale, in honor of an inferior god named *Dharmaráj*. This festival is, by no means, prevalent throughout the country, but is confined to particular localities. In connection with the swinging festival of *Dharmaráj*, we may remark, that in some places is worshipped, in this month, a log of wood dignified with the name of *Debánsi*, or partaker of the divine nature, and to which is attributed the rare quality of visiting sacred places through subterranean roads.

In the month of *Jaishtha*, that is, the end of May and beginning of June, the descent of *Gangá* is celebrated, *Jagannáth* is bathed, the protectress of children adored, and sons-in-law feasted.

We shall not recount here, for the hundredth time, the story of the descent of the sacred river Ganges from the sublime top of *Beikuntha*; how she rushed from the matted hair of the vagabond *Shiva*; how she followed the foot-steps of the conch-sounding *Bhagirath*; and how, after passing through places rendered memorable in the geography of Hindu pilgrimage, she fell into the wide sea, and liberated the sixty thousand sons of the mighty king of Oude. The anniversary of this event is celebrated with much pomp in Bengal, in the month of *Jaishtha*. On that occasion, the banks of the sacred river are adorned with garlands of flowers, and lined with thousands of people, who perform their ablutions; the favour of the river deity is celebrated by suitable adorations; the finny inhabitants

of the deep are presented with offerings; lamps of clarified butter are lighted up; the officiating priests are amply rewarded, and brahmans in general entertained. This festival is called *Dasaharú*, because it is believed that a proper observance of it takes away the sins of ten births.

The patroness of mothers and the protectress of children is *Shashti*, who is represented by the image of a woman, riding on a cat, and nursing a child. This amiable goddess is regarded with particular affection by all Hindu mothers. At the birth of a child, homage is rendered to her; and presents to her are neither few nor far between, so long as the child does not give proofs of approaching manhood; at the attainment of which, an end is put to her controlling influence. Every son, every daughter is regarded as the child and servant of *Shashti*, and when afflicted with sickness, offerings proper to her dignity and taste are cheerfully made. The domestic cat, the animal on which the guardian of children chooses to ride, is, in consequence, in every Hindu family, treated with peculiar tenderness; to strike puss with a broom-stick being looked upon as a species of daring impiety. Many are the vows which Hindu mothers pay to *Shashti*, for the preservation and welfare of their offspring. No less than six festivals are annually celebrated in honour of this child-protecting goddess, of which the one held in the month of *Jaishtha* is the most remarkable. Not unlike the Dryads of a foreign mythology, *Shashti* loves to dwell in the trunk of the Indian fig. In the out-skirts of every Hindu village in Bengal, there is found a *Baniam* tree, dedicated to this wood-nymph. There might you see, on a fair and sunshiny day of *Jaishtha*, all the women of the village assembled. There might you see the smiling faces of mothers, all radiant with joy, their hands bearing the holy offering, and their persons dressed with the finest clothes and adorned with the costliest ornaments. There might you see, too, women unblest with "*bonnie bairns*," those pledges of love, their countenances tinged with the deepest melancholy, and their lips muttering fervent petitions to the unpropitious deity. The officiating priest or priestess, as the case may be, repeats the sacred *mantras*; the musical *tom-toms* give out their harsh dissonance; barren women eagerly receive presents from those blessed with children; and the fair procession retraces its steps to the village. But the festival is not over yet; for newly married men it has peculiar attractions. Sons-in-law are invited by their fathers-in-law, are presented with flowers and clothes, and are hospitably entertained. Festivity gladdens every home, and all rejoice in the amenities of the child-protecting goddess.

A third festival is held in the month of *Jaishtha*; it is the bathing of *Jagannáth*. Every resident in Bengal must have seen the armless stump of an ill-shaped image, dignified with the appellation of the "lord of the world." On the occasion of the bathing festival, this ugly divinity, wrapped up with cloth, is carried out of its temple and seated on a recess built for the purpose. Amid the chaunts of *Vedic* incantations by brahmans, and the loud shouts of the spectators, the *soi-disant* "lord of the world" is divested of his garments, and bathed with the water of the *Bhágirathi*. The ceremony over, the spectators make presentations of flowers, sweetmeats, and money, to the new-washed deity, all which, we need scarcely say, are appropriated by the priests to their own use. The bathing festival is celebrated with the greatest pomp, at the sacred *Puri* in Orissa; but in Bengal it is held nowhere in a grander style than in a small village near Serampore. Thousands of people repair to the village, to witness the spectacle. It is a scene, however, more of dissolute licentiousness than of superstitious devotion. Old women, no doubt, go thither, purely for purposes of mistaken sanctity; but most of the spectators regard the whole affair as a sort of wanton amusement. Black-guards of every shape leave the metropolis, and frequent this scene of merriment. Most of the public women of the city make it a point of going, every year, to witness the celebration of the grand bathing festival. Young coxcombs, with their mistresses, swell the throng of the devotees. In the boats which leave the several gháts of Calcutta, to waft the gay religionists to *Máhes*, for that is the name of the village where the festival is celebrated, nothing is to be heard, but the most licentious songs and the filthiest language. The pernicious influence which such a congregation of men and women exerts on Hindu society is inconceivable.

In the month of *A'sárha*, that is, the latter part of June and former of July, the only considerable festival that is held is what is called the *Rátha-Yátrá*, or the car festival. About a fortnight after the bathing of *Jagannáth*, he is placed on a wooden car, comfortably seated in which he enjoys the benefit of a summer drive. The car is a huge unwieldy sort of chariot, moving upon wheels, and dragged by means of ropes attached to it. For facilities of locomotion, it is, perhaps, the worst possible machine that could have been invented. Besides the monstrous cars at *Puri* in Orissa, every Hindu village almost in Bengal has its separate car, in which the "Moloch of the East" is paraded about. In the city of Calcutta, there are, we imagine, several hundreds of cars; although, of late years, the number has considerably

diminished. Before every large car, as it goes clattering along the ground, is poured forth the rich music of the deep-sounding *mridanga* and the deafening cymbals. Bands of singers, with stentorian voices, celebrate the praises of Krishna, and shows are exhibited. To assist in the movement of the ponderous machine, is reckoned a meritorious act ; and hence old men, as well as children, eagerly grasp the dragging rope. We need not remind the reader that the car festival is celebrated with the greatest pomp and in the highest style in the Puri of *Jagannáth*, in Orissa, to which hundreds of thousands of Hindus resort from all parts of India. Time was, when the deluded votaries of a most diabolical superstition stretched themselves under the wheels of the gigantic cars, and crushed themselves to death, with the hope of obtaining felicity in the coming world ; but the beneficent spirit of the British Government has put a stop to these enormities. But in spite of this auspicious circumstance, every village car, by the filthy representations painted on it, exerts a most baleful influence on the morals of the people.

In the month of *Shrúbana*, consisting of part of July and part of August, are held two festivals, the rocking festival, and the worship of the queen of serpents.

Krishna, the most popular of all the gods of the Hindu pantheon, is the object of adoration in the *Jhulana-Yátrá*, or the rocking festival. A throne, made sometimes of silver, but oftener of wood, is suspended from the ceiling by ropes, in a room adjoining the residence of the god. On this throne is placed the black deity, decked with gay ornaments. Like a child rocked in its cradle, the playful shepherd of *Gokul* is made to swing in his chair of state. The god, after being rocked to his heart's content, is removed to his shrine, where he is worshipped with a variety of offerings, accompanied with instrumental music. The adoration over, the friends of the proprietor of the house where the festival takes place, are entertained with sweet-meats. The revelry of the night is concluded with a scenic representation of the loves of Krishna, in which ugly boys and grown-up men perform the parts of the charming *Rádhá* and the fair milk-maids of *Brindában*. In this representation, the amours of the wanton lover of *Mathura* are detailed with disgusting circumstantiality ; filthy songs are sung, with the melody of the screeching night-owl ; and the actors exhibit a thousand indecent gestures and gesticulations of the body. For five, or, more generally, for three successive nights, is the god rocked, friends are entertained, and the abominable representations repeated. Need we wonder, after witnessing

these and other similar exhibitions, at the general profligacy of Hindu manners, and the destruction of all refined feelings of morality and delicacy? Need we be surprised, in the face of these deteriorating causes, if the combined influence of education and Christian truth has not yet effected so much improvement as is desirable in the moral tone of the Hindu community?

It is not a little singular, that the odious and venomous race of serpents should ever become the objects of human adoration. Whether it be, that the mighty dragon who "deceived the mother of mankind" has, by his wicked arts, prevailed upon men to establish the worship of the serpent, as a monument of his great power, and a memorial of their inglorious fall; or, that the shape and the voluminous coilings of the hateful reptile, suggested the ideas of eternity and power, as they did to the Egyptians of old; or whether it be that it is reckoned an acknowledged maxim in religion, that what is dreaded should be worshipped,—certain it is, that most nations of antiquity rendered divine homage to serpents. It is well known that all tropical countries are infested with snakes. Towards the end of the summer season, but especially during the rains, serpents issue out of their holes, and do great mischief to men and animals. In Bengal, hundreds of persons die every year of the bite of the snake. Hence, on many occasions throughout the year, the dreaded *Manasá-Devi*, the queen of snakes, is propitiated by presents, vows, and religious rites. In the month of *Shrābana*, the worship of the snake-goddess is celebrated with great éclat. An image of the goddess, seated on a water-lily, encircled with serpents, or a branch of the *snake-tree* (a species of euphorbia,) or a pot of water, with images of serpents made of clay, forms the object of worship. Men, women and children, all offer presents, to avert from themselves the wrath of the terrific deity. The *Máls* or snake-catchers signalize themselves on this occasion. Temporary scaffolds of bambu-work are set up in the presence of the goddess. Vessels filled with all sorts of snakes are brought in. The *Máls*, often reeling with intoxication, mount the scaffolds, take out serpents from the vessels, and allow them to bite their arms. The whole race of serpentry is defied. From the slender and harmless *Hele*, to the huge *Boa-constrictor* and the terrific *Cobra-de-capello*, all make their appearance, and exert their might to strike dead the playful *Máls*. Bite after bite succeeds; the arms run over with blood; and the *Máls* go on with their pranks, amid the deafening plaudits of the spectators. Now and then they fall off from the scaffold, and pretend to feel the

effects of poison, and cure themselves by their incantations. But all is mere pretence. The serpents displayed on the occasion, and challenged to do their worst, have passed through a preparatory state. Their fangs have been carefully extracted from their jaws. But most of the vulgar spectators easily persuade themselves to believe, that the *Máls* are the chosen servants of Shiva and the favorites of *Manasá*. Although their supernatural pretensions are ridiculous, yet it must be confessed, that the *Máls* have made snakes the subject of their peculiar study. They are thoroughly acquainted with their qualities, their dispositions, and their habits. They will run down a snake into its hole, and bring it out thence by main force. Even the terrible *Cobra* is cowed down by the controlling influence of a *Mál*. When in the act of bringing out snakes from their subterranean holes, the *Máls* are in the habit of muttering charms, in which the names of *Manasá* and *Mahádeva* frequently occur; superstition alone can cloth these unmeaning words with supernatural potency. But it is not inconsistent with the soundest philosophy to suppose that there may be some plants whose roots are disagreeable to serpents, and from which they instinctively turn away. All snake-catchers of Bengal are provided with a bundle of the roots of some plant, which they carefully carry along with them, when they set out on their serpent-hunting expeditions. When a serpent, disturbed in its hole, comes out furiously, hissing with rage, with its body coiled, and its head lifted up, the *Mál* has only to present before it the bundle of roots above alluded to, at the sight of which it becomes spiritless as an eel. This we have ourselves witnessed more than once. But to return; the exhibitions of snakes, of which we have been speaking, take place in all parts of Bengal. There is a small village in the district of *Hugli* where thousands of people annually assemble together to enjoy the sight. Skilful *Máls* are always presented, by the gaping multitude, with clothes and money. In giving an account, however short, of the great festival of the queen of snakes, it would be unpardonable, were we to omit noticing a circumstance which occurs a day or two before the public exhibitions. Bengali mothers, anxious for the preservation of their children from the bite of serpents, implore the favour of *Manasá*. On one of the last days of *Shrávana*, women may be seen coming out of a village, with vessels in their hands, containing a composition of rice, milk and sugar. Proceeding out of the village, they take their station generally near a tank, and offer their homely present to the goddess on behalf of their children. The presentation being done, they help themselves to the rice,

milk and treacle ; and after thanking the goddess, of whom, however, no image is set up, they return home with the sure hope of seeing their children preserved, during the ensuing season, from the bite of venomous snakes. In towns and large villages, where women cannot go out, this ceremony, termed *Ban-bhojan*, takes place in the house. In spite, however, of the caution and piety of Hindu mothers, their children are sometimes bitten by snakes. In all such cases, the power of *Manasá* is, by no means, questioned ; the blame rests either on the children themselves, who are alleged to have been killed for their irreverence to her, or on the mothers, who are supposed not to have properly propitiated the angry goddess.

In the month of *Bhádra*, composed of the end of August and beginning of September, the only festival worthy of notice, is the celebration of the anniversary of the birth of *Krishna*. The festival is named *Nandotsava*, literally, the "joy of *Nanda*," the reputed father of the shepherd-king. The way in which the votaries express their joy on the anniversary of the birth of their god, is not of the most refined sort. When the strictly religious ceremonies are over, the rejoicing religionists dig a hole in the yard, before the temple of the deity, and pour into it water, curds, turmeric, earth, and other substances. The followers of *Krishna* jump into the hole in the yard ; besmear their bodies with the poured materials ; and thus adorned, dance with infinite zest, their hands lifted up, and their brazen throats vociferating the praises of their beloved god. From the yard of the house they go out to the streets, and make a perambulation of the village. After they have danced and sung to exhaustion, they throw themselves into a tank, where they wash their bodies. The devotional merriment of the forenoon being over, they betake themselves to rest. In the cool of the afternoon, the sound of the *mridanga* rouses the slumbering *Vaishnavas*, who form themselves into companies, and sing the praises of *Rádhá* and *Krishna*. As the bands of choristers perambulate the streets, they dance, laugh, weep, and sometimes fall to the ground. With *Vaishnavas*, the anniversary of *Krishna's* birth is a season of high festivity. They wash their houses clean ; send presents to one another ; put on their best clothes and their brightest ornaments ; concoct the finest dishes, and eat the best sweetmeats. Fasting and humiliation, doubtless, accompany the festival ; but these precede its celebration. In this festival, the *Goshavámis* reap the greatest benefits, for their deluded and blind votaries make to them ample and substantial presents. The regular and the mendicant *Vaishnavas* are also, on this occasion, munificently rewarded.

In the month of *Ashvina*, consisting of part of September and part of October, are held the *Durgá* and the *Lakshmi pujás*.

Of all Bengali festivals, that celebrated in honour of *Durgá*, is, unquestionably, the most popular. Men, women and children, the learned and the ignorant, the rich and the poor, the self-righteous and proud brahman, as well as the humble and despised *Chandál*, all welcome the approach of this festival with the greatest delight. It is a season of universal festivity throughout the land. All people, to whatever part of the country they may have gone, for purposes of gain, return to their homes at this festival. The Mofussilites that reside in Calcutta, wind up their business, shut up their shops, and hasten to the country. During this festival, all the wealth, all the pomp of the people, are displayed. Every man puts on the best clothes and the best shoes that his means afford. There is no Hindu family, in the whole country, which does not buy new clothes on this occasion. For months before, all classes of people, tradesmen, merchants, shop-keepers, husbandmen, &c., lay up some money in store against this monster-festival; and very often the hard earnings of a whole twelve-month are spent in the course of the three *pujá* days. The Jews were not more joyous at the feast of *Purim*, the people of Christendom not more merry at Christmas, than the Hindus are gay during the *Durgá* *pujá* holidays. All is bustle and merriment. The husbandman lays aside his plough, the merchant his books, the tradesman his tools, and the landed proprietor his zemindari cares, and all partake of the general mirth. From every village proceeds the music of the *tom-tom*, and in every house is heard the voice of festivity. In this season of universal excitement, what signs of joy does one behold! what gleesome looks! what joyous faces! what congratulations of friends! what rivers of delight! what oceans of gladness! It is not our object to give to our readers lessons on the Hindu ritual and mythology, but to exhibit a picture of Bengali manners and customs; therefore the institution of the high festival under consideration, and the strictly religious ceremonies connected with it, will not detain us long. The goddess *Durgá*—the female principle by whose influence the universe was created—the wife of the *bhang*-eating god *Shiva*, is said, among other things, to have, in time immemorial, destroyed a giant of the name of *Mahisa*, who had mal-treated the gods, and oppressed the inhabitants of the three worlds. To commemorate this extraordinary act of beneficence to gods and men, is the object of the *Durgá* festival. The image which is worshipped in this festival is terrific to behold. Possessed of ten arms, which grasp different

sorts of weapons, the goddess supports her right leg on a lion, and her left on the shoulder of the giant whom she conquers, and into whose heart a serpent from one of her arms strikes its deadly fangs. Over her head, in a painted arch, are exhibited her numerous attendants in the battle-field, and the carnage of the countless hosts of the giant. On her two sides stand, in graceful posture, her two daughters, the goddess of *prosperity* and the goddess of *wisdom*—the Ceres and Minerva of the Grecian mythology; while close to them are placed *Ganesha*, with his head like that of an elephant, and the fair *Kārtikeya* riding on a peacock. The worship of this image, which is made of straw and clay, lasts three days; on the fourth day it is thrown into the river or a tank. After a world of preparatory rites and ceremonies, on the first day of the *pujā*, the image is animated with the spirit of *Durgā*, to which religious adorations are rendered. Her attendants, in the canopy overhead, and the accompanying gods and goddesses on her right and left, also receive their due share of worship. The chief peculiarity in the worship of the second day is, that the goddess is bathed with great solemnity. On this day widows fast, with a view to obtain benefit for themselves as well as their children. Unlike the first two days, when the goddess is worshipped more than once, on the third day she is worshipped only once. On all the three days great numbers of animals are sacrificed. Kids, sheep, and buffaloes are led to the altar, and sacrificed by a brahman or a blacksmith, amid the deafening music of *tom-toms*, and the plaudits of the spectators. On the third day, which is emphatically a bloody day, the largest number of animals is killed. On all the three days, after the conclusion of the daily ceremonies, brahmans and friends are feasted profusely with sweet-meats, fruits, and curds. On every *pujā* night also, before the goddess are sung filthy and other songs, and scenic representations are enacted. The nature of these amusements varies as the tastes of the parties who worship the goddess. In one house you see *natch-girls*, dressed in transparent clothes, through which their every member, their every muscle is discoverable, gently pace the floor to the sound of musical instruments, while your refined and delicate feelings are shocked, no less at the songs, which, though sung with silvery voices, are of the filthiest description, than at the indecent gesticulations of their fair forms. In another you perceive two bands of songsters rending the skies with their shrieks, miscalled singing; chaunting at the highest pitch of their voice the praises of the giant-killing *Durgā*; casting at each other the foulest language; and you wonder how a people, laying the least claim to civilization and refine-

ment, can derive gratification from these disgusting and horrible exhibitions. In another house still you witness those execrable representations in which grown-up boys, with sooty faces and screeching voices, enact the parts of the lovely milk-maids of *Brindávan*. The moral influence of these licentious exhibitions and grotesque representations is pernicious in the extreme. Apart from the hardening effects of idolatry, the *Durgá pújá*, with its boisterous and obscene merriment, its vigils of three successive nights, its monetary extravagance, its ludicrous sights, its licentious exhibitions, produces an awful deterioration in the moral health of the community. But the operations of the fourth and last day remain to be noticed. On this day, in which no sacrifices are offered, after going through a round of religious adorations, the officiating priest dismisses the goddess and implores her to return the next year. The dismissing ceremony over, the females of the house pour out their lamentations at the near prospect of the departure of so beneficent a deity. The goddess is then presented with gifts, and the dust of her feet is rubbed on the foreheads of the votaries. Nothing now remains to be done, but to consign the image, from which the divine spirit of *Durgá* has already departed, to the care of the waters. Borne on the shoulders of stout bearers, the idol is paraded through the streets with great pomp. The streets resound with music and singing, and the acclamations of the worshippers. As the carcass of the divinity passes along the streets, the spectators join their hands in sign of adoration. The parade over, the idol, with all its trappings and its tinsel ornaments, is cast into the waters, where the people vie with one another in rifling the goddess of her decorations. On returning from the immersion, the priest sprinkles the votaries with holy water, and offers them his benedictions. They now embrace each other with much enthusiasm, and partake of a draught of a solution of hemp leaves, which produces a gentle intoxication. It is not a little interesting to see a whole people embracing one another with much cordiality, and entertaining each other with suitable refreshments. We are not aware that drunkenness crowns the operations of the last day of the festival; for the potation of hemp leaves, diluted with much water, produces only a little excitement, too slight to lead to any serious consequences.

On the full moon, which immediately follows the *Durgá pújá*, is celebrated the festival of *Lakshmi*, the goddess of prosperity. In every Hindu house a basket, which serves as a measure of corn, is set up as the representative of prosperity, and worshipped. This basket or corn-measure is filled with paddy, en-

circled with a garland of flowers, and covered with a piece of cloth. In some houses, however, an image of the goddess, seated on the lotus, is worshipped. There is nothing remarkable in this festival, further than that in every house one or two persons sit up the whole night; for it is believed that in some part of the night *Lakshmi* passes over every house, and blesses those who are awake. With the expectation of obtaining this blessing, multitudes in every village sit up the whole night, after drinking a little quantity of the water of the cocoa-nut. These watchers spend the night in playing at card, chess, &c., and though they find no perceptible accession to their wealth, they yet believe that negligence in watching would bring down misfortunes upon the house.

In the month of *Kártik*, consisting of part of October and part of November, the goddesses *Shyámá* and *Jagaddhatri*, and the god *Kártikeya* are worshipped; brothers are feasted by their sisters; and the *Rása* festival is celebrated.

The mythological story connected with the *Shyámá* festival is soon told. In the celebrated war of Durgá or Káli—for the latter is only a modification of the former—with *Sumbha* and *Nisumbha*, *Káli* obtained a victory over *Rakta Bija*, the commander-in-chief of the enemy's forces. So transported was she at this triumph, that she danced. But the dancing of the sable goddess was quite a different affair from the dancing of ordinary balls. Her dancing shook the universe to its centre, and gods and men were frightened and ran to her husband, *Shiva*, to persuade his amiable wife to discontinue the terrific dance. Solicitous of the welfare of the gods, *Shiva* instantly hastened to the battle-field, and perceiving no way of alleviating his consort's joy, threw himself among the mountains of the dead. When the goddess saw that she was dancing upon the body of her husband, she put out her tongue and remained motionless. The images generally formed of *Káli*, represent the above-mentioned scene in the battle-field. The body of *Shiva* lies on the ground, on which the dreaded goddess takes her station. She stands trampling upon her husband; her tongue put out to a great length; her four arms extended, one grasping a sword, another the head of a giant, and the other two signalling to her innumerable hosts; her ears adorned with two corpses worn as ear-rings; her neck ornamented with a necklace of skulls; her waist encircled with a zone of the hands of fallen giants; her sable tresses falling down to her heels in ample profusion. Intoxicated with the blood of enemies, her terrible eyes flash red with rage, her eyebrows are dyed with crimson, and blood in rills flows adown her breast. The nature of her

worship is in keeping with her dreadful appearance. It takes place exactly in the middle of the night of new moon. The number of the animals sacrificed to her is immense. The yard before her temporary temple becomes often deluged with blood. The horror of the scene baffles description. The natural gloom of mid-night, unbroken by moon-shine; the piteous cries of animals led to the slaughter; the glancing of scymitars ready to fall upon the devoted victims; the streams of blood deluging the yard; the horrid din of deafening tom-toms; the terrific yells of the spectators, when the sacrificial knife lays low the extended animal; the frantic dances of the votaries, besmeared with the clotted blood of slaughtered buffaloes; the appalling exclamations of the officiating priests, bawling aloud, as they often do, "*Jaya Tárá! Jaya Tárá!*" that is, "*Victory to Tárá! victory to Tárá!*"—the drunken feats of the intoxicated worshippers, who this night all partake of spirits; and in fine, the sable goddess before whom these scenes are enacted; all this produces an accumulation of horrors too frightful to behold.

Two days after the *Shyámá* festival, it is customary with Hindu sisters to feast their brothers. On this occasion, the sisters mark the foreheads of their brothers with a certain paint prepared for the purpose. While in the act of putting on the paint, they implore a blessing in behalf of their brothers, to the following effect:—"While I put the paint on your forehead, may the path 'towards the regions of *Yama* be planted with thorns." To *Yama*, the Indian Pluto—the king of the infernal regions, at this time, suitable acts of worship are rendered. The brothers are then feasted with all sorts of Bengali delicacies, and presented with clothes. In the beginning of this month, the unmarried girls of every house perform a ceremony which deserves notice, as it illustrates the manners of the people. In this ceremony, homage is rendered to the king of death, from whom the virgin worshippers solicit the agreeable gifts of husbands and sons, and exemption from punishment in the future world. What is the way in which so desirable gifts may be obtained? A small pit is dug near the front of the house; the four corners of this pit are sown with barley or wheat, and planted with branches of the plantain tree; misses putting on clean clothes; their heads sprinkled with *Gangá* water, repair to this pit, and present flowers to the Indian Pluto; a *hourí* every morning, for thirty days successively, is put into an earthen pot; on the last day these thirty *houries* are presented to the person who dug the pit; and after going through all this, spinsters rejoice in the confidence of obtaining agreeable husbands and seraphic boys.

The goddess *Jagaddhatri*, riding on a lion, and grasping in her four hands a conch, a discus, a water-lily and a club, is only one of the almost countless forms of *Durgá*. Her worship, like that of her anti-type, lasts one day. The repetition of incantations, the presentation of offerings and bloody sacrifices, the recitation of sacred stories, the entertainment of brahmans, together with scenic representations, songs, and dances, make up the several items of her adoration. She is last of all thrown into the river or a pool, the common reservoir of all Hindu gods and goddesses.

At the close of the month of *Kártik* is held the festival of the god *Kártikeya*, the Indian Mars, the son of *Shiva* and *Durgá*. It is inconsistent with the design of this article to relate the circumstances connected with the birth of the six-faced hero-god, how the immortals smarted under the iron rule of a supercilious giant; how the fair daughter of the king of *Himálaya* courted the mighty lord of *Kailás*; how the Indian Cupid was reduced to ashes by the wrath of *Shiva*; whom he wounded with one of his maddening arrows;—all which events have been described by the graphic pen of *Káli Dás*, in his great epic entitled the *Kumar-Sambhaba*. The knightly *Kártikeya*, riding on a peacock, and holding in his two hands a bow and arrows, is a very popular god. His worship, lasting only one short night, and being moreover attended with very little expense, thousands of images are annually adored in all parts of the country. An unmarried bachelor as the god is, and living, as he does, in concubinage with a mistress presented him by the king of heaven, he is a favourite of the Calcutta strumpets, who perform his annual rites with much pomp. There is nothing remarkable in the celebration of the *Kártikeya* festival, except that it is attended with much indecent and licentious festivity, more animated music than on other occasions, and uncommon pomp and circumstance of processions.

The *Rása-Yátrá* completes the list of festivals in the month of *Kártik*. We should have mentioned this festival before, inasmuch as it invariably precedes the *Kártikeya* festival. The *Rása-Yátrá* is an annual commemoration of the sports of *Krishna* with the milk-maids of *Brindában*. It is held for three successive nights. On a high recess, open on all sides, and built for the purpose, the god is brought out of its temple and seated. Around it are placed many images of the god made of clay. On the open space, in front of the recess, is a canopy spread, from which are suspended paper-made images of various animals and reptiles. The god is worshipped with due solemnity, and the spectators amused with love-songs and

the execrable *Yátrás*. Towards the morning the god is carried to its temple, whence it is taken on the two following nights, and the same ceremonies and scenes are repeated. The silvery brightness of a full-moon night—the time when this celebration takes place; the unclouded serenity of a Bengal autumn; the merry-makings and festivities before the *Rása-Manja*; and the gay recollections of the festive sports and wanton gambols of the lover of *Rádhá*, which this festival calls up in the minds of the votaries, make the *Rása* a favourite festival of the inhabitants of Lower Bengal. Before the house in which this festival is celebrated with considerable ostentation, temporary sheds are erected and shops are opened, where sweetmeats, *pán-leaves*, and *betel-nuts* are sold in large quantities. Altogether, it is a scene of animation and enjoyment. But we need scarcely inform the reader, that these pleasures are not unmixed with outrages on the female character. We would be doing injustice to the Bengalis, however, did we maintain that these outbreaks are invariable attendants of the festival. But we do hold, notwithstanding, that the *Rása* serves greatly to demoralize the national character.

In the month of *Agraháya*na, consisting of part of November and part of December, only one festival worthy of notice is celebrated. It is the festival of the *first fruits*. Bengal being an agricultural country, and rice being the staple food of its inhabitants, the harvest is a season of joy and thanksgiving. But the Bengalis are also a religious people; the system of Hinduism exercises a vast influence on their manners and customs. Hence, before the general harvest, the first sheaves of paddy are offered to the gods. On this occasion the new rice of the year, together with milk, and the fruits and roots of the season, are presented to the immortals with due solemnity. The great progenitors of the human race, the far-famed *Munis* and *Rishis*, and the immediate forefathers of the celebrating family, are not deprived of their just shares. Even the beasts of the field, and the birds of the air, are attended to, for the new rice is placed in the fields, and on high places for their benefit. The Bengali, who is the humblest of all men, after presenting the first fruits of the season to the gods, the progenitors, the jackals and the crows, last of all partakes of it himself. This festival, which is appropriately termed the festival of the *new rice*, is concluded in some parts of the country with manly sports, pyrotechnic exhibitions, and entertainments given to brahmans and friends. This institution is not unlike the Jewish feast of the first fruits. Excepting for the corruptions of superstition which disgrace this feast, it is to us

a most delightful spectacle to see a whole nation, by presenting the first fruits of the year to the higher powers, give a marked expression to the religious sentiments of common humanity, and acknowledge their dependence on the bountiful giver of all things. It is pleasing to contemplate that the Hindu does not feel himself at liberty to use the staple food of the country without first offering it to Him who is the Creator and Preserver, not only of men, but also of the beasts and birds that perish ; though regarding him, the Hindu, it must be confessed, entertains most dishonouring notions in other respects.

In the month of *Poush*, which comprises part of December and part of January, are held two festivals which merit description. The first which we shall mention, is a social institution, and seems to have no connection whatever with the performance of religious rites and ceremonies. It is named *Poushali*, from the circumstance of its celebration in the month of *Poush*. On a certain day of the month, parties, with baskets in their hands, and loads on their backs, may be seen begging large quantities of rice and ordinary vegetables from every house in the village. The begging over, they repair to a garden on the out-skirts of the village, where they make preparations for a feast. The males of every household which has contributed to the general stock of food, are invited to partake of this sylvan banquet. In order to allay all apprehension arising from the distinctions of caste, three or four brahmans are appointed *cuisiniers*. While the sacred cooks busily carry on their work of concoction, the guests divert themselves with running and swimming matches, and the robust exercises of *Dándá-guli* and *Hádu-Gadu*. After all have refreshed themselves with a genial bath in the adjoining tank, they sit down on the grass, and partake on plattain leaves of the elements of a rude repast. After crowning the feast, not indeed with flowing bumpers, but with betel-nuts and tobacco, they oftentimes lie down on the grassy couch of nature, indulge in agreeable talk, and return to their homes in the cool of the evening. Sometimes, in considerable villages, several parties are formed, which celebrate separate feasts in different groves. We need scarcely inform the reader, that this festival is unknown to the inhabitants of the metropolis, where the same facilities are not afforded. These sylvan repasts, besides the innocent hilarity connected with them, contribute in a great measure to produce feelings of friendliness and brotherly love between the several members of the Hindu community.

The only other festival of any consequence in the month of *Poush* is the *feast of cakes*. On this occasion, as at Christmas

in England, every cottage in every hamlet of Bengal is provided with a plentiful supply of cakes. Perhaps some of our readers will put the question—What sorts of things are Bengali cakes? For the gratification of these readers, but especially for the benefit of certain Calcutta *restaurateurs*, who may think of entertaining European ladies and gentlemen in the forthcoming Christmas with a dish of Bengali delicacies, we, though no confectioners, give the following *recipe*:—Let rice be pounded and formed into a sort of paste; take a small quantity of this paste, and by means of your fingers spread it out into the form of a small hollow cup; fill this cup with a mixture of the kernel of the cocoa-nut and treacle, or with cream; carefully cover this substance by joining the ends of the paste spread out in the manner described; put this closed cup in a *handy* of boiling water; take it out of the *handy*, say, after five minutes, and you will have a Bengali cake of the first quality, invaluable for producing stomach-ache. For three days do men, women, and children indulge in these abominable cakes. During these days the goddess of *prosperity*, and the queen of serpents, are worshipped. On the first day of the festival all the articles of furniture of the house are bound by pieces of straw, with the view that they may never pass out of their present owner's hands. In some places a large cake, in the form of a cat, is offered with due solemnity, accompanied with the repetition of incantations, to *Shasti*—the protectress of children. Long may the feast of cakes, but purified from its heathenish associations, continue on the plains of Bengal, and bring with it every year household joys and comforts! Long may old men and old women, boys and girls, partake of the rice-made cakes, which, though noxious in their effects on delicate stomachs, contribute to the mirth and festivity of thirty millions of people! And long may the month of *Poush* continue to crown the labours of Bengal farmers with golden success!

In the month of *Māgh*, which consists of part of December and part of January, only one festival is celebrated, viz., the worship of *Sarashwati*. The fair and eloquent *Sarashwati*, standing upon a water-lily and playing on a lute, is the Minerva of the Hindus, the goddess of learning. It was she who inspired in bye-gone ages the sublime *Vyās*, the mighty *Vālmiki*, and the versatile *Kālī Dās*; and it is the same beneficent goddess that, in these degenerate days, instructs the humble Sudra in the elements of learning, and initiates the exalted brahman into the mysteries of *Nyāya* and of the *Vedānta*. In every hamlet in Bengal, on the fifth day of the increase of the moon in this month, is the worship of this patroness of learning celebrated by her

votaries. Unlike the other goddesses and gods of the Hindu Pantheon, this beautiful and amiable daughter of Bramhá has not a particular clique of adorers and supporters. Every person who is acquainted with letters, from the merest tyro that writes the alphabet on palm leaves, to the venerable Principal of a Sanskrit *Choubati*, is a votary of the celestial *Bagbadini*. At this festival, divine homage is rendered to manuscripts, printed books, pens, inkstands, and all the implements of reading and writing; and flowers, accompanied with the repetition of certain forms of prayers, are offered to them by every male. It is quite in keeping with the woman-degrading spirit of Hinduism, that females are excluded from paying adoration to the goddess of learning, since they have neither part nor lot in her gifts: but it is not a little singular that the Hindus should make a *female* divinity preside over wisdom and intelligence. Mr. Ward, in his "*History, Literature and Religion of the Hindus*," to which we are much indebted in the drawing up of this article, says that shocking indecencies are connected with the celebration of this festival. We are not aware of such being the case, and are induced to suppose that he drew a general conclusion from an isolated fact which came under the eye of his observation, but which had no necessary connexion with the festival which we are now reviewing. We may here remark, once for all, that Mr. Ward's book contains a mass of the most valuable information regarding the Hindus, and that we have been struck with its minute accuracy. But we cannot help at the same time observing, that in a few instances Mr. Ward is a little too severe upon the Hindus: he holds out the dark side of the native character oftener than he does the bright.

In *Phálgun*, the eleventh month of the Hindus, the most considerable festival is celebrated in honour of Krishna, and is termed *Dol* or the *Holi* festival. The *Holi* festival is held in the grandest style in the Western Provinces, where, for a long period preceding the full moon, the "noise of riot and injury, and outrage" used in bye-gone times to "ascend the loftiest towers of luxurious cities." We say in *bye-gone times*; for the mild and peaceful administration of the British has considerably abated the fury of these diabolical rites. During the *Holi* festival the Hindus are permitted to indulge in the grossest licentiousness with impunity. Gambling prevails universally; the everlasting sound of tinkling cymbals is heard day and night; the filthiest songs are sung in the open streets; the vilest abuse is cast in the teeth of the passengers; women are insulted; red powder is ever and anon doing its business of blinding the eyes; a solution of this powder, or any

other liquid preparation, is constantly being discharged from syringes; and the dance of drunken devotees crowns the scene. All this to a considerable extent prevails even now in this city. But we must admit that in the Mofussil such atrocities are not committed. There the god Krishna is worshipped, the devotees besmear themselves with red powder, and amuse themselves with singing, music, and fire-works. This festival is a commemoration of the sports of the merry-hearted lover of *Gokul* with the milk-maids of *Brindában*.

Omitting the mention of *Shiva's night*, it just occurs to us to say, that an elegant divinity is worshipped this month with due solemnity. What may our readers imagine this amiable god to be? Why, it is none other than the lovely *Ghentu*, the patron of that cutaneous eruption, which in common *parlance* passes under the name of itch. The pomp and circumstance of the adoration of this god are in beautiful keeping with the dignity of his character, and the services he renders to humanity. The scene of worship is the dung-hill, a necessary appendage to every Bengali house in the country. A broken *handy* of earthen-ware, its bottom blackened by the soot of many a month, and daubed white with lime, and interspersed with a few strokes of turmeric, together with a branch or two of the *Ghentu* plant, and last, not least, a broom-stick of the genuine palmyra or cocoa-nut stock, serve as the representation of the presiding deity of itch. The mistress of the family for whose benefit the worship is performed acts the priestess. The repetition of a few doggerel rhymes over, the *handy* is broken into a thousand pieces, to the no small delight of the little urchins who dance around the place, and conclude the rites of adoration by gathering up the shivered fragments, and by reciting songs to the honour, or rather to the shame, of the god of itch. It may not be here out of place to remark that the Bengalis pay homage to the patrons of some of the other diseases that break out with peculiar virulence in the country. In addition to the patron deity of itch, they have *Shitalá*, the goddess of the small-pox, and *Olá Bibi*, the patroness of that frightful scourge of modern times, the cholera. By conciliating the favour of these *nosopoeitic* divinities, the Bengalis fondly hope for an exemption from the influence of those maladies over which they preside.

In *Chaitra*, the closing month of the Bengali year, the great *swinging festival* takes place. It is said to have been instituted by an ancient king, who, by undergoing great austerities, procured an interview with the drunken lord of *Kailás*, in whose honour this festival is celebrated. The Hindus who particularly

signalize themselves in performing the rites of this far-famed festival are called *Sannyásis*. A Hindu of any caste whatever may become a *Sannyási*. These devotees, for the space of a month, or a fortnight, or ten days at the least, go through a round of preparatory purifications. They take only one meal; visit every day *Shiva's Lingam*; repeatedly pronounce his various names; dance round his temple, and abstain from all ceremonial pollution. Not unlike the drunken devotees of Bacchus in classic Greece, who, during the celebration of the orgies, wore the sacred *Prætexta*, the votaries of the Indian Bacchus put on the holy *upabit* during the swinging festival. The preparatory services over, on the first day of the festival the *Sannyásis* throw themselves down from a *bambu* stage upwards of twenty feet high. At the foot of the bambu stage are placed, in an inclined position, knives and spikes of iron put upon heaps of straw. Upon these instruments do the votaries of *Shiva* cast themselves from the high stage. Hardly is any body injured; for, owing to the peculiar posture of the iron instruments, they do not penetrate into the bodies of the falling worshippers, but fall along with them to the ground. Then follows the great day of boring. It is needless to describe what every resident in Calcutta, or any other city of India, has often witnessed. The arm of one *Sannyási* bored by a spear; a long iron bar put through the slit tongue of a second, which he holds by both his hands; a third dancing in the middle of two rattans, which have pierced his sides; and a fourth, all planted over with needles, all these sights must be familiar—painfully familiar—to every inhabitant of Calcutta. These borings are accompanied with shows and pantomimic exhibitions. Long rows of fantastic figures pass along the streets. The well-digger, with a basket in one hand and a hoe in the other, his body daubed over with clay; the school-boy in his short dress, and his tucked-up hair, with a bunch of palm leaves under his arm; the bended *bhisti*, with his leathern *mussuck* and his sounding tin; the intoxicated *mather*, his one hand holding a broom-stick, and the other twirling up his *moustache*; the potatoe-seller, with a basket on his head, crying potatoes “most musically up and down;” a rabble of savage Burmese in their peculiar habiliments and superb ear-rings, eternally crying *po-po-po*; the paper-made and moving Church, in which the *Padre Sahib* reads from his holy book and addresses the assembled multitudes; the peacock-shaped boat gliding along to the sound of dulcet symphonies; the glittering square rooms in which Bengal fairies display the charming beauty of their person and the rich music of their voice: all

these, and a hundred other shows, erewhile graced the streets of Calcutta. We say, *erewhile graced the streets of Calcutta*; for, to the infinite regret of the good Hindus of this city, these shows are not allowed by the Gothic myrmidons of the police to pass through its streets! On the last day of the *Charak pujá*, the swinging, strictly so called, takes place. An upright pole of twenty feet or more in length, is put vertically into the ground. On the top of this pole, a transverse beam is made to move round a pivot. To the ends of this transverse beam are attached two ropes, the one for fastening the swinging devotee, and the other for turning round the machine. The back of the devotee is bored by a hook which is fastened to the rope of the transverse beam. On a signal given, the machine is set agoing, and the wretched devotee describes a painful circumference round the *Charak-tree*. The swinging *Sannyási*, whose aerial sojourn is often half an hour long, amuses himself with throwing to the gaping crowd plantains, sweetmeats, and fruits, with which he had plentifully provided himself before his ascension. It is not to be supposed that only one man swings at one time round a *Charak-tree*, although this is very generally the case. In this city itself, sixteen men have been seen to swing round one tree at the same time; and we have been informed, on credible authority, that no less than thirty-two men have been observed to swing simultaneously round one tree in the village of *Sántipore*, near Kishnaghur! The place where the swinging is performed is always a scene of excitement and bustle. The loud acclamation of the spectators, and their noisy eagerness to obtain the substances thrown by the hero of the moment from his aerial position; the vociferations of those turning the beam, who cheer on one another; the sounds "*De pák! De pák!*" that is, "Turn more violently, turn more violently," which the swinging devotee in *bravo* often makes; the horrid din of deafening *tom-toms* which pour out "many a bout of linked sweetness;" all these circumstances turn the swinging place into a perfect Babel. Around the *Charak-tree* in the Mofussil is invariably held a fair, where knives, razors, sweetmeats, clothes, and trinkets of all sorts are sold in large quantities. Old wives and young maidens, the man of seventy and the boy in his *teens*, all dressed in their holiday's best, repair to the *Charak-ground* as to a gay fair. The last man comes down from the tree, the goods are bought and sold, mountebanks close their seats, and the scene is wound up. The *Charak* is ended. All the annual festivals are ended. The Bengali year is ended.

And this article too shall shortly be ended. Only we would,

before we close, direct the attention of our readers to a subject of much importance connected with the celebration of these festivals. We refer to the practice of closing the Government offices on occasion of a large number of these festivals. We do not wish at present to regard the question, as to the propriety of this practice, in a religious aspect, nor to enquire how far it is right for a Christian Government to countenance the practices of idolatry, regarded merely as religious rites. But considering that into the celebration of the greater number of these festivals, a large amount of dissipation and debauchery enters, and enters as an essential and indispensable element, we hold that the Government ought to afford no facilities whatever for the celebration. With respect to some of the festivals, such as the *Charak* and the *Holi*, the more respectable of the natives themselves acknowledge their debasing tendency, and would rejoice even at their forcible suppression. But all we ask is the withdrawal of that countenance which is afforded by the cessation of all public business in honor of them.

We confess that we are altogether unable to sympathize, to any extent whatsoever, with the squeamishness of those who would represent the requirement of the attendance of the native officials on these days, as an infringement of the rights of conscience. Conscience has nothing at all to do with the matter, except in so far as a Bengali most conscientiously delights in idleness. In point of fact, the most conscientious Hindus are the men that would find least fault with the change; the only men that would grumble would be the idle and the dissipated.

But the matter may be very easily settled. Let the public offices be kept open, and let it be announced, that all who choose to attend shall receive their full salaries, and that all who absent themselves shall forfeit their day's pay. Thus would the most tender conscience be left intact. We venture to predict that the saving effected to Government would be infinitesimally small.

We do not know any one way in which the Government could more effectually diminish the amount of licentiousness and crime, and elevate to a considerable extent the character of the people, than by withdrawing their sanction from these holidays, and requiring their offices to be kept open on these as on other days.

- ART. III.—1. *Official Reports on the Province of Kumáon, with a Medical Report on the Mahamurree in Gurhwál, in 1849-50. Edited, under the orders of the Hon'ble the Lieut.-Governor, N. W. Provinces, by J. H. Batten, Esq., C. S., Commissioner of Kumáon. Agra, 1851.*
2. *The Tarai and outer Mountains of Kumáon, by Major Madden, Bengal Artillery. (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.) 1848.*
3. *Notes of an Excursion to the Pindri Glacier, in September, 1846, by Capt. Ed. Madden, Bengal Artillery. (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.) 1847.*
4. *On Himálayan Coniferae—being a supplement to the "Brief Observations," &c. Journal of Agricultural and Horticultural Society, Vol. IV. Part IV. By Major E. Madden, Bengal Artillery. (Journal of Agricultural and Horticultural Society.) Calcutta, 1849.*
5. *Narrative of a Journey to Cho Lagan (Rakas Tal), Cho Mapan (Mánaserówar), and the valley of Pruang in Gnari, Hundés, in September and October, 1846. By Henry Strachy, Lieut., 66th Bengal N. I. (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.) 1848.*
6. *Description of the Glaciers of the Pindúr and Kuphinee Rivers in the Kumáon Himálaya. By Lieut. R. Strachey, Bengal Engineers. (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.) 1847.*
7. *Note on the motion of the Glacier of the Pindúr in Kumáon. By Lieut. R. Strachey, Engineers. (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.) Calcutta, 1848.*
8. *On the Snow-line in the Himálaya; by Lieut. R. Strachey, Engineers. Communicated by order of the Hon'ble the Lieut.-Governor, N. W. Provinces. (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.) 1849.*
9. *On the Geology of Part of the Himálaya Mountains and Tibet. By Capt. R. Strachey, Bengal Engineers, F. G. S. (Proceedings of the Geological Society of London.) June, 1851.*
10. *On the Physical Geography of the Provinces of Kumáon and Gurhwál in the Himálaya mountains, and of the adjoining parts of Tibet. By R. Strachey, Esq., Bengal Engineers. Read before the Royal Geographical Society of London, on the 12th of May, 1851.*
11. *Report on the Cultivation and Manufacture of Tea in Kumáon and Gurhwál. By William Jameson, Esq., Superintendent,*

- Botanical Gardens, N. W. Provinces. (Journal of Agricultural and Horticultural Society, Vol. IV.) Calcutta, 1845.*
12. *Report on the Progress of the Culture of the China Tea Plant in the Himálayas, from 1835 to 1847. By J. Forbes Royle, M. D., F. R. S. (Journal of Royal Asiatic Society.) London, 1849.*
 13. *Report upon the Tea Plantations in the N. W. Provinces, by Robert Fortune. Printed by the Government, N. W. P. Agra, 1851.*
 14. *Suggestions for the Importation of Tea-makers, Implements, and Seeds, from China into the N. W. Provinces. By W. Jamieson, Esq., Superintendent, Botanical Gardens, N. W. Provinces. Printed by the Government, N. W. P. Agra, 1852.*

SOME seven years ago, we were lamenting, in one of the earlier numbers of this *Review* (No. VII. Art. VI.), over the discreditable fact, that after thirty years of British rule, we were still without any trust-worthy accounts of our Himálayan provinces. The list of valuable papers, which stands at the head of this article, will show that much has been done, during the last few years, to remove this reproach. We have not yet obtained all that we could desire. We want something more accessible to the world, and of a more comprehensive character, than papers scattered through the pages of scientific journals and official reports. But a good beginning has been made; we have proof that competent observers have been at work; and we trust that ere long we may obtain the great desideratum, a complete account of a tract of country, which, in its physical characteristics, is perhaps the most interesting and most wonderful in the world.

We shall not enter now into any elaborate criticisms of the papers that we have referred to. We propose in the present article to endeavour to show how vast and interesting a field of enquiry here lies open to the instructed observer, and to give a sketch, necessarily a very general and imperfect one, of some of the chief characteristics of our Himálayan provinces of Kumáon and Gurhwál. We shall touch more particularly on some points which have received hitherto the least elucidation; we do not pretend to give in an article of a *Review*, a complete physical description of a country like this; and some of the most interesting and important branches of the subject we shall be compelled to pass by altogether.

The British provinces of Kumáon and Gurhwál comprehend

that part of the Himálaya mountains situated between the Alaknanda, the main stream of the Ganges, on the west, and the Káli or Sárdah on the east. The former river, and its affluent, the Mandákini, separate the British territory from the protected state of Gurhwál; the latter forms the boundary between Kumáon and the Nepalese province of Doti. The plains of India are the limit of these districts to the south, while the water-shed line of the main range of the Himálaya forms the frontier with Tibet to the north.

These districts consist entirely of mountains. From the plains to the cordillera of the snowy range, a distance of nearly a hundred miles, not only do we find nothing that can be called a plain, but hardly a valley of any considerable breadth. The direction of the main range of the Himálaya is here, as elsewhere, from about north-west to south-east; and the inferior ridges, which rise immediately above the plains of India, preserve a general parallelism with the line passing through the great peaks of the chain.

Perhaps in no part of the world does a traveller behold Nature under more various and more wonderful aspects within so small a space, than he who passes from the plains of India into the Himálaya. Leaving behind him the flourishing cities and the rich cultivation of Rohilkhand, he enters gradually into a tract covered with tall reeds and grasses, and intersected by sluggish streams that rise from pestilential swamps, with here and there a wretched village, inhabited by a squalid and miserable race. This tract, usually called the *Tarai*, lies between the cultivated districts of Rohilkhand, and the great forest which extends along the base of the Himálaya. Its average breadth is perhaps ten miles, but it has generally no very marked limits; although, taken as a whole, it is perfectly distinct in aspect and character from the country on either side. The traveller, after passing through this region of swamp and prairie, comes into a tract of a very different character, the magnificent forest, which extends uninterruptedly along the foot of the Himálaya. The breadth of this forest-belt is generally from ten to fifteen miles.

The change from the Tarai is not only one from grassy swamps to the splendour of a tropical forest. The geological phenomena present a change not less striking than the botanical. In the Tarai the tall reeds and grasses everywhere betoken the marshy ground from which they spring; the streams, which carry off only a portion of the superfluous water, run sluggishly, doubling back constantly on their course; the soil consists of moist alluvial matter, without a sign of rock, either

in fragments or in situ. In the forest, on the other hand, no water rises from the ground. Throughout its whole extent, not a single spring, nor any water, can be seen, except occasionally where one of the larger rivers of the Himalaya takes its course. In the rainy season alone, numerous torrents cut into the ground, and the ravines thus formed exhibit characteristic geological sections of this remarkable tract. They show that the superb forest derives but scanty support from the soil on which it stands. A few feet of earth rest on a vast dry bed of boulder and of shingle, through which all rain that falls sinks rapidly, and which absorbs in the same way, with the few exceptions of the great rivers, all the drainage of the lower ridges of the Himalaya.

It is necessary briefly to explain the causes of this remarkable contrast; or rather, we should say, to explain the only theory which, so far as we are aware, affords any satisfactory interpretation of the physical peculiarities which this tract exhibits. All along the foot of the mountains lies this great bed of shingle, sand, and boulder. No rivers can be supposed to have laid out such a vast deposit, and we can only conclude that we see here the bottom of an ancient ocean, which once washed the base of the Himalayan chain. We must suppose that the boulders and shingle were spread out only to a distance of ten or fifteen miles from the mountains from which they were derived, and that only the finer particles of the detritus were carried out into the sea beyond. When the plains of India were upheaved, and what was once the bed of the ocean had become dry land, this great boulder deposit was left along the base of the Himalaya, and into it, instead of into the sea, the mountain streams now pour their waters. When they reach the loose stones and shingle, they begin at once to be absorbed: their course is too rapid to let a fresh deposit of more impervious character accumulate; and what was a considerable stream before it left the hills, has vanished altogether soon after it has entered the plains. The waters find their way below the boulder deposit, and at its southern limit, where it has thinned out into the alluvial plain, they begin again to appear in the swamps of the Tarai, and thence they flow on as the rivers of Rohilkhand.

This theory, even if it should be incorrect, will serve at any rate to convey to the mind some notion of the actual phenomena which this tract exhibits.

We have then, between the fertile plains of Rohilkhand and the outer ridges of the Himalaya, two belts of country, each about ten miles broad, the region of grass and swamp called

the Tarai, and the waterless forest. The Tarai attained no inconsiderable prosperity in former times, notwithstanding its deadly climate; and at the present time it is not altogether devoid of inhabitants and cultivation. Mr. Batten's *Report on the Bhábur* contains a valuable account of the past history of this tract, and of its actual state; and in a former number of this *Review* (No. X. Art. III.) will be found a description of the projects for irrigation connected with the Tarai.

The forest, with the exception of a narrow belt immediately below the hills, of which we shall speak presently, is almost devoid of human habitations;—a necessary consequence of the want of water, but one which may hereafter be removed by the plans of scientific irrigation, which are now beginning to attract attention.

We reach the foot of the hills almost without being sensible of any ascent, although the actual slope of the ground in the forest is very considerable. There is no gradual transition from the plains to the mountains. We pass at once, and most striking is the change, into the Himálaya, which rises like a wall from the great plain of India.

The lower ranges of hills present very different aspects to those entering Kumáon on the eastern and on the western side. From the Sárdah westward to the Nihál, a stream, which rises in the hills immediately to the south of Naini Tál, the sandstone ridges which rise above the plains are immediately connected with the crystalline formations which constitute the great mass of the Kumáon mountains. When a traveller going northwards has once entered the hills, he comes again to no level plain, until he crosses the snowy passes of the Himálaya into Tibet. But to the west of the Nihál we generally find that the hills, which are first reached from the plains, form a distinct low ridge, composed of conglomerates and sandstones, running parallel to the higher ranges to the north, and separated from them by a belt of plain or valley, from five to ten miles broad. The valleys thus formed are generally known by the name of *Dún*. It is this outer range of hills, which, west of Hurdwar, under the name of Sirrálik, has become so famous to palæontologists from the discoveries of Dr. Falconer and Colonel Cautley. In these valleys we again find the great deposit of gravel, sand, and boulder, and the streams entering the *Dúns* from the hills are generally absorbed, like those which flow directly from the hills into the plains.

It has been before incidentally noticed, that the part of the forest immediately below the hills is not always devoid of cultivation and inhabitants. In Kumáon, the streams which

come down from the mountains are often turned off into artificial channels before they have been absorbed in the shingle deposit, and are made available for irrigating the country which lies immediately at the foot of the hills. In this way a very considerable quantity of land has been brought under most profitable cultivation; but owing to the unskilful manner in which the water-courses are constructed, not half the available water has been hitherto made use of. Now, however, the attention of Captain H. Ramsay, Senior Assistant Commissioner in Kumáon, has been turned to the subject, and we have no doubt that, under his zealous and energetic management, we shall, in the course of a few years, see a very great increase of the cultivation at the foot of the hills.

Nearly the whole population of the southern parts of Kumáon, between the plains and Almora, moves down in the cold season to this tract, thus made available for cultivation, and to the Tarai beyond, the attraction in the latter case being pasturage for the cattle. West of the Kosilla, along the Gurhwál frontier, this annual migration does not take place, and the forest along the foot of the hills, and in the *Dúns*, is almost entirely without cultivation or inhabitants.

As the climate of the Tarai and forest does not materially differ, in point of heat at least, from that of the neighbouring plains of Northern India, the vegetation approximates in character to that of the tropics. The valuable papers by Major Madden, on the Botanical Geography of Kumáon, are the best guide that we possess to this branch of science for the tract in question; and we can do no more than refer to them now:

It would require the genius of a Humboldt to describe worthily, and with both picturesque and scientific accuracy, the magnificent beauty of the forest scenery. During the greater part of the year, heat and malaria make it almost inaccessible to the European traveller, but in the perfect climate of the cold season, the lover of Nature will soon discern that the magnificence of the "shining orient" is no fiction of poets and romancers, as we in India are perhaps too generally apt to suspect. But it is not easy to get an adequate idea of forest scenery; for a thick under-wood, of innumerable thorn-bushes and prickly acacias, usually covers the ground between the larger trees, and makes all locomotion, except on the back of an elephant, difficult or impossible. As we approach the hills, the peculiar beauties of the forest become more and more striking, and the rich cultivation frequently adds a new charm to the scenery. He who has once seen them will never

forget the mango-groves of Kota, and Káldhúngi, "denote the stately forms" of the ancient Huldús.*

But we must linger no longer at the foot of the hills. The ridges of the Himálaya, which immediately overhang the plains or the *Dúns*, attain in Kumáon and Gurhwál an average elevation of about seven thousand feet; and after we have once entered the mountain region, we come again to nothing that can be called a flat country, until we have passed far to the north of the great peaks of the chain. From the plains of India, to the line of maximum elevation, the average distance is about eighty or ninety miles; but the whole breadth of the Himálaya probably exceeds two hundred miles.

Let us suppose that we have ascended the first range of hills that rises above the plains in Central Kumáon, to the lofty peak of Chinar, which overhangs the lake and station of Naini Tál. From this point, the elevation of which is about eight thousand seven hundred feet, an observer can obtain an admirable general idea of the structure of this part of the Himálaya. The horizontal distance from the foot of the hills is only about five miles. We look down over the beautiful wooded mountains of the Gágar range, covered thickly with oak and pine, mingled with the gorgeous rhododendron, to the Bhábar forest, which lies almost at our feet, seven thousand feet below, and beyond it the Tarai and the great plain of Rohilkhand. Turning to the north, we have before us a scene which the painter and the poet can alone describe, but which can never pass from the mind of him who has once beheld it. A chaotic mass of mountains lies before us, wooded hills, and deep ravines, and dark blue ranges, rising one above the other; and behind all, piled up into the sky, the snowy peaks of the great Himálaya. He who has seen this view, or the still finer ones that are to be obtained from other parts of Central Kumáon, may feel quite satisfied that he has seen the most sublime and astonishing of all earthly spectacles.

No one, who can understand the effect, which the contemplation of Nature produces on a cultivated mind, can ever think of making foolish comparisons between what he must feel to be only the different parts of one vast and harmonious whole. We acknowledge with thankfulness the delight that the mountains of other countries have often given us. No one, whatever he may have seen elsewhere, can look on the majestic Alps without the highest admiration, or forget the lovely vision of the Lombard lakes and the enchanting Bay of Naples.

* *Nauclea Cordifolia*.

But in considering the effect which the various scenes of Nature produce upon the mind, not at all comparing the beauty of one scene with that of another, we cannot but feel how much larger a portion of the great "Cosmos" is opened to us in the Himálaya than in the most favored parts of Europe.

We cannot attempt here to give any detailed account of the almost innumerable ridges of mountains which cover Kumáon and Gurhwál. The direction of the main ranges corresponds with that of the general strike of the strata, that is about north-west to south-east. Perhaps the easiest way for a person unacquainted with the country to obtain a clear idea of its configuration, is to study the river-systems by which the waters of the chain are carried down to the plains of India. We may consider that there are four river-basins in those provinces, the Ganges, the Rám-ganga, the Kosilla, and the Káli or Sárdah. This is true, however, only in the hills; for taking a more general view, the three last named rivers are of course mere affluents of the Ganges. -

While speaking of the Himálayan rivers, we may refer to a question that in former days was much agitated, and one which was generally quite incorrectly answered—Where is the true source of the Ganges?

It is well known that two rivers, the Alaknanda and the Bhágirathi, unite at Deopryág, to form the Ganges, which at Hardwár, forty miles below, issues from the Himálaya into the plains of India. Of these two rivers, the Alaknanda is by far the most important, whether we regard the quantity of water that it contributes, or the extent of country that it drains. The superior sanctity of the Bhágirathi in Hindu mythology and present belief, has, however, led to a very common idea among Europeans, that this river is the superior stream; and although several travellers have mentioned the greater size of the Alaknanda, the source of the Bhágirathi in the glacier above Gangotri is still generally spoken of as the true source of the Ganges. This mistaken idea received great support from the writings of Herbert and Hodgson, and from the map which they constructed; with this difference only, that another affluent of the Bhágirathi was chosen by them instead of the more sacred stream that flows from Gangotri. In Map No. 65 of the Indian Atlas, the Jáhnnavi, which joins the Bhágirathi a few miles below Gangotri, is represented as a great river breaking through the Himálayan chain, and coming from unknown regions of Tibet. It is now well known that the supposed facts on which all this was based were purely imaginary. The Jáhnnavi, instead of having, as was supposed, a trans-

Himálayan origin, rises, like almost all the affluents of the Ganges, on the southern side of the water-shed range, above Nilang; and its sources are very little more remote than the upper part of the Bhágirathi glacier. Neither the Jáhnavi, nor the Bhágirathi, has in reality any claim to be considered the main stream of the Ganges. The source of the Dhauli, the chief feeder of the Alaknanda, is undoubtedly the true source of the great river. The Hindus seem to have generally had a curious predilection for the less important affluents of their sacred streams. This is exemplified both in the Bhágirathi and Alaknanda, but especially on the latter. Thus, at Vishnu-pryág, at the foot of the great snowy peaks, two streams, the Vishnuganga and the Dhauli, unite to form the Alaknanda. The latter is the larger, but the former the more sacred. Going still higher, we find a similar junction of the Vishnuganga and Saraswati, a little above the temple of Badarináth. Here again the sacred river is the Vishnuganga, the smaller of the two. Still proceeding up the Vishnuganga, we soon reach the *ultima Thule* of the pilgrim, Basudhára. A little above this we find that a petty affluent, which rises in a small glacier close by, is the sacred stream, while the great river is quite disregarded, which a few miles higher up the valley rushes out of an immense glacier, an impassable torrent at its very source.

It has often been observed in other mountain ranges, and it is the case in this part of the Himálaya, that the water-shed line is not the same with that of greatest elevation. From twenty to thirty miles north of the great peaks of the Himálaya, the rivers still flow south; and it is only when we have thus left far behind us the mountains which appear from the central parts of Kumáon to be an impassable icy barrier, that we reach the water-shed of the chain, the ridge rising immediately above the Tibetan plateau.

From this water-shed ridge, the general direction of which is from north-west to south-east, a series of great transverse ranges run down nearly from north to south, and on these are found all the loftiest peaks of this portion of the range. "A line," says Richard Strachey, "drawn through the great peaks, 'will be almost parallel to the water-shed, but about thirty miles to the south of it.'" Between these ranges lie the valleys in which the most important of the affluents of the Ganges have their origin.

Hardly inferior in importance to the rivers which rise to the north of the great peaks, are those which come from the southern edge of the belt of perpetual snow. They spring in

most cases from glaciers, and they all join the Ganges or Káli, before reaching the plains.

The third class of Himálayan rivers comprises those which drain no part of the snowy range, but which rise in the lower hills, between the boundaries of the second system of rivers, that has just been mentioned, and the plains of India.

We speak of the rivers in this manner, only because some such division is a convenient help to a person wishing to become acquainted with the general geographical features of the country. For higher purposes, we must not think too much of the rivers.

A general description of the province of Kumáon, treating of its great physical features, its picturesque aspects, and the various races that inhabit it, is a thing which we do not yet possess. Mr. Traill's *Statistical Sketch of Kumáon* is excellent as far as it goes, considering the time at which it was written; but it does not supply our present want. Mr. Batten's *Settlement Reports* contain an immense quantity of valuable information, not only regarding the revenue system established in the hills, but on almost every subject of interest. But, from their very nature, reports of this kind cannot give a general picture of the country, and they must necessarily be more useful to people already in some degree acquainted with the province, than to those who have no such previous knowledge.

Of the geological structure of this part of the Himálaya, we have at last obtained a clear and consistent sketch, which, we trust, will prove the fore-runner of a greater work. We have no intention of entering into any criticisms of the labors of Captain Richard Strachey's predecessors in this branch of science in Kumáon. Those of Captain Herbert alone deserve to be mentioned with respect. But when he wrote his *Report on the Mineralogical Survey of the Himálaya Mountains*, which was published some years ago in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* of Bengal, geological science was in its infancy. In those days a person, who could tell the names of minerals, and understood something of their nature, was considered a geologist. Captain Herbert was something more than this. But although he was not a mere mineralogist, his geological observations were not very important, owing to the state of the science at the time. For example, though granites and greenstones abound in these provinces, the geologists of that day declared that there were no igneous rocks to be found here, while the wonderful succession of fossiliferous strata on the north of the great peaks of the Himálaya was hardly suspected; for though some fragments of bones and ammonites had

been brought down, nothing at all was known of the localities where they had been found.

The admirable paper by Captain Richard Strachey, of the Bengal Engineers, which was published last year by the Geological Society of London, and the sections and map which accompanied it, gave the scientific world the first intelligible account of the geological structure of this part of the Himalaya. The manner in which Captain Strachey's labors have been acknowledged by many of the most eminent philosophers of Europe, renders any praise of ours quite superfluous. It has been universally admitted by all capable of forming an opinion on the subject, that seldom has a more important or more interesting contribution been made to the stock of geological knowledge than this, of which the paper just noticed gives only a slight and imperfect outline.

No organic remains have been discovered hitherto in the first ranges in Kumáon that rise above the plains. The Seivalik hills, so famous for their magnificent fossils, have here a very slight development, and the older fossiliferous strata are equally obscure. Captain Strachey's examination of these lower hills was, as he tells us, a very cursory one, and the geological difficulties of this tract have still to be cleared up.

Leaving the outer hills of Kumáon, and entering the great mountain-region, we come first to a series of rocks, totally devoid of fossils, consisting of argillaceous schists, grits, and limestones, dipping generally to the N. N. E., and intersected by several lines of igneous action, which follow generally the direction of the strike.* Proceeding northwards, we then enter "a tract of considerable breadth, the main rock of which is a mica-schist of a not very crystalline order." * * * "Along the central part of this region runs a line of granite, that extends, with hardly any interruption, from the Káli to the Ganges, near which river it seems to end in a large outburst in a mass of mountain, the elevation of which reaches 10,300 feet.† The ordinary summits along the line are not, however, more than 7,000 feet in altitude. This granite nowhere appears to produce any particular disturbance of the strata on a large scale; the dip remaining at much the same angle, and constantly to the N. N. E. on both sides of the granite."† Still proceeding northwards, we come to slates, limestones, and quartzites,

* The Gagar range in which Naini Tál is situated.

† Dudátoli, in Gurhwál.

† This and the succeeding quotations are taken from Captain R. Strachey's paper "On the Geology of Part of the Himalaya Mountains and Tibet."—*Proceedings of the Geological Society of London*, June, 1861.

traversed by a line of igneous action. "The eruptive rock is for the most part green-stone, but a black basalt also is found in one or two places. The green-stones along this line are frequently seen to pass into decided schists, and the conglomerates and breccias, that have been termed 'ash' or 'volcanic grit,' are common." * * * "Iron and copper likewise follow the line of the eruptive rocks; the iron usually near the eruption, the copper further off, with the limestone and steatite, and with these is also commonly found a rather remarkable carbonate of magnesia. The dip of these beds is to the north-north-east; but in the vicinity of the eruptive rocks they are frequently very much disturbed and contorted, and have every appearance of having undergone considerable change from the action of heat." * * * "The schists and limestones generally become talcose along the northern part of this region, and we then pass into the crystalline schists, that are invariably found along the line of the great peaks; and this we also find to be a line of granitic eruption." * * *

"Entering the region of the crystalline schists of the great line of peaks, we find the strike still remaining the same, with the dip pretty constantly to the N. N. E. Along the line on which the points of greatest elevation are found in this part of the range, we invariably see, for a breadth of several miles, veins of granite in great abundance penetrating the schist, often cutting through them, but, perhaps, most frequently following the bedding of the strata, between which they seem to have been forced. The great peaks are, I think, in almost every case, composed of schistose rock, but the granite veins may be most clearly seen on the faces of the mountains to very great elevations.* Kamet, one of the highest of the peaks in this region, seems, however, to be among the exceptions to this rule; its summit, which is upwards of 25,500 feet above the sea, appearing to consist of granite alone." * * *

"Thermal springs are met with in many of the valleys along the line of granite, and in several that I am acquainted with, the temperature seemed pretty regularly to be about 128° Fahrenheit."

After passing to the north of the great snowy peaks of the range, the geology assumes extraordinary interest. The existence of fossils in these elevated regions has long been known; but it is entirely to Captain R. Strachey's researches that we owe the discovery of the wonderful fact, that we find here, in regular succession, each distinguished unmistakably

* These veins can be distinctly seen, through a telescope, on the great face of Trisul, from Binsar and Almora.

by its characteristic fossils, almost every one of the principal formations, from the Silurian to the Tertiary periods.

After passing the crystalline schists, and the granites of the snowy peaks, we first come to a tract composed of coarse slates, grits, and limestones, all devoid of fossil remains. At the top of these strata, generally at an elevation of not less than 14,000 feet above the sea, we arrive at the Palæozoic strata. Their lowest beds are undoubtedly of Silurian age, and consist, says Captain Strachey, of "dark-coloured, thick-bedded limestones, in some places filled with corals. They are succeeded by limestones mixed with slates, in which were found a strong-ribbed *Orthis*, *Terebratula*, *Lingula*—a large Univalve, and fragments of *Encrinites*. Above these come flaggy limestones with grits, that contain the greater part of the *Trilobites*, *Strophomena*, *Leptæna*, *Lituites*, *Ptilodictyon*, *Cystidææ*, and *Fucoids*. The beds then become more argillaceous, and shales and slates, mixed with an impure concretionary limestone, follow. In these beds are found *Cyrtoceras* and *Orthoceras*, and amongst the nodular concretions of limestone, a *Chaetetes* is common. Next in order come dark red grits, sometimes marly, containing only a few fragments of Encrinital stems. Above these, pale flesh-coloured quartzite, and finally a white quartzite, in neither of which I ever found any fossils, and which form the highest peaks of the ridges composed of the Palæozoic rocks." * * * These Palæozoic beds are found as a "general rule, to which, however, there are no doubt many exceptions, forming the summits of the highest passes between the British provinces of Kumaon and Gurhwâl, and Tibet, which probably average 18,000 feet in elevation; and the highest points of the ridges on which these passes are found, not unfrequently reach nearly 20,000 feet in altitude."

Proceeding upwards, we come, Captain Strachey tells us, to some remarkable beds, closely resembling the Muschelkalk of Europe, and above these again to Oolitic strata, among which the presence of the Oxford clay is strongly marked by the peculiar fossils of that formation.

Still ascending, we reach the Tibetan plateau, "a great tertiary deposit at an elevation of from 14,000 to 16,000 feet above the sea, still preserving an almost perfectly horizontal surface. On crossing the water-shed ridge between the streams that flow to the south into the Ganges, and those that fall into the upper part of the Sutlej to the north,—which ridge here constitutes the boundary between the British territory and Tibet,—we find ourselves on a plain 120 miles in length,

‘ and ranging from fifty to sixty in breadth, that stretches
 ‘ away in a north-westerly direction. Its western portion is
 ‘ everywhere intersected by stupendous ravines, that of the
 ‘ Sutlej being nearly 8,000 feet deep. The sections afforded
 ‘ by these enable us to see that this plain is a deposit of
 ‘ boulders, gravel, clay, and mud of all varieties of fineness,
 ‘ laid out in well-marked beds, that run nearly parallel with
 ‘ the surface, and that hardly deviate from a horizontal position.

“ The discovery of the fossilized remains of several of the
 ‘ larger mammalia distinctly marks the tertiary age of this deposit.
 ‘ The existence of such fossil remains in the northern parts of these mountains
 ‘ had been long known, but we were altogether ignorant of the precise locality
 ‘ whence they came, and had no facts before us from which any conclusions could
 ‘ be formed as to their geological import. The Niti Pass, from which it is said
 ‘ that the bones had been brought, was not the place where they were found,
 ‘ but one of the routes only by which they came across the great Himálayan chain,
 ‘ from the unknown regions beyond.”

Bones of Rhinoceros, Elephant, Hippotherium, Horse, and of several Ruminants, have been recognized among these fossils. As the existence of such animals in such a country as this is a physical impossibility, we see, beyond a doubt, that these strata have been raised to their present immense elevation since the time of their deposition; and there is a very high probability that they are of marine origin; though, as no shells have yet been found, the direct proof of this is wanting.

But we must leave this part of our subject, on which we have already dwelt too long. We have no doubt that Captain Strachey will endeavour to complete worthily what he has so well begun. No one who has not himself visited the more difficult of the Himálayan passes into Tibet, can have any idea of the toils and privations that must have been gone through, in the prosecution of these researches. Labouring from morning to night, over mountains often 18,000 feet above the sea, is a task which no *dilettante* geologist is likely to undertake. Nor were Captain Strachey's labours, in other departments of scientific enquiry, less energetically pursued. He has now difficulties of quite another nature to overcome, difficulties which would tempt many a man to abandon his work with disgust. But when a man sees clearly the work that he has got to do, and has determined that he will do it, he will take small account of the obstacles which he may have to overcome.

We cannot close this sketch of Himálayan geology more

appropriately than by the following quotation from one of the chiefs of the great English geologists, Sir Roderick Impey Murchison. It illustrates the most interesting point in the researches of which we have been speaking, the fact that there has now been added another chapter to the history, which the geologists of Europe have been giving us, of the periods when animal life was beginning on the earth. "After a patient study of the types of Palæozoic life, we can now fearlessly assert, that the geological history, or sequence of the earliest races of fossil animals, is firmly established. Its truth is sustained by the display of forms, which mark the period when the first vestiges of life can be discovered, as well as the following successive creations; and thus whilst, with the exception of one sacred record, we can truly say, that the origin of the greatest empires of man is buried in fable and superstition, the hard and indelible register, as preserved for our inspection in the great book of ancient Nature, is at length interpreted and read off with clearness and precision."—*Russia, Vol. I., p. 9.*

The sanctity of the Himálaya, in Hindu mythology, is known to every one, and still the pilgrim seeks salvation at the sacred sources of the Ganges. "He who thinks on 'Himáchal,' says the Mánasá-khanda, one of the numerous Máhátmyas of the Skanda Purána, "though he should not behold him, is greater than he who performs all worship in Káshi. In a hundred ages of the gods I could not tell thee of the glories of Himáchal. As the dew is dried up by the morning sun, so are the sins of mankind by the sight of 'Himáchal.'"

It is not often that the sacred books of the Hindus tell us much that we can depend on, regarding the various kingdoms of ancient India; and, as far as they have hitherto been interpreted, they have not given us much information regarding the country of which we are now speaking. The wide diffusion, through an immense breadth of Asia, of the name *Khasa*, has frequently been noticed. Thus we have *Kashmir*, *Kashgar*, the "land of Cush," and *Caucasus*, which last, as has been ingeniously conjectured, may be *Koh-Khasa*, the mountain of the Khasas. We read in Manu of the Khasa, as one among several races of Kshatriyas, who have become degraded by the neglect of religious rites. The story of their degradation is found in the Máhábhárata, and in several of the Puránas. The greater part of the present inhabitants of Kumáon belong to the tribe now called Khasiya, which is spread so widely through a great extent of the Indian Himálaya. That these *Khasiyas* are the

same people called *Khasa* in the ancient Sanskrit books, cannot be doubted. There is, moreover, direct evidence from inscriptions that have lately been decyphered in Gurhwál, that certainly not less than a thousand years ago, the king of these provinces called himself the king of *Khasa*. The term is now *dyslogistic*, but it evidently was not so when these inscriptions were written.

We cannot pretend to say that Manu's mention of the *Khasas* as a *Kshatriya* race, is at all conclusive as to the fact of their being so; for with them are mentioned several other tribes, whose *Kshatriya* origin the learned will hardly be ready to admit. Still the statements of Manu and the *Máhábharata* are worth something, especially if it can be shown to be probable, as we believe *can* be shown, that when those ancient authorities mentioned the *Khasas*, they were referring to the *Khasas* of these very provinces, of which we are now treating, and not necessarily to all the tribes bearing a similar name. It is curious that the traditional belief of the Kumáon *Khasiyas*, regarding their own origin, agrees exactly with the story of Manu and the other ancient authorities. They say that they are *Rájputs*, fallen from their first honorable state. That in reality this belief may have been *derived* from the sources which we have just indicated, is, however, not at all impossible. That this question must be decided mainly on quite other grounds than these, is very evident; we have merely touched on some of the points which have hitherto, we believe, not been noticed, but which seem to deserve investigation when this question in ethnography is debated. It has commonly been almost taken for granted, that these *Khasiyas* are of mixed Tibetan and Indian blood. It may be so; but we think no evidence has yet been produced to prove the fact. The vocabularies, which profess to show it, we believe, show nothing of the kind: and the other fact that is often appealed to, the peculiarities of form and feature which indicate the Mongolian race, and which are said to be seen in the *Khasiyas*, we suspect to be an equally imaginary one. We must repeat, that we are speaking only of the *Khasiyas* of Kumáon: and that we accept no evidence as conclusive, which is founded on facts observed among a people of the same name a thousand miles away. Mr. Hodgson, who has done so much for ethnographical science in India, and whose opinion on such a subject is incomparably more valuable than any that we can pretend to give, appears to consider that the evidences of Tibetan blood in the *Khasiyas* of *Nepál*, cannot be doubted; but his researches have only an in-

direct bearing on facts connected with the Khasiyas of Kumáon.

However this vexed question may be hereafter determined, one fact seems to be certain, that at the present time, the Khasiyas of Kumáon and Gurhwál are, to all intents and purposes, Hindus. "They are so," says Mr. J. Strachey, "in form and feature, in language, religion, and customs; and all their sentiments and prejudices are so strongly imbued with the peculiar spirit of that faith, that although their social habits and religious belief are often repugnant to Hindu orthodoxy, it is difficult for any one who knows them, to consider them any thing but Hindu."

The constitution of society amongst them is thoroughly Hindu. The people are purely agricultural; and the village communities are as characteristic, and as permanent as they are, perhaps, in any part of India; except in those parts of the province where the excessive steepness of the mountains, and the poverty of the soil, make the means of subsistence more than commonly precarious. For the greater part of the country which the Khasiyas inhabit, we may say in the words of Sir Charles (Lord) Metcalfe:—"A generation may pass away, but the succeeding generation will return. The sons will take the places of their fathers; the same site for the village, the same positions for the houses, the same lands will be occupied by the descendants of those who were driven out when the village was depopulated."* "The landed proprietors," says Mr. Traill, speaking of Kumáon, "ever evince the most tenacious attachment to their estates, whatever be their extent, and never voluntarily alienate them, except under circumstances of extreme necessity."†

In the Kumáon villages, the greater part of the land is cultivated by the actual proprietors. The operation of the Hindu law of inheritance has brought about a minute sub-division of the land, and large estates are almost unknown. Property in the soil is termed *thát*, and the proprietor *thatbí* or *thátwán*, but the two latter terms are now almost superseded by the modern name of *hissadár*. "In such a state of property," says Mr. Traill, "the characters of landholder and farmer are naturally united, as the former cannot afford to part with any portion of the profit of his petty tenement; accordingly, full six-tenths of the arable land are cultivated by

* Quoted in Elphinstone's India, vol. i., p. 12.

† "Statistical Sketch of Kumáon"—Official Reports, p. 32.

' the actual proprietors, who may be termed *thátwán* cultivators. Of the other four-tenths, one-half may be assumed for the estates which are cultivated by resident tenants, having no claim to the property in the soil. This class may be divided into the Khaikar and Kaini or *Khurni*; the Khaikar enjoyed an hereditary, though not transferrable right of the cultivation; the Khurnis were tenants, and settled on the estate by the proprietors, and by the long continued occupancy, might come to be considered in the light of Khaikars, from whom, indeed, they differed little, except in the nature of the rent to which they are liable.*

This quotation represents accurately the present state of things; but Khaikars and Kainis are not now what they were in former times; and this fact has not, we think, been sufficiently pointed out. We believe that the *Khaikar*, as far as his present condition is concerned, may be considered to have been invented by Mr. Traill, and we are not sure that the invention was a happy one. There is little doubt, that under former Governments, the Khaikar had no hereditary rights that were ever recognized. Now he is, to all intents and purposes, very frequently the actual proprietor of the land, paying merely nominal dues to the theoretical owner. A *Khaikar* might, in old times, become a *Kaini*, but the process which Mr. Traill has described in the passage above quoted, by which a *Kaini* could be converted into a *Khaikar*, we believe to have been an impossible one. The two tenures were totally distinct. The Khaikar was a tenant at will; the Kaini was *adscriptus glebæ*, a serf who could be disposed of with the land, at his master's pleasure, but who could not be ousted, as long as he performed his hereditary services. Even the name of Kaini will soon seldom be heard in these provinces.

The artizans of the country belong to a different class, to that of *Dúm*, or as they prefer to say themselves, *Bairsua*. The *Dúms* were not, as has sometimes been stated, strictly speaking, slaves: they possessed numerous rights, and could not be sold. Slaves (*Chyóra*) were common, but they were not *Dúms*, but *Khasiyas*. The question has been raised, whether the *Dúms* may not be a remnant of the aborigines of the country; but this is at present a mere speculation.

Probably nine-tenths of the population of that part of these mountains, which is situated between the plains of India, and the snowy peaks of the chain, are *Khasiya*. Mr. Traill has given us an excellent account of the general character of the

* Quoted in Mr. Batten's Reports on the Settlement of Gurhwál—Official Reports, p. 123.

people, and we shall terminate what we have to say of this part of the province, with a quotation from his report. It must be remembered, that after we pass the snowy peaks, we come to a different race of people, to whom we shall refer more particularly hereafter. "The population of the interior, as has been already stated, is comprised almost solely of the agricultural classes. From the nature of the country, the communication between villages is commonly both tedious and laborious; and the intercourse of the inhabitants of even adjacent hamlets is confined to the periodical festivals, which occur at neighbouring temples: on these occasions again, the meeting is composed wholly of the villagers of the surrounding district; and the presence of individuals from other parts of the hills is viewed almost as an intrusion. This state of restricted intercourse, continued through ages, has tended to preserve a distinctness of character and manners among the mountaineers, who accordingly still exhibit the compound of virtues and defects common to agricultural tribes, in a rude state of society. Honest, sober, frugal, patient under fatigue and privations, hospitable, good-humoured, open, and usually sincere in their address,—they are, at the same time, extremely indolent, fickle, easily led away by the counsel of others, hasty in pursuing the dictates of passion, even to their own immediate detriment, envious of each other, jealous of strangers, capable of equivocation and petty cunning, and, lastly, grossly superstitious. To personal courage the lower orders make no pretension; the high Rajpút families * * * are in no way deficient in the inherent spirit of their race. Conjugal affection has scarcely any existence in the hills; wives are universally considered and treated as part of the live-stock, and little or no importance is attached to the breach of female chastity, excepting when the prejudices of caste may thereby be compromised. To their children, however, they evince strong affection; and instances of suicide, by fathers as well as mothers, from grief for the loss of a child, are far from uncommon. The indolence of the male sex is insuperable, even by the prospect of gain; and the whole labor of the domestic economy and of agriculture, excepting only ploughing and harrowing, is left to the women; and a rate of wages, greater by one-half than that which exists in the plains, fails in inducing the voluntary attendance of day-laborers: the people of this class will,

* It may be added, however, that this is very much owing to the vile system of forced labor, not only for public, but for private works, which is only now beginning to be really abolished (in 1862.)

‘ however, without hesitation, wander hundreds of miles, and spend weeks, to gain a few annas by peddling the commodities of the plains. All mountaineers unite in an excessive distrust of the natives of the low country, whom they regard as a race of swindlers and extortioners.” * * *

“ Local attachments are very predominant, and an eventual return to their natal village continues to be the cherished hope of those whom the want of means of subsistence may have compelled to migrate; from the same sentiment, the petty landed proprietors entertain an overwhelming affection for their hereditary fields. Of the honesty of the hill people, too much praise cannot be given; property of all kinds is left exposed in every way, without fear and without loss; in those districts whence periodical migration to the *Tarai* takes place, the villages are left with almost a single occupant during half the year; and though a great part of the property of the villages remains in their houses, no precaution is deemed necessary, except securing the doors against the ingress of animals, which is done by a bar of wood, the use of locks being as yet confined to the higher classes. In their pecuniary transactions with each other, the agricultural classes have rarely recourse to written engagements; bargains concluded by the parties joining hands, (*hath marna*,) in token of assent, prove equally effectual and binding as if secured by parchment and seals.”*

We must now leave the Khasiyas and their country, referring those who wish to know more about them to the volume of official reports edited by Mr. Batten.

It has already been stated, that we get among a different people when we pass to the north of the great snowy peaks.† *Bád*, the Tibetan name for *Tibet*, (the latter being a name quite unknown to the inhabitants of that country,) corrupted by the people of India into *Bhót*, has given rise to the designation *Bhótiya* for the border tribes between the two countries. *Bhót*, without having lost its original meaning, for it is still applied generally to the tract north of the great peaks, without reference to any physical or political boundaries, is now more commonly used in Kumáon to signify the country which lies within the snowy range south of the Tibetan frontier. To avoid confusion, we shall always apply the name in this restrict-

* Traill's Statistical Sketch of Kumáon—Official Reports, p. 63.

† Possibly a few sentences here, and in another part of this article, may have been printed before, almost exactly in their present form. We cannot now verify the fact, but should it prove to be the case, no plagiarism need be assumed to have been committed.

ed sense, distinguishing the adjacent province of Tibet by the well-known name of *Hundes*, and its inhabitants by that of *Huniya*. The name of this country has, on the great authority of Dr. Wilson, been said to be *Him-des*, i. e. the snow-country; it was called by Moorcroft *Undes*, the wool-country; but there can be no doubt that the real name is *Hundes*, the land of *Huns*. From ancient inscriptions found in Gurhwál, it is proved that the country in question was known under the name of *Huna*, probably more than a thousand years ago, and there can be no doubt that the race of *Hunas* often mentioned in the *Puránas*, were the people of the same country. The name reminds us at once of *Huns* and *Hiong-nu*; but we will not enter into this field for speculation.

The limits of *Bhót*, in these provinces, cannot be very strictly defined, for the term is an ethnographical rather than a geographical expression, and signifies the tract inhabited by the people called *Bhótiya*, rather than a country of which any positive boundaries can be named. To the north alone can the limits of the *Bhótiya* districts be easily defined. The water-shed ridge of the *Himálaya*, every where in *Kumáon* and *Gurhwál*, separates them and the British possessions from the Tibetan territory of *Hundes*. To the south any boundary that may be named must be a purely artificial one; but it will give a tolerably correct idea of the general limits of the *Bhótiya* tract if we consider it to be bounded on the south by a line passing a little to the north of the great peaks of the *Himálaya*.

The only published account of these *Bhótiyas* is Mr. Traill's *Statistical Report on the Bhótiya Mehals of Kumáon*, which will be found in the volume of official reports. It contains a great deal of valuable information; but it cannot be depended on in all its details; and a complete and accurate account of this part of *Kumáon* is still a desideratum. As the tract in question is a most curious and interesting one, we shall endeavor to give the reader a slight sketch of some of its chief characteristics.

The only parts of the *Bhótiya* districts which are habitable, are the narrow valleys lying between the great snowy ranges which run down to the south from the water-shed of the chain, in which flow the principal sources of the *Ganges* and the *Káli*; and by far the greater portion of the tract consists of mountains, which are either covered with perpetual snow, or the elevation of which is too great to admit of any human habitation. The *Bhótiya* villages are all situated to the north of the great peaks, which are found for the most part

near the southern limit of the belt of perpetual snow. They have an elevation above the sea varying from 7,000 to more than 12,000 feet; and as their inhabitants depend almost entirely for subsistence on their trade with Tibet, it is not far from the truth to say, as Mr. Batten has remarked, that those villages are generally the most prosperous which are situated the nearest to the passes and to the marts of Hundes, and therefore at the greatest heights and in the most inhospitable climates.

It has been already mentioned that the water-shed line lies generally about thirty miles to the north of the line of greatest elevation. The great peaks of the chain, many of which in Kumaon exceed 23,000 feet in height, and one of which, Nanda Devi, approaches 26,000 feet, are almost always situated near the southern limit of the belt of perpetual snow, on great transverse ranges that run down from the water-shed of the chain. Owing to this structure, the climate and vegetation, the two most important influences with regard to the inhabitants of the country, are entirely different in the Bhótiya districts from those which we find at similar elevations further south. On the southern side of the great peaks, the country is every where within the influence of the summer and the winter rains of India. We have a damp climate, and a luxuriant vegetation, up to 12,000 feet above the sea; and the line of perpetual snow descends to a height of almost 15,500 feet. When we pass to the north of the great peaks, the contrast is most striking. Here we find a dry climate, almost beyond the influence of the periodical rains; the magnificent vegetation has ceased; as we proceed northward, the air and the soil become constantly drier and more arid; the fall of snow, as well as that of rain, gradually diminishes; and, as we approach the water-shed of the chain, and the Tibetan plateau, which in this part of the Himálaya are the northern limits of the belt of perpetual snow, the snow-line, under the hostile influence of the climate, recedes to an elevation of between 18,000 and 19,000 feet above the sea. Captain Richard Strachey's excellent paper "On the Snow-line in the Himálaya," which will be found named in the list at the head of this article, has explained these phenomena very clearly; and to it we refer all who wish for information on this interesting and much debated subject. We hope that, as far as the great facts are concerned, we shall hear no more of this snow-line controversy; and that the question, whether it be highest on the southern or northern face of the Himálaya, may be considered finally disposed of. How any one, who has himself travelled in the snowy range,

can ever have had any doubt on the subject, is quite incomprehensible to us. The great mistake committed by one side in this controversy, has been the notion that there is one particular ridge which constitutes the main Himálaya. There is no *ridge* of mountains perhaps in the world,* in which snow will not lie longer on the northern than on the southern face. Certainly there is no ridge in the Himálaya of which this is not true, and indeed we do not know that any body ever dreamed of denying it. But the snowy part of the Himálaya is not a *ridge*, but a vast range of mountains; and when we say that the snow-line is lower on the southern than on the northern face of the Himálaya, we do not mean to say that there is any particular ridge of hill on which there is more snow on the southern than on the northern side, but that taking the great belt of mountains covered with perpetual snow, as a whole, the snow-line is several thousand feet lower on the southern than on the northern edge of that belt. And that this indisputable fact is sufficiently explained by the fact that the line of greatest elevation in the Himálaya is very near the southern edge of the belt of perpetual snow, has been sufficiently shown by Captain Strachey in the paper to which we have above referred.

At the heads of the rivers, which flow through the Bhótiya valleys, are situated all the practicable passes of this part of the Himálaya. The paths follow as far as possible the courses of the streams; and except where high spurs interrupt the regularity of the drainage, and increase the number of ridges that must be passed, according to the water-shed of the chain, they cross immediately into Tibet. The elevation of the Kumáon and Gurhwál passes varies from 16,800 to 18,700 feet above the sea.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the badness of the tracks across these passes; for there is nothing to deserve the name of road, or even of path; and travelling among the masses of loose and tumbling rock, over beds of snow and glaciers, and at an elevation where even a slight exertion is painful, is very difficult to people on foot who are not accustomed to such journeys. Toil and discomfort, however, form the only real difficulties to be encountered, and of toil there need not be very much to a traveller seated on the back of his *cow*, the only way in which it is possible, except on foot, to cross the passes of these mountains with safety. The stories of the terrific perils that have to be passed through in

* Qu.—In the northern hemisphere?—Ed.

crossing the *Himálaya* are altogether fictitious, to one at least who has lived long among mountains. They have had their origin in the imaginations of travellers unaccustomed to such journeys, or in the bodily suffering which the rarefaction of the air sometimes occasions. There is hardly more danger in crossing the worst of the *Himálayan* passes than in scrambling over the *Mer de Glace*, or in riding to the top of *Snowdon* or the *Righi*. Crossing *Fleet Street* in a crowded afternoon is much more dangerous than either. We speak, of course, of the passes, after the winter snow has completely melted, and when the state of the atmosphere is favorable. Travellers may undoubtedly be exposed to the greatest danger, in these, as in many other mountains, from avalanches and snow-storms, if they attempt to cross the passes too early or too late in the year. The discomfort, however, that must be gone through, can hardly be exaggerated; and no European who has ever experienced the horrors of a Tibetan climate, who knows the wretchedness of a barometric pressure of fifteen or sixteen inches, and has convinced himself how little of the sublime and beautiful these elevated regions can show him, will willingly cross the *Himálaya* a second time, unless impelled by objects of scientific research, or some other powerful inducement.

We have already noticed the extraordinary geological interest of this tract of country. The aspect of its scenery, especially in its more northern position, is generally desolate and hideous in the extreme. True sublimity can hardly exist without beauty, and of the beautiful there is almost nothing in this dismal region. There is very much to astonish, but little to delight. From the high points, indeed, a little beyond the water-shed ridge, whence we look over the elevated plains of Tibet, stretching far away to the east and west, and bounded on the north, at a distance of forty or fifty miles, by a range of hills running parallel to the great *Himálaya*, the scenery is not without a certain savage grandeur, although the sublimity which we often find in the country to the south of the great peaks is totally wanting. The utter desolation, which, when it lay close around us, was only hideous, is here softened down by distance; and the broad grassy plain, cut through by most stupendous ravines, and bounded by the bare brown hills, is strange and wonderful. But to the traveller who can look beyond mere external forms, for the feelings which natural objects can inspire, this scene possesses a true sublimity; and it must always be to him one of the most impressive sights that the earth can show. He

knows that the plain over which he looks is the bed of an ancient ocean, filled with the vestiges of the extinct creations of an ancient world, still preserving, almost unchanged, its level surface, although by unknown forces it has been raised up sixteen thousand feet, into the midst of the snows of the Himálaya.

The great elevation, and the rigorous climate of the Bhótiya valleys, necessarily exercise a most important influence on their inhabitants. The villages are only occupied for rather more than half the year, from April to November; the whole population migrating regularly every winter to a more genial climate to the south of the great peaks of the chain. One poor and uncertain crop, consisting of barley and buck-wheat, and, in smaller quantity, of wheat and the chúa amaranth, is obtained each year at the Bhótiya villages. The sowing takes place in May, and the crops are cut in September and October.

But the Bhótiyas derive from their fields a very small portion of their means of subsistence. "Trade," says Mr. Traill, "forms the primary object of importance to the Bhótiyas, and is the principal, if not sole consideration which retains them in the unfertile villages of Bhót, now that waste lands of a far superior quality in the northern pergunnas every where present themselves for occupation. The adjoining province of Tibet holds out peculiar attractions to commerce. Subjected by the rigor of its climate to perpetual sterility, it depends on the surrounding countries for almost every commodity both of necessity and of luxury; to remedy these deficiencies, it has, at the same time, been furnished by Nature with a variety of valuable products; its rivers and deserts abound with gold; in its lakes are produced inexhaustible supplies of salt and borax, while to its pastures* it is indebted for wool of an unrivalled quality."†

The Bhótiyas possess a complete monopoly of the carrying trade with Tibet, and this they jealously guard by every means in their power. The poverty and the want of enterprize of the merchants of Kumáon and Gurhwál, the difficulties of crossing the passes without the assistance of the Bhótiyas, the total absence of tolerable roads, and, perhaps, more than all, the force of immemorial custom, have hitherto prevented any serious attempts towards the abolition of the Bhótiya monopoly. Under the present system, no considerable increase of the trade can be looked for; but, if the Bhótiya

* Rather to its climate.

† "Statistical Report on the Bhótiya Mehals of Kumaon"—Official Reports, p. 94.

Monopoly were abolished, and the jealousy of the Tibetan authorities towards every innovation were to cease, we should still probably see no great increase of trade until European capital were brought to bear. The great obstacle to an extended commerce between the two countries seems at present to be the fact, that the greater part of the country, immediately to the north of the Himálaya, is almost uninhabited, and that the small population which exists, is generally in a state of abject poverty. Any great consumption, of either the necessities or the luxuries of life, seems almost impossible; and as trade is only an interchange of commodities, we cannot look for its extension to any demand of the people of Hundes itself. But an increased demand for the productions of that country would ultimately have the effect of extending the trade to countries which it now does not reach.

The agricultural productions of Hundes being utterly insufficient for the support of its inhabitants, the country depends for subsistence almost entirely on its trade with the countries lying to the south of the Himálaya. Grain, being the greatest necessary to the Huniyas, forms the chief article of export from Kumáon and Gurhwál. Next in importance are coarse cotton cloths, broad-cloth, sugar, hard-ware, tobacco, spices, and a variety of miscellaneous commodities. The chief imports are borax, salt, wool, *pasham* or shawl-wool, woollen-cloths, and shawls, mostly of inferior quality, silks, ponies, cow-tails, &c. The borax trade, which had greatly fallen off, has somewhat recovered during the last few years. The great European demand for this article, a large proportion of which was formerly supplied from Tibet, made this trade a very profitable one; but the discovery of the *lagoni* of Tuscany, and the immense development which European science has given to the manufacture of pure borax from boracic acid in Italy, has caused a great diminution of the demand for the crude and impure article that is produced in Tibet. But the demand has increased so immensely, that it seems that enough of Italian borax cannot be obtained, and if we could manage to refine our borax properly before it left the hills, it might still become a most important article of commerce. We have been informed on the best authority, that the Tibetan borax loses half its value in the European market from the way in which it is ruined in the refining process in India. We extract the following account from Captain Henry Strachey's narrative of his journey to the lakes of Gnari:—"The salt and borax mines of Gnari, (Hundes) or fields rather, *Lha-lhaka*, or *Lhali-lhaka*, lie to the north of Bongbwa Tal, across mountains that round the

‘ north-east side of the valley of the Shajjan river, parallel to
 ‘ the Gangri range, and in the eastern part of the Zung of
 ‘ Rudukh. The two salts, I understand, are obtained from
 ‘ different spots in the same vicinity, and both are worked in
 ‘ the same way, by washing the earth taken from the surface
 ‘ of the ground, in which they are developed by natural efflores-
 ‘ cence. These salt-fields are open to all who choose to adven-
 ‘ ture their labor in them, on payment of a tenth part of the
 ‘ produce to the Government, which has an excise establish-
 ‘ ment for collecting the dues on the spot. The proceeds form,
 ‘ perhaps, an item in the general contract for the revenues of
 ‘ Gnari between the Garpan and the Lhassan Government.”*

Nearly the whole of the salt brought from Tibet is consumed by the people of our hill provinces. It is bartered for grain to the inhabitants of the country lying immediately below the Bhótiya districts, and they again dispose of it in the more southern parts of the province.

Sheep and goats serve as the means of transport for nearly the whole of the grain, salt, and borax, and generally of all articles that are not very bulky. They are usually purchased by the Bhótiyas from the people of the country immediately to the south of the great peaks, where the fine pastures render the breeding of these animals an easy and a profitable occupation. A sheep can carry from fifteen to twenty pounds, and a goat twenty to five-and-twenty pounds; but the ordinary loads are considerably less. All articles, which can be so conveyed, are placed in small bags made of coarse woollen cloth, and covered externally with leather. Two of these, united by a band, are placed across the back of the animal, one hanging down on each side. These bags are called *karbach* in Kumáon, and *phancha* in Gurhwál. Bulky articles are carried chiefly on *jubus*, the cross-breed between the yak of Tibet and the common Indian cow. Being better able to bear the changes of climate to which the trade exposes them, they are preferred to the pure breed of the yak. The jubu is the produce of the male yak, with the Indian cow. The other cross-breed between the two species is called *garju*; it is considered very inferior to the jubu.

It is not until towards the end of June that the snow melts sufficiently to enable the Bhótiyas to cross the passes with their sheep and cattle. During this, and the preceding month, the grain and other articles of trade are conveyed from the lower hills to the Bhótiya villages. A large quantity of grain

* Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1848.

is also delivered there, in these and the succeeding months, by the inhabitants of the pergunnahs lying to the south of the Bhótiya valleys, the whole being carried on sheep and goats, precisely in the same manner that is followed among the Bhótiyas. They barter their grain for salt at the villages, being prevented by the Bhótiya monopoly from making their own bargains in Hundes.

In June the Bhótiyas begin to transport the grain and other commodities to Hundes, and till October the flocks constantly ply backwards and forwards with the productions of the two countries, the principal Bhótiyas generally remaining themselves in Hundes to superintend operations. The women and children are, for the most part, left at the villages, to perform the necessary duties of looking after the crops and getting in the harvest.

No interference of any sort with the Tibetan trade is exercised by our Government; no duties are levied, and the land-tax which the Bhótiyas are called on to pay is trifling. But the Tibetan authorities have, from time immemorial, subjected the trade to numerous regulations and restrictions; nor is their interference merely confined to the imposition of customs-duties. There is reason to believe that the Bhótiya districts were originally subject to Tibet. We see probably a remnant of the old state of things in the fact that the Tibetan Government still demands from the Bhótiyas a recognition of its supremacy. The revenue which the Bhótiyas are called on to pay by the Tibetan authorities, independently of the duties imposed upon trade, is very insignificant in actual amount; but there can be no doubt that it is still looked upon as an acknowledgment on the part of the Bhótiyas of their subjection to the parent state. Before the establishment of a strong Government in Kumáon and Gurhwál, the authority thus exercised by the Tibetan power was by no means only nominal. The Hindu Governments in these districts were generally weak and unstable; consequently the Bhótiyas were the less inclined to resist the orders and the demands of the Tibetan authorities; and the taxes paid by them to the foreign Government were formally recognized by their Hindu rulers both in Kumáon and Gurhwál. Since the British conquest of these provinces, no notice of the matter has been taken by our Government, but the Bhótiyas have gradually become more and more independent of Tibet, and more obedient to their European masters, attaching themselves, as might have been expected, to the stronger side. There can be no doubt, too, that the authorities in Hundes are fully aware of the inexpediency of any active

interference in the concerns of British subjects. The Bhótiyas continue to pay their taxes according to old custom, but they do so in a great measure because the demands are not sufficiently onerous to be worth quarrelling about; and their subjection to the Tibetan Government is now almost entirely nominal. We do not speak here of the duties levied on trade, which stand on altogether different grounds. It has, however, always been the policy of the Bhótiyas to profess to all Europeans, and indeed to people generally with whom they may have dealings, the greatest dread of the Tibetan authorities, and to declare the constant fear they are under of having their trade stopped, on which their whole means of subsistence depend, should the slightest infringement of the regulations and orders of the Tibetan Government take place. It has generally been taken for granted, that these statements were perfectly true; and until two or three years ago, it seems hardly to have been suspected that there might be other causes for the anxieties of the Bhótiyas. It was with the greatest difficulty that a European could get even the smallest glimpse of Tibet; and his fear of ruining the people who showed him the way into the forbidden country proved a stronger defence against the intrusion of the "outside barbarian" than all the jealousy of the Chinese Government. But the fact is, that Hundes is almost entirely dependent, for the necessaries of life, on our Cis-Himalayan provinces; the Tibetan authorities will never, without the most absolute necessity, do any thing which might endanger the trade, on which their subsistence so greatly depends; and they are perfectly aware of the power which this fact gives to the Government and the people of our provinces.

The revenue demands of the Tibetan Government differ in each of the Bhótiya valleys, but in each, there are imposed one or more taxes, independent of the duties levied on trade, sometimes under the name of land-tax, and sometimes under other designations. The village, in each Bhótiya district, nearest to the pass, which, partly perhaps from this reason, is usually the most important in the valley, enjoys various privileges and immunities from taxation. In some cases, it is considered to be entitled also to levy certain dues on the Tibetan traders. In return for these privileges, assistance is expected in carrying out the regulations of the Tibetan Government affecting the Huniya merchants who may cross the passes to the Bhótiya villages.

The first step, towards the re-opening of the trade, is taken every year, when the passes become practicable, in the begin-

ning of June, by the Tibetan authorities. An envoy is sent to each of the Bhótiya valleys, by the officer whose duty it may be to superintend its commercial transactions. It is the business of this envoy, who is known by different names in the different districts, to enquire into the state of affairs on this side of the snowy range, and to make his report to the Tibetan authorities. Politics seem to be considered matters of much less importance than the public health; and the presence of small-pox, or other contagious diseases in the Bhótiya valleys, alone causes a temporary interruption of intercourse. If the report of the Tibetan envoy is satisfactory, the trade immediately commences.

With the exception of the people of the Juhár valley, who are entitled to choose their own markets, the trade of each of the Bhótiya villages is confined to some particular mart in Hundes, and minute regulations are laid down by the Tibetan authorities, for the management and control of the traders. It is, perhaps, matter for surprise, that, under the strange system of monopoly and restriction which exists, the trade should have reached even its present importance. Neither the Tibetans, nor the Bhótiyas, seem to doubt the wisdom of the existing regulations, and any infringement of them is viewed with equal jealousy, though, perhaps, with different motives, on both sides. One of the most curious parts of the whole system, is that, by which the dealings of every individual trader are controlled. "The regulation," says Traill, "which restricts the trade of each ghát to a prescribed mart, affects the inhabitants of the latter equally with the Bhótiyas; this system is further extended even to individual dealings, and every trader has his privileged correspondent, with whom he alone has the right to barter. These individual monopolies, if they may be so called, are considered as hereditary and disposable property, and, when the correspondent becomes bankrupt, the trader is under the necessity of purchasing the right of trading with some other individual. From successive partitions of family property, and from partial transfers, this right of *árath* has been gradually sub-divided, and many Bhótiyas collectively possess a single correspondent. This system differs so far from that of the Hong merchants in China, that it leaves to every *Huniya*, the power of trafficking directly with the foreign trader, though it restricts his dealings to particular individuals: the only persons who appear to be exempt from its operation, are the local officers, civil and military, and the Lamas. On the dealings of foreign merchants with each other, it has no effect."—(*Statistical*

Report on the Bhótiya Mehals of Kumáon—Official Reports, page 96.)

This quotation, however, does not in one point state the facts quite correctly, for it seems to imply that each Bhótiya can only have a single correspondent. New *árats* can be established, but not to the prejudice of the old ones. The Bhótiyas alone possess the privilege of selling or transferring their correspondents, the Huniyas having no such power to dispose of the Bhótiyas. Suits arising out of this strange custom are sometimes brought before our civil courts in Gurhwál and Kumáon. Not long ago, a case of this kind was instituted, in which one Bhótiya sued another for the exclusive right to trade with a certain Tibetan. Neither party ever referred in the slightest degree to the wishes of the Huniya who was thus to be disposed of, and it was evident that his acquiescence in the decision of the Court was assumed as a matter of course. The Assistant Commissioner happened to meet the very man on a journey to Hundes, and the Tibetan humbly expressed a hope that he would not be transferred to the party who had instituted the suit. Strange as such cases must appear, it is necessary that our courts should listen to them, for neither Huniyas nor Bhótiyas doubt the excellence of the system, and the only result of refusing to receive such cases would be to throw them into the courts of the Zungpuns of Hundes.

There can be little doubt that the Bhótiyas of Kumáon and Gurhwál are a people of Tibetan origin. Their language is alone almost sufficient to prove the fact; and the unmistakable peculiarities of feature that belong to the Mongolian race are as strongly marked in the Bhótiyas as in the people of Hundes itself. The traditions current among them help to confirm the same opinion. The Bhótiyas, however, do not, as is often supposed, themselves admit their Tibetan origin. They state generally that they are a Rajput race, who dwelt originally in the hill provinces south of the snowy range, and that they migrated to Tibet, whence, after a residence of several generations, they again crossed the Himálaya, and established themselves in the districts which they now inhabit. That this tradition is not of very modern origin appears certain; and it is not impossible that it may be true; but it seems more reasonable to conclude that it had its source in the constant desire to be considered members of the orthodox Hindu community, which we know has existed among the Bhótiyas for a long time. The traditions both of the Bhótiyas, and of the inhabitants of the country further south, uniformly declare that the Bhótiya districts were once subject to the adjoining province of Tibet.

No authentic records have been discovered to prove it, but there seems no reason to doubt the fact; and it is probable that the Bhótiyas may be descended from the original Tibetan inhabitants of this tract.

The dialects spoken by the Bhótiyas vary considerably in the different valleys, but still bear to each other a near resemblance. They are all closely allied to the Tibetan now spoken in Hundes. In those of the Bhótiya valleys, where the people have made the greatest progress in civilization, and where intercourse is more frequent with the natives of the lower hills, the Bhótiya dialect seems gradually to be disappearing, and at no very distant date it will probably become extinct, giving place to the Hindi spoken in other parts of the province.

Although the almost constant intercourse which the Bhótiyas maintain with Hundes, and their yearly residence for a considerable time in that country, cause many of their habits to assimilate to those of the Huniyas, yet the general customs of the Bhótiyas approximate more nearly to those of the natives of other parts of Kumáon and Gurhwál. They pay little attention to the distinctions of caste, and do not scruple to eat and drink with the cow-killing people of Hundes, though they will not eat beef themselves. In religion they seem to vary their practice as they move from one country to the other, and they are perhaps almost as much Buddhist as Hindu. Strict Hinduism is necessarily almost impossible in a cold climate; and the respect which the Bhótiyas show to the religion of their neighbours, may be derived as much from the tolerant opinions which Hindus generally profess, as from any traditional reverence for what was probably their ancient faith. The Bhótiyas have most of the virtues and the vices of the people of the lower hills; but they are superior in energy and industry, and perhaps in general intelligence. The heads of the villages are often remarkably sensible and well-informed; their mode of life gives them more experience of the world than the people of the hills generally possess; and they take a much greater interest in matters not immediately affecting their own interests than is common among orientals. Their intelligence is the result of their own observation and experience; they seldom, perhaps never, possess any education beyond the ability to read and write, and to keep rough accounts of their trading operations. Very few of them possess even this amount of knowledge, and the great majority are utterly illiterate. Their great fault is drunkenness. Large quantities of spirits are manufactured in the Bhótiya villages, and almost every undertaking and every ceremony is preceded or accom-

panied by drinking-bouts, at which drunkenness is the rule, and moderation the exception.

Before concluding what we have to say here regarding the higher regions of the Himálaya, we must mention briefly, but more particularly than we have hitherto done, one of their most interesting phenomena, the glaciers. It is surprising, that until a very few years ago, the existence of the glaciers in the Himálaya was doubted by the scientific men of Europe, and ingenious speculations were not wanting to account for their absence. This notion arose entirely from the fact, that among the best of the old Himálayan explorers, Webb, Hodgson, Herbert, and the Gerards, there was not one who knew what a glacier was. They frequently describe the great "snow-beds" from which the Himálayan rivers spring, but they did not know that these "snow-beds" were true glaciers, exactly resembling those of Europe. This error gave birth to another. The glaciers descend in these mountains to 11,500 and 12,000 feet, and the glacier ice being confounded with perpetual snow, the snow-line was placed 4,000 feet too low. We believe that to Major Madden, of the Bengal Artillery, is due the credit of having first given to the world a clear and satisfactory refutation of this common error regarding Himálayan glaciers.* Their examination was followed up by Captain Richard Strachey, some of whose observations have been published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. The greater part, however, of his observations regarding the general structure of the glaciers, and his numerous measurements of the rate of progress of the ice, have not yet seen the light. These enquiries have proved conclusively, that not only do true glaciers exist in these mountains, but that every large river, without exception, which rises in this part of the snowy range of the Himálaya, springs from a glacier, identical in all its main features with those of Switzerland.

No one can travel through these mountains without finding the clearest evidence, that an immense diminution of snow and glaciers has taken place. The ascent to the Mána Pass, up the valley of the Saraswati, gives the most striking illustrations that we have witnessed of this fact. Nearly the whole valley above the temple of Badarináth must once have been filled with glaciers, and we now see almost everywhere the remnants of ancient moraines, in the accumulations of rock and débris which cover the bottom and the sides of the valley. The people of Mána declare that the diminution of ice and snow is still going

* "Notes of an Excursion to the Pindri Glacier, in September, 1846"—*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1847.

on before their eyes; that the glaciers which come down from the lateral ravines into the valley of the Saraswati have receded far back from the points which they reached within the memory of man, and that parts of the road to the pass, which were formerly almost impracticable from accumulations of snow, are now always open and easy during the summer months. Mr. Traill has, however, stated the direct contrary of what we have here asserted to be the fact. He says—"The interior of the Himálaya, except at the passes and paths in question, is inaccessible, and appears to be daily becoming more so, from the gradual extension of the zone of perpetual snow. The Bhótiyas bear universal testimony to the fact of such extension, and point out ridges now never free from snow, which, within the memory of man, were clothed with forest, and afforded periodical pastures for sheep: they even state that the avalanches, detached from the lofty peaks, occasionally present pieces of wood frozen in their centre."—(*Statistical Report on the Bhótiya Mehals—Official Reports, page 71.*)

We have made many enquiries on this subject from intelligent Bhótiyas, and have always received the same answer, that they believe the quantity of snow and ice to have diminished. Notwithstanding what Mr. Traill has asserted in the passage above quoted, and the weight due to the opinion of one whose knowledge of these districts was so extensive, we have no doubt that we have stated correctly the common belief of the people of the country, and that the truth of the opinion, which we have attributed to them, is confirmed by the visible phenomena of the snowy range, in a way which can leave no doubt in the mind of an intelligent observer.

At the end of the volume of *Official Reports* on Kumáon, some interesting papers have been printed regarding the disease locally called *Mahamurri*, which has frequently been so fatal in parts of Kumáon and Gurhwál, and which has lately been the subject of much enquiry. According to the common belief of the people of the country, this formidable disease first appeared in the year 1823, near Kedárnáth, in Gurhwál; it is said that the Ráwal, or High-priest of that famous temple, "deviated," in the performance of a religious ceremony, "from the rules prescribed by the shasters," and that this disease was the consequence of his fault. From some of the characteristic symptoms of the disease, and the fact that this part of India is in, what has been called, the plague latitude, it has frequently been surmised that Mahamurri may be identical with the plague of Syria and Egypt.

In 1836, it was described by Mr. Assistant-Surgeon Bell, as "a fever of a putrid character resembling the plague; it was ushered in with fever, great prostration of strength, and an eruption of buboes, or glandular swellings, over various parts of the body, the latter being one of the chief symptoms of the plague; it proved rapidly fatal, its duration in many cases not exceeding three or four days."—(*Official Reports*, p. 452.) The disease has continued to break out from time to time, since its recorded appearance; but from the fact that its ravages have been till lately almost entirely confined to the more remote parts of the province, the pergunnahs lying immediately below the snowy range, it did not attract much attention. It was not until the beginning of 1850, that, in consequence of a representation to the Government of the North West Provinces on the subject, by the civil authorities of the province, Dr. Renny, superintending surgeon, was deputed "to enquire into the history and nature of the disease on the spot." We have now before us the result of Dr. Renny's investigations. Dr. Renny has given his opinion that Mahamurri is not the plague; he states it to be "a malignant fever, of a typhus character, accompanied by external glandular tumours, very fatal, and generally proving rapidly so in three or four days; it appears to be infectious, and is believed not to be contagious." During the present season (1852,) Mr. Assistant-Surgeon Pearson has again been engaged in investigating the nature of the disease. His reports have not yet been published; but we understand that, after careful observation of several cases which he met with, he has arrived at the conclusion, that Mahamurri is undoubtedly contagious plague. We will not attempt to discuss the question here, which of the two observers is in the right. But we think that the evidence hitherto adduced to show that Mahamurri is *not* plague, is not at all conclusive; and we think it highly probable, that Dr. Pearson's opinion will prove to be well founded. Dr. Renny has given the following reasons for the opinion which he supports: (1st)—that the diagnostic marks and symptoms of the two diseases do not agree; (2nd)—that Mahamurri, though ~~very~~ infectious, is not contagious like the plague; and (3rd)—that "Mahamurri has prevailed in temperatures, beyond which, it is known, that the plague is destroyed or suspended in Europe and Africa." On the first point, there is so much difference of opinion, between the medical authorities who have seen the disease, and Dr. Renny's opportunities of observing the nature of Mahamurri were, as he has himself

told us, so very limited, that we cannot consider that the distinction between the two diseases has been in any way proved. Secondly, we believe, that most medical authorities are now agreed, that no real line can be drawn between infection and contagion; we cannot attach much value to an argument, which declares the diseases to be distinct, because one of them is contagious, and the other is only proved to be infectious. Some authorities, moreover, have doubted the contagiousness of the plague itself. Thirdly, Dr. Renny thinks that Mahamurri has prevailed in a temperature, at which plague is extinguished. He says—"The limit of activity for it is very small. Good, quoting from Sir Gilbert Blane, names the extremes 60° and 80° ; Copland gives lower numbers, fixing the scale from 35° to 75° ." Now we believe it to be an undoubted fact, that Mahamurri has hitherto been almost entirely confined to temperate climates. The cases are very rare, indeed, in which a village in a hot valley has been attacked; and we much doubt if it could be shown that Mahamurri has commonly prevailed at temperatures exceeding those quoted above from Copland and Blane. On the other hand, we have certainly never heard of a case of Mahamurri when the temperature of the air was at 35° ; and Dr. Renny's surmise, that at spots 10,000 feet above the sea, (up to which elevation he states Mahamurri to have appeared,) we find a constant temperature low enough to check the plague, appears to be grounded on an erroneous idea of the climate found at that height. Although it may be true, that extremes of heat and cold are unfavorable to the extension of plague, the fact that plague appeared in the summer at Malta, and in the winter at Corfu, shows that the rule is subject to much exception.

Dr. Renny's remarks on the means of prevention of the disease, by the adoption of sanitary measures, are excellent; and we hope they will be borne in mind by the civil authorities of the province.

Although this article has already reached a greater length than we intended, we must say something before we conclude, regarding the highly interesting efforts that are now being made to introduce Tea cultivation into the Himálaya.

In 1827, Dr. Royle tells us that he suggested to Lord Amherst, then Governor-General of India, the probability of a successful cultivation of tea in these mountains; and in his *Illustrations of Himálayan Botany*, published in 1834, he gave at length his reasons for this opinion. Sir Joseph Banks, Dr. Govan, Dr. Wallich, and Dr. Falconer share with Dr.

Royle the honor of having first drawn attention to this subject. Dr. Royle, in his *Report on the Progress of the Culture of the China Tea Plant in the Himálayas, from 1835 to 1847*, published in the 12th volume of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, has given an excellent account of the progress of the experiment, and on it we shall draw largely for the information we now propose to lay before our readers.

It was, we believe, in 1834, that a committee, with Dr. Wallich at its head, was appointed by Lord W. Bentinck to investigate the question, whether there was a probability of introducing successful tea cultivation into this country. The report of the committee was favorable, and subsequently a deputation, consisting of Dr. Wallich and Messrs. Griffith and McClelland, was sent to Assam, where it had been discovered that a species of tea was indigenous. The two latter members of the commission seem to have formed unfavorable opinions of the suitability of the Himálayan soil and climate for tea cultivation; but these were not shared by Dr. Wallich. While these investigations were going on, tea seeds were procured from China. They reached Calcutta in January, 1835, and from them plants were raised, which were despatched to Assam, Kumáon, and Gurhwál. Tea nurseries were established by Government, and in the two latter districts they were placed under the able superintendence of Dr. Falconer, superintendent of the Botanical Garden at Saharunpur. In 1841, Dr. Falconer reported in very favorable terms of the prospects of tea cultivation. He stated that "the tea plants grown from China seed have now been several years in the ground, exposed unprotected to every change of the season; they have grown freely, in many cases vigorously; and they are now producing seed in such abundance, that in the course of a few years, extensive plantations might be clothed with their progeny, without the necessity of introducing seed or plants from any other quarter," though he "would not advise the extension of the culture being left to these means, for the seeds, although they germinate freely, are generally smaller than their originals, and the produce will be affected by the seed. For some time to come, the plantations ought to be stocked by means of annual importations of the best kind of seed from China." * * * "The brilliancy of the discovery of the indigenous plant in Assam very naturally concentrated the attention of the tea committee upon that quarter, and, after the recall of Mr. Gordon from China, but feeble efforts were made towards furnishing the Himálayan nurseries with fresh supplies of China seed.

‘ They were left in a great measure to work on with the weakened remains of the first despatch.’*

“ In regard to the quality of the produce,” says Dr. Royle, “ everything required to be done. Dr. Falconer wisely abstained from attempting to manufacture tea from the imperfect accounts that had been published, observing, ‘ It is well known that tea manufacture is a peculiar process, which requires skill and tact in the firing, twisting, and other manipulations, to which the leaves are subjected. Were unpractised hands to attempt it by following written directions, although they might ultimately blunder into expertness, still a failure in the first instance would, in all probability, be the result; and discredit would naturally, though unfairly, fall upon the produce.’ He therefore concluded with the following recommendation: — ‘ I beg leave, therefore, strongly to recommend to the favorable consideration of Government, that two complete sets of Chinese tea manufacturers be supplied for the nurseries at Kumáon and Gurhwál, especial care being taken in the selection that these workmen be of the best description.’

“ The Chinese plants, or those produced from the Chinese seed, were at this time also well established at Dinjoy, in Upper Assam.” * * * “ In consequence of the foregoing application made by Dr. Falconer, the Indian Government determined upon sending him a small manufacturing establishment.” * * * “ Dr. Wallich was fortunately enabled to procure men in Calcutta, out of a party of Chinese artisans returned from Assam. A set of manufacturing implements were also procured from Assam, at a cost of seventy-seven rupees. These were forwarded to Kumáon, in charge of Mr. Miller, the gardener who had been sent from this country, and was on his way to the Botanic Garden at Saharunpur. The Chinamen (nine in number) arrived at their destination in April, 1842.”

In December, 1842, Dr. Falconer was compelled by bad health to leave India. He arrived in England in June, 1843, taking with him the first specimen of Kumáon tea. Dr. Falconer was succeeded by Dr. Jameson, the present superintendent of the Botanical Garden at Saharunpur, and of the Government Tea Plantations. Under Dr. Jameson’s able and energetic management, the plantations have been greatly enlarged, and, we believe, not less than six hundred acres of land are now under tea cultivation in Kumáon, Gurhwál, and the Dehra

* Quoted in Royle’s “ Report on Progress of the Culture of the China Tea Plant, &c.”

Dun. We must refer our readers, who wish for more details regarding the progress of this interesting experiment, to Dr. Jameson's reports. They show that the plantations are in a most flourishing condition, and that the tea plant thrives well at heights varying from 2,200 feet to 6,000 feet above the sea. The reports of the English tea brokers have been highly satisfactory, and prove clearly, that in regard to quality, our Himálayan tea may soon hope to compete with the better sorts from China. This success we believe to be chiefly owing to Dr. Jameson's most zealous and energetic superintendence, and he deserves the greatest credit for all that he has accomplished. The future prospects of Himálayan tea cultivation are very hopeful. It was ascertained some years ago that the tea plants, introduced into India in 1835, were not of the variety most approved in China. To remedy this, Mr. Robert Fortune was deputed by the Court of Directors, in 1848, to visit China, and to obtain there the best varieties of tea, implements of manufacture, and good tea-makers. Mr. Fortune was most successful. "As the result of this mission," we use his own words, "nearly twenty thousand plants from the best black and green tea countries of Central China have been introduced to the Himálayas. Six first-rate manufacturers, two leadmen, and a large supply of implements from the celebrated Hwuychow districts, were also brought round, and safely located on the Government plantations in the hills." Mr. Fortune himself brought the plants to Kumáon, and we have now before us his *Report upon the Tea Plantations in the North Western Provinces*, dated the 6th September, 1851. Although Mr. Fortune takes exception to some of the practices that have been followed, and especially to the selection of low flat lands for tea cultivation, nothing can be more satisfactory on the whole than his report. He considers that land exists in the Himálaya to an almost unlimited extent, admirably fitted, in soil and climate, for tea cultivation. That tea may be produced in great quantity, and at a very cheap rate, in these mountains, when the people of the country have learned to undertake its cultivation and manufacture it themselves, is a matter which cannot be doubted, and we can hardly estimate too highly the importance of endeavours to bring about such a state of things. Whether the Himálaya will ever compete with China in the European tea-market, is a question which we will not discuss here. But we think it most probable that it is to India itself that we must look for the great market for our Himálayan tea. As yet it has been quite impossible for a

taste for tea to grow up in India; the price of this article of luxury puts it far beyond the means of the vast mass of the population. But we believe that man is naturally a tea-drinking animal: and the time may come, as Mr. Fortune surmises, when every Hindu will have his tea-pot. Although the success of the Government plantations has been so great, we cannot say that much progress has hitherto been made in encouraging the people of the hills to cultivate tea on their own account. The local authorities have been most anxious to bring this about; but official interference in such matters is always dangerous, and frequently most prejudicial. This has been clearly shown in Kumaon; and we fear that the extension of tea cultivation by the people of the country has been thrown back many years by certain ill-advised measures adopted some years ago, which had the unfortunate effect of making the people suspicious of the benevolent intentions of our Government, and of rendering tea cultivation altogether unpopular. But we hope that this has now been remedied by time, and the wiser system that has been since adopted; and we think it highly probable that, a few years hence, we may be able to give a good account of the "zemindari tea plantations" belonging to natives of the hills. In a country like this, the influence of the European officers of Government may undoubtedly be exercised with the greatest advantage. But let them take care that they do not attempt too much. Let them use the influence, which their superior intelligence and education gives to them, rather than that which is derived from their official position in the country. We cannot better conclude what we have to say regarding tea, than with the following extract from Mr. Fortune's report. One or two of its propositions might be criticized, but on the whole the views which it expresses are, we believe, sound and excellent. "In these days, when tea has become almost a necessary of life to England and her wide-spreading colonies, its production upon a large and cheap scale is an object of no ordinary importance. But to the natives of India themselves, the production of this article would be of the greatest value. The poor *Pahari*, or hill farmer, at present has scarcely the common necessities of life, and certainly none of its luxuries. The common sorts of grain, which his lands produce, will scarcely pay the carriage to the nearest market-town, far less yield a profit of such a kind as will enable him to purchase some few of the necessary and simple luxuries of life. A common blanket has to serve him for his bed at night, while his dwelling-house is a

mere mud-hut, capable of affording but little shelter from the inclemency of the weather.* Were part of these lands producing tea, he would then have a healthy beverage to drink, besides a commodity which would be of great value in the market. Being of small bulk compared with its value, the expense of carriage would be trifling, and he would return home with the means in his pocket of making himself and his family more comfortable and more happy.

"Were such results doubtful, we have only to look across the frontiers of India into China. Here we find tea one of the necessities of life in the strictest sense of the word. A Chinese never drinks cold water, which he abhors, and considers unhealthy. Tea is his favourite beverage from morning till night; not what we call tea, mixed with milk and sugar, but the essence of the herb itself, drawn out in pure water. One acquainted with the habits of this people can scarcely conceive the idea of the Chinese Empire existing, were it deprived of the tea plant; and I am sure that the extensive use of this beverage adds much to the health and comfort of the great body of the people.

"The people of India are not unlike the Chinese in many of their habits. The poor of both countries eat sparingly of animal food, and rice with other grains and vegetables form the staple articles on which they live; this being the case, it is not at all unlikely the Indian will soon acquire a habit which is so universal in the sister country. But in order to enable him to drink tea, it must be produced at a cheap rate; he cannot afford to pay at the rate of four or six shillings a pound. It must be furnished to him at four *pence* or six *pence* instead, and this can be done easily, but only on his own hills. If this is accomplished, and I see no reason why it should not be, a boon will have been conferred upon the people of India of no common kind, and one which an enlightened and liberal Government may well be proud of conferring on its subjects."

We had hoped to have given some account of the mines, forests, and natural resources generally of our Himalayan provinces, but the length to which this article has already extended makes it impossible to fulfil this intention. Perhaps, at some future time, we may be able to return to the subject.

For nearly forty years the British Government has been esta-

* We must protest against this statement of Mr. Fortune's. Our *Paharis* are certainly not at all badly housed. They live generally in good stone cottages, not in mud-huts.

blished in Kumáon and Gurhwál. Can we give a good account of our stewardship? We fear that this question cannot be answered very decidedly in the affirmative, vastly superior as our Government has been to any that preceded it. It is true that the country has made some progress in civilization and in wealth; and we believe that our Government is really liked by the people, a thing which we cannot always say in India with truth, much as it is the fashion to say it. But our administration has been too much in the *dolce far niente* style. We have left the people as much as possible to themselves, and up to a certain point we have done well in doing so. We have not ruined the country with a corrupt police; and still, as in the days of their ancestors, the heads of our village communities are the unpaid officers of justice. The people have not learned to consider themselves the enemies of the law; and although there is hardly a policeman to be found in the country, yet in the facility with which crime is detected and order preserved, our hill provinces may fairly challenge comparison with the best managed districts of the plains. But in a country just emerging from the savage state, it is not enough that we should be able to say that the people are happy and contented, that crime is rare, and justice not very badly administered. We fear that it cannot be denied that, in the thirty-eight years during which our Government has been established in these provinces, we have not done much to develop the resources of the country, and to raise the people in the moral and intellectual scale. Our greatest fault has perhaps been this, that we have done comparatively little to improve the means of communication between the different parts of the country. The want of such means is fatal to the improvement of any country, and most especially is this true in a country like Kumáon, covered with vast mountains, and constantly intersected by impassable torrents. Roads and bridges are equally important to every class of the community, to the agriculturist as much as to the merchant, and their material influence is not greater than their moral. Most truly has Macaulay said, when treating of the causes that checked the advance in civilization of our forefathers, "Of all inventions, the alphabet and the printing press alone excepted, those inventions which abridge distance have done most for the civilization of our species. Every improvement of the means of locomotion benefits mankind, morally and intellectually, as well as materially, and not only facilitates the interchange of the various productions of nature and art, but

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' tends to remove national and provincial antipathies, and to ' bind together all the branches of the great human family." There cannot be a doubt that this is literally true; and we look upon it as quite certain, that until the means of inter-communication are greatly improved, no real advance will ever be made by the people of these hills either in knowledge or in material prosperity. It is not creditable to us, that, after so many years, there hardly exists a road in these provinces fit for the passage of laden cattle, and that the larger rivers are for the most part unbridged, and only passable by various barbarous expedients, which ought long ago to have vanished from all the main lines of communication. It is true that large sums of money have been expended on the construction of iron suspension bridges on the so-called military roads of Kumáon, but unfortunately it is no less true that the most costly of these bridges are almost never crossed, and that they are situated on a road which leads nowhere! But both in Kumáon and Gurhwál the local authorities seem to be now aware of the vast importance of this subject; and we hope ere long to hear that good roads exist along the main lines of communication, and that the great affluents of the Ganges and the Kali have ceased to be any obstacle to the traveller. When these things are accomplished, and when carriage and labour thus become economized, we shall hope, too, to see the end of the system of forced labour, which even now, after so much has been done to mitigate its evils, is one of the greatest curses of the country. To make the people keep their roads and bridges in order is very proper; but English gentlemen, visiting the hills, have been in the habit of thinking that *they* are ill-used if the people of the country are not forced to carry their loads on pleasure excursions, and to supply them with provisions. No one who *pays* will find difficulty, as a general rule, in obtaining the servants and the food which he requires, except where the system of forced labour has made the people suspicious of all European travellers.

We proposed to have given some account of the manner in which criminal and civil justice is administered, but this it is now impossible to do; and on this subject, all that we can now do, is to say a warning word to the civil officers of these districts, and it is one still more applicable to those of the plains. Thirty years ago—in 1822—there was one court in Kumáon and Gurhwál for the trial of civil suits, that of Mr. Traill, the commissioner. There were no stamps, no pleaders, no technicalities, and almost no litigation. Since then we have gradu-

ally been introducing into the hills the system that prevails in the plains. Let us see the result. In 1852, there are eight courts for the administration of civil justice. Litigation has increased more than eight-fold, and many parts of Kumáon and Gurhwál have become infamous for litigious disputes. We have not the shadow of a doubt that this most unfortunate change has been brought about entirely by the system now followed in our courts. But it is not too late, we trust, to retrace our steps, and the officers charged with the administration of the law can do so if they like, for they have not been tied down yet so tightly that there is no means of escape; and with a return to more simple forms of legal procedure, we might still hope to see again Mr. Traill's golden age of speedy and simple justice.

It has been most truly remarked, that we English are too apt to forget that law is a science, not merely an art. Lawyers and judges, both in India and at home, too often think, when they have mastered the mysterious intricacies of legal procedure, that they have arrived at a knowledge of the science of law. They have done nothing of the kind. They have learned merely the practice of a somewhat difficult, but trivial art, and they certainly will not secure, with all their ingenious forms and technicalities, the observation of the great principles of the noble science of Law.

NOTE.—Since this article was written, we have received Capt. R. Strachey's paper "On the Physical Geography of the Provinces of Kumáon and Gurhwál," containing an excellent account of that officer's observations. We cannot do more now than recommend it to the notice of those of our readers who wish to know more of the Himalaya.

- ART. IV.—1. *Colonial Ecclesiastical Establishment ; to which is added a Sketch of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India. Humbly submitted to the consideration of the Imperial Parliament. By the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, D. D., late Vice-Provost of the College of Fort William in Bengal, and Member of the Asiatic Society. London, 1813.*
2. *A Practical Analysis of the several Letters Patent of the Crown, relating to the Bishopricks in the East Indies. By William Henry Abbott, Esq., Registrar of the Archdeaconry, and Secretary to the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. Calcutta, 1845.*
3. *A Charge delivered to the Reverend Clergy of the Diocese of Calcutta at the Sixth Visitation, on Wednesday, October 1, 1851. By Daniel, Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan in India. Calcutta, 1851.*
4. *The Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal. Nos. LIV. and LVI. London.*

It is to be supposed, or let us say it is to be hoped, that the Ecclesiastical Establishment will attract some share of the attention of our rulers during the discussion of the Charter. If it do not, all we can say is, that the reason most certainly cannot be the absence of room for reformation. It is only a pity that room so ample for improvement has been suffered to attract so long the attention of others, and to continue so long a dark spot upon the Church of England in the East. Look at the expanse of territory, at the load of revenue, at the Christian population ; look at that still unblushing abomination, the Government support of the Hindu and Mahomedan religions ; and then compare the sacrifice of gratitude to the Giver of wealth and victory, which is offered in the items of church expenditure. If Claudius Buchanan could rise from his grave, we can well imagine him putting this question to the legislature, Where is my "Sketch of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India?" Did I not tell you that "a period of twenty years is too long an interval for the investigation of improvements, which ought to be continually progressive, referring, as they do, to the moral condition of our own countrymen, and the general happiness of so great an empire?"—*P. 187.*

It is impossible to deny that a vast improvement has been made since the day when those words were written, which have just been quoted. Let it be thankfully acknowledged. The good result of a larger importation into this country of

clergy of the Church of England, the good result of a more respectable approximation to what the establishment ought to consist of, is manifest enough to extort confession from the most hostile observer. But the observer, who, in addition to forming a judgment of honesty and candour, can feel a reverential pleasure in tracing the progress of sacred influences, will render a fuller and more favourable testimony. To what shall be ascribed that higher sense of moral restraint and social decorum, which has begun to pervade the European community?—to what those actual conversions, and that decidedly religious tone of mind, which are found in some instances among our countrymen here, though of course comparatively rare?—to what that awakened sensibility, which contributes to the support of Missions? To what shall these notable changes be ascribed? Other collateral causes, no doubt, have been at work; but surely it must be admitted that these happy changes are in great measure ascribable to an extended establishment of clergy, to a larger importation of that religious influence, which is diffused by means of ordained ministers of the church, authorized teachers of the word of God. Not indeed to those lamentable exceptions among the office-bearers of the Christian religion in this country, who have disgraced themselves even in the sight of the scorner, and been adepts in that very ungodliness they were sent out and sworn to condemn; not to hirelings, blind watchmen, dumb dogs that cannot bark, shepherds that cannot understand, do we pretend to assign the credit of successful instrumentality in producing such a salutary change; though it were wrong to doubt, that even in such cases, even with the most worthless and unfriendly instruments, some good has been effected by the great Worker of all, and by that Word, which no pollution of personal character in its ministers can alter, men have been reminded, what was being fast forgotten, that Christianity is not extinct. But let the present state of our countrymen in India be compared with what it was before the establishment of episcopal superintendence and the consequent increase of clergy; and that man must be blind indeed, or sadly jaundiced, who denies that a striking change for the better has been wrought; and instead of that sour and satanic ingratitude, which delights to bully our best benefactors, and to throw at them the stones of ridicule and obloquy, and which grudges every pice paid for their labour, truth and justice demand that the fruit of their ministry be honestly looked at and acknowledged with thankfulness.

When the See of Calcutta was first erected, in 1814, the total number of the Honorable Company's chaplains in India was

thirty-five, of whom fifteen were stationed in Bengal. (*Buchanan's Colonial Ecclesiastical Establishment*, p. 145.) The number now is about 130, with three bishops. Ceylon, of course, is not included in this computation. Now it is obvious that this increase is much greater in proportion than the increase of Christian population, and the addition to the number of stations, which has arisen from accession of territory. How then shall we account for it? We believe it is to be accounted for upon the principle involved in this remarkable fact, that the erection of Sees in the Colonies and Dependencies is invariably followed by a large addition to the number of clergy, and altogether a more perfect organization of the ministry of the national church. We can understand the present bishop of Calcutta looking back upon his long career of Indian experience, and surveying with pleasure the change, since his first arrival, that has so improved the aspect of his own diocese; and we are willing to join him in the gratitude expressed in his last charge, "Surely we may bless God for this." (p. 46.) The multiplication of churches is another feature of improvement; and though the expediency of so costly an outlay upon a single edifice, as that upon *the Hobby-Horse* in Calcutta, may be very questionable, when absolute wants and exigencies are considered,—yet no one can deny that, in the increased expenditure upon church accommodation, the Government have evinced a progress in religious sensibility. We must not rate too highly the beneficial effects produced by the sacred ministry upon the legislation and government of India; but if councillors and secretaries have devised of later years a policy at all more consistent with the dictates of the Christian religion, than the policy of their predecessors, it will be difficult to separate this result from the operation of that ecclesiastical influence, to which other beneficial changes are partly ascribable. Again, we have another proof of advancement, in the altered character of the clergy. Let praise be cheerfully awarded, where it is due. The assertion may be safely ventured, that the Honorable Company's chaplains, as a body, have stronger claims to honour and esteem than what are commonly allowed to belong to them. A warmer spirit of zeal is now abroad among our spiritual guides, and a more general sense of responsibility, owing, doubtless, not only to the advantage of episcopal superintendence, but also to that revival, which, of late years, has imparted new vigilance and energy to the Established Church at home. And let it be acknowledged, moreover, that the talents and attainments which some of them have brought to bear against the contemptuous worldliness and insensibility

so characteristic of India, and the mental toil with which they have struggled week after week for many years, and are now struggling, against every discouragement, against an encraving climate, and against an ungrateful and disparaging world, are such as would have gained for them in England happier spheres of duty and better emoluments.

In estimating the usefulness and influence of the chaplains in India, it is necessary to bear in mind the obstacles against which they have to contend. If these difficulties be overlooked, our estimate of their work will, of course, be erroneous. Few stations of clerical duty can be conceived more painful, than that of a zealous clergyman ministering to members of Indian society. We speak not of the slothful servant, who, yielding at once to the torrent of apathy instead of resisting it, finds no impediments at all to overcome; but of the faithful watchman, who clearly observes the host of spiritual death surrounding him, and the formidable antagonists he has to fight against. Not only does he discover himself banished from the land of religious friendship and literary communion and intellectual refinement; not only an exile in spiritual solitude, cut off from much that administers at home to a clergyman's comfort and enjoyment, from refreshing contact with congenial spirits, from the sympathy of a common interest in church questions and movements of the day; not only called to work in the burning fiery furnace of a temperature which shrivels up the energies of mind and body, and to work too at compositions of that kind, which Bishop Heber, no incompetent judge, pronounced "the most difficult of all," even in the bracing air of a British latitude;—but he has to face a society, with rare exceptions, of actual opponents, armed against all his efforts with the mail of a peculiar torpor and insensibility, a people whose "heart is waxed gross and whose ears are dull of hearing," or, to change the figure of speech, he perceives that he has come out upon the errand of striving to stop the torrent of a moral Niagara. The charge therefore of a faithful clergyman in this country is no sinecure; not that it is so anywhere, not that it is so in England; but we say emphatically of this country, that a zealous chaplain has no sinecure. The British in India, improved as they are since the days of Buchanan, are still in general opposed to anything beyond that external reformation, which has to a certain extent, as we said before, been secured by means of the establishment, regarded merely in the light of a moral police. A clergyman is not yet welcomed, is not respected, in this country, as he is at home; he has not that encouragement here, nor that value set upon his services, which

help to comfort and support him there. Many years must elapse before better things can be brought to pass; and the man, who at present comes out with the anticipation of that public regard for his zeal or his sacred calling, which does in his native land constitute some earthly compensation for his labours, reaps his disappointment in having to deal from year to year with a generation, whose lethargy, indifference, and worldliness would not be charmed away by the eloquence of a Chrysostom, nor shaken by the rousing invectives of a Tertullian.

A consideration, therefore, of these adverse and disheartening circumstances should serve to abate our wonder, that a greater amount of good has not resulted from the working of the ecclesiastical establishment, while it should enable us to appreciate more correctly the good which *has* resulted, and the claims and merits of the agency employed. The divine blessing so far has been conspicuous; how far it will yet extend, how far remaining obstacles will disappear, and Indian society be raised to a higher mark in the scale of religious improvement, the future only can reveal.

But this conducts us to the more important point of enquiry—what can be done for the future? Having discharged the grateful duty of acknowledging the progress, which has been made by our Hon'ble Rulers in providing for the religious welfare of their servants, we have now to be engaged with the darker side of the subject, and to direct attention to glaring deficiencies. Sufficient, indeed, at once to convict the present system of deficiency is the bare fact, that the present establishment very little exceeds in number that which was proposed by Dr. Buchanan forty years ago, but refused by the Exchequer—an establishment required as urgently then, as a proportionate increase is required now. Bit by bit the present establishment has been squeezed out of the cautious generosity of our paternal rulers. But the serious question to be asked is—shall improvement stop at such a point as this?—Is the establishment sufficient for the British empire in the east?—Is it adequate to the demands of justice and necessity?—Is nothing more to be consecrated, out of the treasury of such a Government, to the glory of the King of kings, who has given them this wealth?

We have now three bishops in the continent of India. Look at the extent of this continent, at the distance of one station from another, at the gigantic magnitude of the diocese of Calcutta, more than twice the length of the Himalayan mountains. Looking at this diocese, one might be disposed to infer that

it must be imagined at home, that an Indian bishop acquires, by contact with Brahminism and Hindu deities, additional heads and eyes and arms. But is it seriously meant that this shabby exhibition shall continue? Compare the diocese of Calcutta, in point of geographical extent, with a diocese in England. Compare it with one of the five provinces of Britain in the fourth century, each governed by a metropolitan bishop; or with one of the eleven provinces, or metropolitan dioceses, of Asia Minor in the same century; or what would St. Austin of Hippo, with his diocese forty miles long, have said to St. Daniel Wilson's of Calcutta, stretching from Peshawur to Singapore? True, if looked at in other points of view, the comparison is unfair. True that, if all the clergy and churches of the largest of the Indian dioceses could be drawn together into the compass they would occupy in an English diocese, or, in one of the primitive dioceses, the magnitude of a bishop's charge would assume a much less formidable appearance. Indeed, upon that supposition, all the clergy and churches of the three dioceses together would not be a charge for one diocesan, to be compared with the charge of an English bishoprick, or even some of the primitive bishopricks. But it is the very fact of the British community being scattered about in such distant fragments, and the clergy being located so far apart over the surface of a vast heathen country, that constitutes the peculiar weight of an episcopal charge in India, and the difficulty of effective superintendence. Miles and distances must be set against the comparative smallness of the Christian population. It is much the same in the American and other colonial dioceses—the unwieldy size adds to the burden of supervision, what the paucity of churches subtracts from it. We therefore willingly adopt the words of Bishop Wilson in the dedication of his charge, that “a bishoprick at Agra is one of the crying wants of India;” and we may add that it is also one of the crying shames of the Government of India, that the want has not been supplied before; that, while a lavish expenditure of oblations to idol temples has attested their gratitude for victorious arms and augmented revenue, nothing has been done for the church, beyond the appointment of a few additional assistant chaplains, whose accession to the establishment has aggravated the difficulty of superintendence.

It seems, however, to be the opinion of some, that one new See will not be sufficient for the wants of the church in India. A writer in the *Colonial Church Chronicle* (No. LIV.),

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impressed with the obvious deficiency of the present system, proposes three new Sees, one at Agra, one at Trichinopoly, and one in Scinde, or other suitable part of the Bombay Presidency. These three bishopricks, he says, should be substituted for the present paid archdeaconries, and authority be given to the bishop in each case to constitute unpaid archdeaconries, as in Ceylon, and rural deaneries, where and when they might be considered necessary.

Now it may be, that this writer would approve of Borneo as a model for imitation, where we have the strange phenomenon of a See in process of erection, with only one reverend brother for a bishop to address his charge to ! Or perhaps he thinks it wiser to proceed upon the principle of asking for more than you absolutely want, for fear of not getting anything at all. However it be, we must differ from the *Chronicle*. It is very easy to point out upon the map convenient spots for palaces and lords ; but it must be recollected that we should point out also convincing reasons. We readily maintain the necessity of a bishoprick at Agra, or somewhere in the North West Provinces. The inconvenience arising from want of it is excessive at the extremities of the present diocese, and what to our friends at home must be almost incredible. Let us give them an idea. All correspondence between the chaplains and the Government must be conducted through the ecclesiastical authorities ; and more frequently have chaplains urgent occasion for direct correspondence with the ecclesiastical authorities themselves. But these several parties may be situated so many hundred miles away from each other,—and this too in a country, where space has not yet been annihilated by the application of modern inventions,—that a chaplain may have to serve no small portion of his fifteen years before the correspondence is completed. There is time enough for the whole community of a station to have passed away and been succeeded by another. The chaplain may be posted at Peshawur, Allahabad, or Singapore ; the ecclesiastical authorities may be inhaling the odours of the Ditch, or the mountain breezes of Jacko ; the civil likewise, if not luxuriating in the sun of Agra. Matters are still worse, if both the bishop and archdeacon together be absent on a trip to the equinoctial line, or, for the benefit of the diocese, extending their voyage beyond its outskirts. If Methuselah had been corresponding on important business with his father Enoch, or other antediluvian authority, at a distance of one or two thousand miles, and been obliged to wait six months, or

even twelve, for an answer, it would not have mattered so much; but in these degenerate days it is a serious consideration, when large portions of life are consumed during the lapse of such tedious intervals. Increased rapidity of communication might of course diminish this inconvenience; but even then the existing diocese of Calcutta would, in other respects, be a strange anomaly. But the case is different in the other two dioceses; and it is difficult to see what there is in the present dioceses of Madras and Bombay, that cannot, with the assistance of archdeacons, be effectually superintended by one able bishop for each. As to the abolition of paid archdeaconries, we cannot agree with the *Chronicle*, or at least the writer in it already referred to. Archdeacons are indispensable, not indeed to accompany bishops on visitation tours, but to make their own visitations, and to relieve the bishops from that work, which by law appertains to the archidiaconal office. And here we may suggest, in a parenthesis, that it is questionable, what necessity exists for the metropolitan's quinquennial circumnavigation of the coast of Hindustan. (*Letters Patent 5 and 7, Will. IV.*) The chief office of an archdeacon is to *visit* and *enquire* and *episcopo nuntiare*; and by the canon law his title is the *bishop's eye*, or bishop's vicegerent. If it be needful in a large diocese, why should not authority be given to a bishop to appoint a greater number of archdeacons? This useful hint is given in *Abbott's Analysis*, page 80:—

The author has been desired by authority to mention that, if a greater number of archdeaconries were created, and archdeacons appointed thereto throughout the dioceses in India, it would be found very useful, in fact that a greater number are imperatively needed.

But the proposal of the *Colonial Church Chronicle*, that the archdeacons should be "unpaid," must surely be based upon too low an estimate of archidiaconal duties. Not only ought they, in our opinion, to be, as they now are, exempt from the regular duties of chaplains, but they ought to be paid in proportion to the onerous and important nature of their charge. We say, therefore, let the paid archdeaconries remain, and increase in number; let a separate See be erected at Agra; and we believe that the actual wants at present of the Church of England in India would not cry out for more in the way of superintendence. As the Christian population and churches multiply, more ecclesiastical rulers may be called for; and when British India shall be a nation of Christians, then our posterity may ask for as many bishops, as Asia numbered in the 4th century.

But, while engaged upon the subject of Indian bishops, let us add a few words upon the requisite qualifications for this responsible post. Let us venture to express a hope that, in the selection of men for the office of "Right Reverend" in India, the real interests of the church will always be honestly consulted. These interests are not to be promoted, in the present day of conflict and agitation, by the appointment of men known to be partizans of any theological faction. Men, too, are not wanted here, who look upon bishopricks as prizes; indeed, there is little temptation to this avarice in the value of an Indian bishoprick: no Durham revenues glorify this part of Christendom. Nor, again, would it be conducive to the well-being of the Church of England in this country, for the character of the episcopal office to be lowered, by the elevation of men inferior in learning and ability to the generality of the mitred fraternity at home. But in addition to those features of character, which ought to distinguish bishops in general, and to those official virtues, which are so prominently depicted in the inspired instructions to Timothy and Titus, there are peculiar qualities required in the occupant of an episcopal chair in India. It is not only essential, that he should be strong in that apostolic zeal, and that intellectual and moral power, which would command the respect and attachment of his clergy and the church at large within his jurisdiction; but it is highly requisite, that with this he should combine a previous personal knowledge of the country, of the nature of Indian society, and of the special wants of the Indian church. He should be provided at the very commencement of his labours, not indeed with old Indian notions, or a dilapidated constitution, but with that valuable experience, which prior residence and observation alone can give. It is also of manifest importance, that he should be so far at home with the principal native language, if not all the languages, of his diocese, as to be able to understand, and therefore more effectively to superintend, the operations of his missionary clergy:—

I would further recommend to the reverend chaplains to make themselves masters of some one of the native languages as soon as possible after they come out. If it is not done at once, it will, probably, never be done. Without it a chaplain can never assist in the missionary cause, or understand India, or indeed pay that respect, which he ought, to the 130 millions under the Government or influence of Great Britain, amongst whom he labours.— (*Bishop's Charge*, p. 53.)

This is undoubtedly excellent advice. But may we not venture to hope that in this, as well as in other duties, the

bishops will always set their reverend chaplains the example? Oriental scholarship should be a *sine quâ non* for the charge of an oriental diocese.

We now turn to the chaplains; and here we find a still wider field for improvement. Has it never been reported in Leadenhall-street, that there are stations in this country, inhabited by civil and military servants, which are destitute, from year to year, of all the advantages derived from the sacred ministry of the church, except what they get on rare occasions from the services of a flying visitor? They may be visited twice a year, perhaps, by the chaplain of a larger station in the district. But who does not know that such visits are of little or no benefit; for this reason, that the fewer the opportunities of religious instruction and communion, the less they are cared for. As far as the performance of a few baptisms is concerned, such flying visits might suffice; but we are speaking of that pastoral care and instruction, which, though too seldom acknowledged and felt to be so, is the main design of the sacred ministry among professing Christians. The *Colonial Church Chronicle*, No. LVI., quoting from a letter of Archdeacon Shortland's, thus calls attention to the deficiency of clergy in the diocese of Madras:—

It is my object principally to direct your attention to the *English* stations and out-stations, the number of which throughout the diocese amounts to nearly one hundred, while there are seldom more than twenty chaplains to fulfil the ministry thereof, one-third of the thirty clergymen on the present Madras establishment being generally absent on sick leave or furlough. The utter insufficiency of such a supply of pastors is self-evident. In our largest stations, even, the number of clergy is inadequate to the duties of their principal congregations, so that the public services may be conducted, the various hospitals properly visited, the schools effectually superintended, and the sick and whole duly encouraged, admonished and guided, as circumstances require. And how much greater must the want of clergymen appear, when it is considered that they are called to visit the out-stations of their districts, some of which are distant 50, 100, and 150 miles from their residence; that from such a station as Secundrabad, one of the chaplains is absent every Lord's day in visiting the adjoining stations of Bolarum and Chudder Ghat; and that even so overwhelming a charge as that of Bangalore is constantly left with but a single clergyman.

We have quoted this, not to criticise the archdeacon's language, or to ask what is meant by "the duties of their principal congregations," but for the graver purpose of calling our readers' attention to the burden of his complaint,—the insufficiency of clergy; and even though some might think the picture of exigency rather over-drawn, it must be acknowledged

that the insufficiency is "self-evident." The same kind of story might be told of the Calcutta and Bombay dioceses; though in the former certainly things are not quite so bad in point of *numbers*: the clergy list is more respectable. Now it is possible that a more judicious distribution of the clergy might be made; yet it would be difficult to show that, with the best economy, the present number is equal to the wants of the church. If the estimate of sufficiency be taken at one chaplain for each station, large and small alike, it is obvious that a simple comparison of the number of stations with the number of clergy would at once exhibit a deficient supply. Of course the deficit is greater, if the larger stations require the services of more than one. But let it be granted that they do not, and that an active man might well undertake the sole charge of any station in India; let it be granted that no necessity exists for the objectionable arrangement, by which two incumbents are associated in the same church and the same sphere of duty; that the anomaly should be discontinued of dividing between two, as at St. John's or the Old Church, Calcutta, the same amount of duty, or as at the *Basilica Major* even a less amount, than devolves upon one, as at St. James's; that eight supernumeraries of this kind in the diocese of Calcutta might thus be spared for other spheres of labour; that the permanent location of a clergyman at such places as Calpi or Hamirpur, in the Cawnpur district, is of no more necessity than his appointment to Saugor Island; and that the plan pursued in the Madras diocese might be more extensively adopted elsewhere, and *more frequent* visits be paid to the minor stations. Let all this be granted; still there are the vacancies caused by sickness and furlough to be remembered; and we maintain that, with the most judicious and economical disposition of the ecclesiastical force available, its numerical deficiency must remain as obvious, as the want of railroads or electric telegraphs, or any other means of promoting the temporal interests of British India. The deficiency is acknowledged by Government; and let us observe the peculiar fashion in which the acknowledgment is made:—

To obviate the difficulties arising from this insufficient supply of clergymen for the military stations of British India, certain arrangements have been made by the Government of the Madras Presidency; but they are unhappily such as militate against every ecclesiastical principle, and are too frequently productive of injury and scandal, rather than of benefit to the people. It has already been mentioned that many of the chaplains have several subordinate stations within their districts, frequently at distances of fifty or a hundred, and even 200 miles. During their absence

in visiting these places, a layman is appointed to read the prayers and a sermon at the principal stations; and considering that this duty is performed, not in a barrack, but in the consecrated church, and to a congregation, a part only of which consists of soldiers, it might be thought that the selection of a proper person would be left unreservedly to the judgment and responsibility of the incumbent and the bishop; but by the regulation of the Government, reiterated in a Minute of Consultation, No. 158, dated the 14th of August last, which may be found at the India House, and called for by any sceptical churchman in the ensuing session of the imperial legislature, this appointment is taken out of their hands, and depends upon the approval and sanction of the senior military officer. Hardly will it be believed in England, that the bishop and clergy, in a regularly constituted diocese, are thus "ignored," or rather deliberately superseded, and so strictly ecclesiastical a function and jurisdiction exercised by military officers, of whom it is needless to say, that *their* commissions are held irrespective of any connexion with the church, or of any peculiar moral or religious qualification."—(*Colonial Church Chronicle*, No. LIV.)

We have quoted this, not to canvass the merit of the writer's remarks, but to display the singular and striking mode in which the Government admits the deficiency of its own establishment. And we have only to say that, if the Hon'ble East India Company undertake to provide an establishment of clergy, it is their unquestionable duty to make it adequate to the wants of the laity; and that as long as this duty is unfulfilled, so long there remains a dark blot upon their honour, which no patch-work of such expedients will cover, no such "Minutes of Consultation" wipe away.

It was part of the establishment proposed by Dr. Buchanan in his sketch (*Colonial Ecclesiastical Establishment*, p. 146) that "country chaplains" should be entertained for the performance of divine service and the other duties of a resident pastor at the smaller stations, on a lower salary. "Country chaplains" he explains to be "synonymous with curates in England, and to be chiefly natives and Europeans, ordained in India." They were also, "in some cases, to be assistants to the European chaplains at the principal stations." Thus they were designed to answer the purpose, which has been partly answered by the Additional Clergy Societies, recently established in each of the three dioceses, and supported by the contributions of the Christian public. Buchanan also suggested (p. 163), that missionaries might sometimes be eligible to the situations of "country chaplains." It is not very likely that this latter arrangement would ever be adopted by the Government; and, perhaps, the expediency of it is questionable for other reasons than those which Government would assign. Though it is not notorious that the *dreadful*

missionaries have been allowed to perform the duties of chaplains, from year to year, for the civil servants and other Christian residents of smaller stations, without a single piece of remuneration? Look at Burdwan, for instance, and the case of the late missionary Weitbrecht. A corps of that kind, however, whether missionaries or not, would supply all deficiencies; and their entertainment by the Hon'ble Company, at a cost of which their treasury would scarcely be conscious, would supersede the necessity of Additional Clergy Societies, and obviate that inconvenience which arises from the precarious resources of the voluntary system.

This would be better than the plan suggested by the *Colonial Church Chronicle*, No. LIV., of a joint contribution from the Company and the public. For the fear is that, by accepting a part only of what is due, the first step would be taken towards an entire surrender of Government support. Churches have been built by these joint contributions; and now the Government appear determined to relieve their shoulders of the burden altogether, and to hand it over to the Church Building Fund and the donations of private piety. Therefore it seems a dangerous policy in this other case of the payment of the clergy, to obtrude upon the notice of Government any organized scheme of resources independent of that support, which they are bound in honour to give, or to tell them that half their responsibility is cancelled, by asking for this support in the shape of *co-operation*.

Certainly, however laudable in themselves the efforts of Additional Clergy Societies, no pains ought to be spared to remind the Government, that the merits of private liberality can never absolve them from the guilt of a foolish and ungodly parsimony. While, at the same time, it is equally true, that the bounty of Government cannot cancel the responsibility of private individuals; and it were a much more becoming expenditure of private wealth accumulated in this country, if Governors and high civilians, and opulent merchants, would, in imitation of our pious ancestors, leave behind them occasional monuments of generosity in churches and religious endowments, than it is to display their lucre in senseless pomp or avaricious speculations, which excite the disgust and derision of the wise.

But there is a point of still greater importance than the increase of the establishment. The welfare of the church in India is promoted by ten good chaplains, more than by twenty indifferent or bad ones. As the quality of books is of much

more vital consequence than their quantity, so the moral and intellectual character of the clergy is a question of graver moment than their numbers. It is but a cold and formal idea of the ministry, to suppose that its usefulness merely consists in the solemnization of baptisms, marriages and burials, and stated liturgical offices. These services require no mental qualification in the clergy, beyond an ability to read: they are services which *may* be gone through as the merest mechanical routine, and for which no man could expect to be paid more than sufficient for a bare subsistence; and, perhaps, from the fact of the pay and allowances of assistant chaplains not exceeding this sufficiency, we may infer, that such is the utmost amount of service exacted from them by their masters. But it is a shame, we say, for these offices to be discharged by men in holy orders, who are not competent or not careful to attend to the higher concerns of the Christian ministry. It can scarcely be called a blessing to the English society of such a country as this, for men to be sent out to minister to our spiritual wants, to instruct us in the doctrines of revelation and in moral duty, who are deficient themselves in intellectual attainments, or moral character, or religious feeling. There are, indeed, men upon the list of chaplains, who would do honor to any branch of the Church of England, and who are fighting with apostolic ability and zeal the battle of truth against the hostility of an ungodly and ungrateful world. But there are others, we grieve to say, whose influence and example are little likely to improve the tone of Christian society. Is it conducive to the welfare of the community, that men, who, though "licensed for sufficient and convenient preachers," ought rather to "study to read plainly and aptly (without glossing or adding) the homilies already set forth"—or men, whose time is divided between the manoeuvres of plagiarism and pettifogging bustle and gossip, called "engagements," but not the business of an ambassador of Christ, or worldliness and gaiety, still less so—should be appointed to such important spheres of duty? Or how is it that men, whose notorious negligence, and worse, notorious immorality, draws down upon their sacred calling, the taunts of scoffers and of heathens, can be permitted to hold in a country like India the solemn charge of spiritual pastors? We want neither dunces, however pious, nor drunkards, nor horse-dealers, nor money-making speculators, to occupy the pulpits of our churches in India; and if the Honorable Company do really believe that an establishment of clergy is necessary for the highest interests of their civil and

military servants, they will furnish better evidence of their sincerity, by having, in future, more regard to merit in the appointments. Able preachers, as well as holy men, are wanted for India; "elders who labor in the word and doctrine"; men of learning, who "give attendance to reading," and are prepared with the weapons of sound theology, to contend for the faith, to counteract the spread of infidel and sceptical principles, and to rouse this torpid society from the sepulchre of ungodliness and spiritual death.

There can be no doubt that an improved system of church discipline in India would materially tend to repress the worst part of the evil we have just complained of. Instances of criminal conduct in the clergy are happily rare; but surely, when such instances do occur, the offenders ought, as in England, to be visited with legal punishment. Other offences and irregularities, cognizable by the ecclesiastical law, might also be restrained by the same means, a more efficient system of discipline. We do not want a Philpotts or a Nixon; and the clergy may thank heaven that in the power and jealousy of the Government they have *some* protection against the encroachments of episcopal despotism, and are far more fortunate than their reverend brethren in other branches of the colonial church; but we do want something more effective and practicable, than the present church discipline of the "letters patent." There are so many impediments to its exercise, that the diocesan courts of India are next to useless. "It is laid down that the law and practice of the ecclesiastical court are matters of fact, to be proved by witnesses." (*Abbott's Practical Analysis*, p. 236.) But "the want of sufficient compulsive powers in these spiritual courts" (*i. e.*, of the bishops in India), "to coerce the attendance of witnesses to give requisite evidence as to any irregularities in the clergy, renders them seriously defective, particularly in these dioceses, which are so extensive, and in which the parties may reside at so great and inconvenient a distance, as to be unable to be examined, except under commission." (*Ibid*, p. 245.) It appears doubtful, therefore, "whether a bishop has the lawful right to withdraw and revoke the license of a chaplain, for any imputed offence, without formal proceedings, and to inhibit him from performing his functions as a minister." (*Ibid*, p. 247.) And it therefore also appears that the authority given by the letters patent to a bishop, "to proceed in grave matters to final sentence in due form of law," is practically nugatory. There is another consideration, thus suggested by the *Colonial Church*

Chronicle, No. LIV., under the head of "Church Discipline" in India :—

The local Governments too generally decline to render the assistance enjoined by the letters patent, preferring to exercise a jurisdiction of their own, even in matters of exclusively ecclesiastical jurisdiction ; and this, moreover, continually varies with the particular religious views of the successive Governors. The bishops and clergy are equally harassed by the anomalous position in which they are thus placed, while the church at large suffers from the alternately relaxed and overstrained discipline, which, under such circumstances, is administered. When the bishop is on friendly terms with the Governor, his power over the clergy is absolute; but when the Governor is opposed to the bishop or the church, the clergy are to a very great extent independent of their diocesan and ordinary.

Now, while these things continue, who can wonder at the occasional existence of abuses? It would be an evil day for the clergy in India, that should see them deprived of that protection, which they now enjoy, against the vexatious attacks of episcopal tyranny; but it would be a happy day, that should see an effective system of discipline established, by which, at least, disreputable and worthless functionaries might be weeded out and discharged with a *missio ignominiosa*. The subject should occupy the attention of the legislature. The Church Discipline Act could not be extended to this country without modifications; but these might be made. The bishops, however, must be carefully kept in check; and it is necessary that they should be despoiled of that crushing power, which has fallen, ere now, with a stroke of cruel visitation upon the head of the innocent and helpless. For the *Record* of January 26, 1852, is wrong in representing that "the chaplains of the East India Company are not removable at the will of the bishop," and that here "sufficient guarantees are afforded, that sacerdotal ambition or intolerance can never be allowed to produce oppression and wrong." Nor should a bishop be empowered to proceed against his brethren in the ministry for such deviations from the order of divine service, which prevails at home, as are called for by the necessities of the church in this country. Bishop Middleton, in his address on the opening of his consistorial court at Calcutta, said, that one of "the most prominent and probable occasions" for the interference of the court would be "the omission of any portion of what the rubrics have directed to be used," and that "a clergyman is bound not merely to use the liturgy of the church, but to use it entire." This is stronger than the language of the 36th "Canon and Constitution Ecclesiastical." Bishop Wilson approves of the regular omission of portions of what the rubrics have directed

to be used—a regular omission, which is general even in England, he would rather punish for a strict adherence to rubrical regulation, than for deviations from it; and he connives at alterations in the order of divine service, which, even at home, have already had episcopal sanction, and which, in the climate of Hindustan, are absolutely necessary for the health and endurance of both minister and people. Thus one bishop is authorized to enforce an observance of the letter of the law, or even more, for which another is allowed to persecute. It is obvious that this is a state of things, which calls for legislation. In primitive times, it was left to the bishops to make special regulations for the order of public worship, and in some cases to appoint a liturgy in accordance with their own private discretion. But the less of this discretionary power, the better in the present day. It would be entrusting to the bishops an additional engine of tyranny. Nor would synods and convocations, independent of the state, disarm the bishops of a power to oppress. There is nothing like a definite enactment of the imperial legislature, which would effectually secure the safety of the clergy and the liberty and peace of the church.

The subject of ecclesiastical discipline has been a *veraxa questio* ever since the Reformation. That excommunicating discipline over the laity, which many believe to be authorized by Scriptural precedent, is in the Church of England practically nullified by the connexion of church and state. The punishment of the clergy and the jurisdiction of consistory courts it is more difficult to justify by Scriptural rule, and few things are less in harmony with the original character of the episcopal office, than “proceeding in due form of law,” with the sword, as it were, of the civil ruler, against a fellow-worker in the ministry. Yet this is sometimes an inevitable exercise of episcopal authority. It would be worse, were it not for the counteracting influence of that arrangement, which is called the connexion of church and state. We have the proof of experiment to assure us that, were it not for this balance of the civil and ecclesiastical power, the exercise of that authority would grow to an intolerable system of persecution.

Dr. Buchanan, in his plan of an ecclesiastical establishment, put down catechists and schoolmasters, and also colleges (one in each Presidency) for the instruction of Europeans and natives intended for holy orders. These, however, do not seem to be recognized by Government as a necessary part of such an establishment. If this be the right view of the question, how strange that the Government should deem

it requisite to pay for the support of heathen and Mohammedan schools! If Christian children are neglected, why should alien children be specially patronized? If the Christian religion is not to be taught in schools, why should the Hindu and Mohammedan? Totally unable to approve of this strange and uneven policy, we would recommend to the notice of our rulers the following suggestion:—

In granting a new Charter, it is important that a provision should be introduced, binding the East India Company to maintain one or more schools in each station, according to its extent, for the instruction of all Christian children under the management and responsibility of the district chaplain.—(*Colonial Church Chronicle*, No. LIV.)

There is one more point, upon which we must touch, and then we have done. *The Colonial Church Chronicle* omits all allusion to it; the bishop's charge hazards a gentle hint. "The court," he says, "have raised the number of chaplains on full allowances from nineteen to twenty-one; but this is insufficient: if the original proportion of 1836 were adhered to, *i. e.*, of nineteen to thirty, or about two to three, our assistant chaplains, out of sixty-two, would be thirty-seven or thirty-eight, and those on full allowances twenty-five or twenty-four." (p. 45.) Now this is one of the most glaring abuses in the whole economy of the establishment; but more than a cold and cautious reference to the mischief could scarcely be expected from its chief originator. It is difficult, indeed, to see what necessity called for the formation of a new class of clergy on reduced allowances, and we believe that the court would have increased the number on the old allowances. If a less quantity of work, or a subordinate kind of work, were done, a smaller allowance would be intelligible. But the duties and responsibilities of an assistant chaplain, in his first year of service, may be precisely the same with those of a full chaplain in his fifteenth; they may be greater. The numerical disparity is now so excessive, and the rate of promotion so desperately slow, that an assistant chaplain is kept on the reduced allowances, till the time for his retirement from the service is at hand. Fifteen years is the term of service. The vast majority of assistant chaplains have no chance whatever of getting the full pay of chaplains, before the actual expiration of their service. Their covenant expressly stipulates, that they shall rise to the rank of chaplain; and they are assured at the India House that they will attain this rank in the course of seven or eight years; whereas their service of fifteen years expires, before they can possibly attain it. If this be not injustice, we have yet to learn what injustice means.

Again, a chaplain ranks with a major, *i. e.*, with a civilian of eight years' standing; an assistant chaplain with a captain, *i. e.*, with a civilian of four years' standing: so that here is not only an invidious disparity in the rank of the clergy, but the absurdity of a boy from Hailëbury ranking with a clergyman of fourteen or fifteen years' standing. Again, an assistant chaplain's widow receives from the Military Fund the pension of a captain's widow; and though the calculations of Hannington and Neison have decided, that it would be advantageous to the fund for assistant chaplains, after nine years, to subscribe as majors, this they are not allowed by the rules of the Fund to do; so that they have no prospect within fifteen years of that pension for their widows, which is secured to those, who are themselves paid higher salaries for the same or inferior services. Hardships of this kind are, of course, doubly felt in a country, where influence depends so much upon social position, rank and pay. But, felt or unfelt, it is a case of gross injustice, which ought to be swept away with the besom of reform. It is a case of impolicy too, which we cannot better point out than in the words of Basil Hall—"No parsimony in the pecuniary rewards given to a man of honor, nor any indignities arising from the denial of his due distinction, can prove strong enough to induce him to forfeit the trust he has once undertaken. But if the treatment, which a public servant receives in India, be essentially unworthy of his character and station in society; or if the rewards of his labours be not commensurate to the sacrifices he makes, in consenting to abandon friends, home, and all the various walks of fame and profit, which other lines of life hold out to him, how are his services to be retained?" * * *

"What right have his employers to expect that his place will not be speedily supplied by a lower description of talents and character?"—(*Voyages and Travels, third series, vol. 1, chap. 4.*)

In order to effect the requisite reform, it is obvious, not only that the present disparity between the list of chaplains and that of assistant chaplains should be diminished, by a large increase to the standing number of the former, but that some means should be adopted for ensuring the retirement of all, upon the expiration of fifteen years' service. And it should be considered, that not only the interests of the junior chaplains, but the interests of the church and the public service require this: for the efficiency of the establishment depends upon the energy of its individual members, and fifteen years may be reasonably fixed as the maximum duration of effective ministerial labour in India.

We do not want men with broken-down constitutions, to afflict us from week to week with the productions of mental and physical imbecility. At this moment, there are men upon the list, who have nearly served their time twice over; and this, without any inducement from augmentation of pay or pension. Mr. Shepherd came out in 1823, Mr. Fisher in 1824. Such abuses as these ought to be extirpated at once. And if worn-out gentlemen have not the modesty to withdraw with a *missio honesta*, with the good grace of *emeriti*, when their time is up, there ought to be a rule, which should make it compulsory upon all that have completed a service of fifteen years, to walk out and make room for other and more efficient members. But it may be urged, that the uniform operation of a rule of this kind would be prejudicial to the interests of the church in India, and that compulsory retirement at the expiration of fifteen years' service would, in some cases, deprive the church of valuable benefits, which could not be supplied by the services of others. It may be so; though such cases must always be rare, and who should decide which are such cases and which are not? should the Government, or the bishop, or the individual himself, or the Christian public? This evil, however, might be obviated by an equivalent rule, that in such cases a junior should be promoted to a full chaplaincy, as though the senior had retired and a vacancy occurred. This would be equivalent, as far as the promotion of the juniors is affected, to the unexceptional retirement of all at the termination of fifteen years.

We have now gone through an examination, such as our limits would allow, of those points connected with the ecclesiastical establishment of the Honorable East India Company, which appeared most urgently to call for it; and in conclusion have only to press upon the attention of our readers the importance of a revision and reformation of this establishment, trusting that, in common with other momentous measures of improvement, this will engage the consideration of the Court and the Legislature, in the approaching settlement of Indian affairs. *Improvement* is our motto, but nothing *ultra*, nothing *radical*. "*Est modus in rebus*" must not be forgotten. Good beyond all human calculation has already been done by the Church of England in this country; it is our desire to see still more done. If on financial grounds objections should be urged, if a short-sighted stinginess should attempt to interpose its *veto*, we would remind our rulers, that stinginess in such a cause ill comports with that gratitude they profess towards

the Giver of wealth and victory, whenever fresh triumphs adorn their name, and with that interest they profess, at all times, in the religious welfare of their servants. We would put it to their consciences and ask, whether out of their gorgeous revenue it be not possible to make the little sacrifice, which is requisite for an object so essential to the elevation of the British character in the east, so conducive to the stability of their empire. Let it be viewed as a question of political economy, or of profit and loss; and we should like to know what real public good or substantial profit results from that singular parsimony, which reckons everything denied to the spiritual and moral wants of a people to be a saving to the state. Or can nothing be spared from those enormous *facultates*, which have not yet been touched with the knife of retrenchment? Cannot enough be spared for the decencies of religion out of the overflowings, which minister month by month to the plethora and pride and luxury of civil functionaries? Or can want of finances be conscientiously pleaded, when patronage is profusely squandered upon false religions, and a more liberal tribute paid to the gods of the heathen, than to the King of kings and Lord of lords, and a lavish generosity displayed in support of the shrines of Hinduism, and of schools for teaching that Mohammed is the great prophet of God, and Christ to be denied before men?

ART. V.—1. *The Poems of Chand. MSS.*

2. *Tod's Annals of Rajasthan, 2 vols. London.*

FROM the traditionary legends extant in Western Hindustan, it is evident that the mountainous and desert tracts known under the names of Marhatta and Rajputana, and the salubrious regions that are watered by the mighty rivers of the Himalaya, once nursed a heroic and independent people, far excelling in manners, in civilization, and in arms, those rude and haughty tribes who dwelt around. For throughout the whole range of those legends, there prevails such a high tone of sentiment and feeling, such burning enthusiasm and martial vigour, and such a noble and exalted philosophy, that it is impossible to conceive that any nation, less cultivated than the Athenians in the days of Pisistratus, could have had the refinement to think, or the boldness to execute, what is there speculated upon, and described.

That they were a people superior in courage and enterprise to every other tribe in the peninsula, is incontrovertibly established by the fact, that the best and bravest soldiers of our Indian army are now drawn from the petty provinces of Rajwarra, from the wild and romantic districts of the Vindayah mountains, and from the Doab. And though the Mussulman invasion has swept away all traces of their pre-eminence in arts and knowledge, yet from the few ruined and dilapidated, but still splendid, monuments of art, which have escaped the fury of the ruthless invaders, it is clearly discernible that Northern and Western India was once the seat of a race, equal at least, if not superior, in point of civilization, to the French people in the time of Charles Martel.

That a nation that had built cities, larger and fairer than the fairest towns of Southern Europe, excavated temples out of the solid rock on the truest principles of architecture, and made laws, that are, in part, administered at this day by an enlightened and Christian Government to millions of human beings, should have been greatly deficient in any branch of polite learning, and particularly in poetry, is a supposition incompatible with common sense: and the beautiful fragments of ancient composition that are now in our hands, do not merely set aside such a supposition, but establish on unimpeachable evidence these important facts: *first*, that they were a race peculiarly superior to all around them in this department of polite literature; and, *secondly*, that they arrived at that superiority by successive and distinct stages of improvement.

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In all ages, and among all nations, when society is in its primitive state, and science is young, the nearest approach to any thing like poetry is made by the homely, but strong and masculine couplets, sung by bards and itinerant minstrels. From those downright and matter-of-fact, but frequently not unpoetic or unharmonious lines—poetry gradually develops itself with the language, and like every other science, ripens by time. It is not our intention to state that genuine inspiration, the real “*mens divini*” of the poet, is the growth of ages; but it is our opinion, and we believe the opinion of all who have considered the subject, that a great poem cannot be written, unless the language has been considerably elevated, and rendered flexible, by the repeated compositions of those metrical romances now known under the name of ballads; and that a nation that can boast of even one great poem, must at one time have been possessed of these simple, but vigorous ballads.

To prove our theory, we need only refer to the literature of Greece, and the Homeric poems; to the literature of Rome, and the Saturnian songs; to the literature of England, and the Liddesdale ballads; to the literature of Spain, and the chronicles of the Cid; to the literature of Arabia, and the chaunts of Azmut; to the literature of Tartary, and the songs of Kurrog-lou; and, in fact, to the literature of every country, and the poems of its first bards.

It is evident then, that ballads must precede great poems. It is known, that there are many great poems among the Hindus; and we have therefore a right to infer, that the Hindus once possessed these interesting ballads in abundance; and though these have wholly disappeared, or remain in too small numbers to be capable of being witnesses to the argument, we have still enough of indirect, or secondary evidence, to prove the soundness of our inference.

The Sanskrit scholar will observe, that though the *Mahabharat* and the *Ramayana* may now be considered as two complete and entire epics, yet, like the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, they are only clever compilations of detached ballads. The connecting links are much more studied, and much more modern than the episodes. They plainly show that there were at least two persons engaged in completing the poems, and in making them what they now are. The different phraseology, the unpolished simplicity, the unconfined boldness of conception, and, in fact, the evident superiority of observation and description, will convince him, that the episodes are the productions of authors, who had nothing in common with the better informed, more delicate, but less vigorous versifiers who strung

them together; and this, coupled with the present practice of the potentates of Northern India of retaining bards, will confirm him in the belief, that ballad poetry was once largely cultivated by the haughty and aristocratic tribes of Northern Hindustan.

That poetry has altogether disappeared. With the exception of the two great epics already mentioned, and the measured chronicle of Chand, the last of the Chohan bards, not a trace remains of those fresh and vigorous writings, which once commemorated the valor of the chiefs of Rajasthan. Time, war, oppression, ignorance, devastating invasions, and savage intolerance, have carried away the war-ballads we would now fain possess. When the written documents perished in the sack of the royal cities, the songs remained awhile in the memories of an oppressed and insulted, but proud and high-spirited people, reminding them of the magnificence of their fallen race, till, like all other traditions, they were swept away first from the memories of the great, and then, after lingering for a season, like the flarings of an expiring taper, among the shepherds in the nooks of the Vindayah and Aravelli mountains, they perished for ever.

The loss of the ballads was one of the great evils of the Moslem invasion. It was one of the irreparable injuries inflicted on the Indian community by the foreign invaders. It not only deprived the erect, daring, and honorable Rahthore of his last consolation amid danger and dishonor, and robbed a mighty but fallen people of every incentive calculated to rouse its chilled and benumbed energies, but it deprived the world of songs that must have been valuable to the general reader for their intrinsic beauty, and inestimably precious to the historian and moralist, because they would have illustrated the character of a great and interesting people.

With the Mussulman invasion, things underwent a great change. Indian poetry assumed a new aspect. The ballads,—for it must be remembered, that the Hindus, like the Greeks, had, up to this time, never ceased to cultivate their ballads,—when the storm had swept over, breathed no more of that fierce patriotism, and ardent love of independence, which had characterized them of old. The glory of the Rahthores had expired with their dominion. Their capital had been taken, their palace had been sacked, and their chief, the descendant of a thousand kings, had perished, as became his race, on the field of battle. The invaders had spared neither age nor sex; they had trampled on the people, they had mocked the

nobility ; and as the humiliation had been great, the ballads, in the crushing tyranny of the foreigner, had lost their original nerve and power. Indeed, the latter books of the Poet Chand, who lived but to see the beginning of the troubles of which we speak, are characterized by such utter sadness and depression of spirits, and present such a startling contrast to the lively vivacity and fiery enthusiasm of the earlier parts, that, but for the occasional and fitful gleams which lighten their darkness, the reader would often doubt if one poet composed the whole.

But to do the Moslems justice, it was not alone their despotism, though that was the chief cause of the nation's degradation, that corrupted the ballads of ancient Hindustan. Every thing that tended to destroy the nationality, the peculiarity that set the Hindus apart among nations, tended also to corrupt the ballads. The very reforms introduced by the conquerors presented insuperable obstacles to the cultivation of this species of literature. The strange philosophy, the still stranger religion, the foreign laws, the courts of justice, in fact, every thing appertaining to the Mohammedans, were against the bards. By constant familiarity with novel innovations, the Hindu lost all pride in the recollection of his own once enthusiastically loved institutions. His heart did not swell so high as it was wont to do, at the mention of his nation's victories : and the poets, therefore, in a great measure ceased to cultivate the once popular songs, which applauded those institutions, and celebrated those victories.

That a people of so much pride and sensibility as the Rajpûts should have wilfully neglected their own national institutions and their national songs, is certainly most strange, if we do not consider the great ascendancy of the Mohammedan conquerors in the central districts. But in justice also to the Hindus, it must be said, that in the wild wood-lands of Northern India, and in the savage glens of the Vindayah and Aravelli mountains, where the crescent banner had not subdued the pure races, and where a "child of the sun" still ruled over a poor, but erect and enthusiastic peasantry, the case was far otherwise. In spite of the great blow which the nation had received by the reduction of the midland districts, which formed by far the fairest and most enlightened part of the empire, the shepherd boys, amid those primæval glens and forests, still sang the songs of their heroic fore-fathers, undismayed by the torrent rushing with unimaginable impetuosity on the neighbouring plains. For there they felt they were free, free as the young eagle of

their native mountains, beyond the grasp of oppressors, where they were neither despised nor degraded, nor obliged to stoop to that still greater humiliation of conforming to the manners of their enemies; and though their communities were small, yet amid the inaccessible mountains and pathless woods where they lived, they were in themselves powerful enough to baffle every effort of the armed and mounted chivalry of the victorious Tartars. Moreover, all the advantages that are to be found in a patriarchal form of Government were theirs; and the ballads, which thrive best in a small, independent, and half-savage community, where the passions of individuals affect the actions of the state, continued to flourish amid their hills, even when they had vanished altogether from the plains.

To satisfy the reader of the correctness of our assertions and inferences, we need only refer him to the *Charun Chand*, an eye-witness of the Mohammedan invasion, a courtier of the great Chohan, and the historian of the last desperate struggles of the Hindus with the conquerors of the West.

His universal history, a poem in 69 cantos, is written in language scarcely inferior, in point of spirit, to the classical Sanskrit of the Mahabharat. It is to the present day highly popular with the inhabitants of Rajpútana, and is treasured up with care in the archives of every family, who have any pretensions to high blood and ancient descent. Besides minor details of geography and morals, it treats of the wars of Prithi, his numerous and princely vassals, his treaties, and alliances, and the abode and pedigree of every warrior of his time. Its descriptions, from the moment when the author speaks of the "Yongshala" of Jye Singh, thronged with nobles and chieftains, to the time when he sings of the heroes, who "lay on the banks of the Caagar, asleep on the waves of steel;" from the first irruption of the King of Ghore and Irak across the Mons, to the departure of Samarsi from his native city, to join the coalition against Shahabudin, are simple, picturesque, and animated, and breathe of the spirit and fervour of ancient Greece. But as it would be worse than useless to translate fragments from a work, which to be thoroughly appreciated must be taken as a whole, we shall refrain from giving any elaborate specimens from its pages, but content ourselves with the two following short extracts, which, we hope, will be sufficient to convince our readers of its Homeric character:—

THE PRINCIPALITIES OF INDIA, AND THEIR CHIEFS.

In Patan reigns Bhola Bhím, chieftain right seemly, true as tried steel in the moment of danger.

On the highlands of Abú, Jeit Pramara, immovable and firm in tempest and battle, as the mystical star that sheds her light on the Pole.

Shamar Singh, tamer of nobles, lies at Mewar, a rampart of iron on the path of the foe, that would rush towards Prithi!

At lordly Mundore, strong in the pride of his strength, reigns the active Narbar, the hope of his people, the dauntless, the fierce, and the proud.

In Delhi, chief of proud chieftains, Anunga, king over kings! at whose summons the princes around throng in numbers and render their homage, and whose cloud-vested troops keep the snowy and turbulent North in constant fear of invasion.

A BATTLE BETWEEN THE CHOHAHS OF AJMERE AND THE PURIHAHS OF MUNDORE.

To the gorge of the mountains came the helmet-bound warriors,—and Mundore there stationed her bravest and best,—to dispute with the Chohan that winding defile. Four thousand fierce archers from the mountains of Mair—terrible in form like the angel of death—whose shafts winged with feathers, ne'er miss the proud foe. Faithful and true, whose words are ne'er broken,—whose castles unconquered, frown dark on the plain,—the Pride and the Hope of time-honored Mundore!

Like serpents envenomed with crescent-formed arrows,—by bush and by brake, on the mountain's steep side,—to save from the foeman the land of their fathers,—they wait in deep silence the advance of the foe.

Tidings now reached the proud-hearted Prithi,—that Mundore enraged, like the lion at bay, stood ready and prompt his might to oppose. Unmoved by the news, the broad-breasted monarch sent for his *Kana* and bade him lead on the Chohans to battle, and himself to renown.

They charged up the pass like a wintry stream rushing; but strong in their strength, like the rock of *Súmair*, stood the pride of Mundore and faced the fierce tide. Like lightnings, their arrows flew furious and deadly, and obscured with their feathers the light of the sun! while warriors fell fast resounding in armour, and blows came in showers like the fierce wintry rain,—and the demon of battle stood revelling in blood.

But to proceed. For a century and a half after the Mohammedan conquest, a perpetual warfare was kept up by these independent communities with the victors of the plain, somewhat similar to the warfare which devastated the Spanish peninsula, forty years ago. Unable to face their adversaries in the field, the followers of the children of Samarsi harassed their opponents by desultory attacks, by night marches, by intercepting convoys, by forays through the settled districts, by ambuscades, and all those various means usually resorted to by a weak but nimble party, against one possessed of much greater physical powers, but destitute of swiftness and activity. But there was this great difference between the followers of Julian Sanchez, and those of Samarsi. The one party daily increasing in numbers, in spirit, and in confidence, by the aid of a powerful foreign power, finally succeeded in expelling the French invaders of their country;—the other, without foreign aid, without the means of organizing an effective resistance to

the disciplined chivalry of their invaders, without money, without leaders, deprived of their resources by the conquest of the midland districts, dwindled day by day, till they were at last reduced to contemptible parties of wild hill banditti, from whom the well-settled Moslem had nothing more serious to apprehend against the state, than the petty mischief usually committed by highwaymen and robbers.

But though this was the ultimate end of the patriots of Upper Hindustan, it could not be brought about without a century and a half of continual turmoil, during which the Moslems had to endure hardships and privations, reduce towns, besiege fortresses, and fight battles, where the contest was always desperately maintained, and the issue often doubtful. Defeated in the field, with castles and fortresses falling daily into the hands of the conquerors, the spirit of the people remained unbroken, till the last ray of hope expired. They fought, they endured, they consorted with wild beasts, to maintain their much-loved independence, and it was not until millions had perished, until every stronghold had been stormed, and districts deluged with blood, that they brought themselves down at last, to endure the idea of having a misbelieving foreigner on the throne of the Solankis; yet even then, when the sword had exterminated their leaders, when a century of stern despotism had consolidated the Mohammedan power, and settled their dominion, the Rajpút would suddenly start up, on the exposure of the least symptom of weakness, and as if struck with madness, endeavour to break asunder the chains that bound him, till a stronger hand had rivetted them closer than ever on his hampered, but ever struggling arms.

It will thus be perceived, that though the indigenous ballads of Hindustan degenerated in the central districts on account of the Mussulman invasion, yet the relics that lingered among the mountains, for two centuries after the conquest, derived an intenser fire, and a sharper edge from the tyranny of the Moslem. Unable to vent itself, as of yore, in the field of battle, the rage of the hill-folks spent itself in songs; and the ballads, which are best adapted to express scorn or indignation, and which, of all other compositions, are most easily retained in the memory, became the natural vehicle, through which the nation expressed its opinions. In these ballads, endited by bards uninfluenced by foreign tyranny, the Mussulman was held accursed. He was made destitute of honor, of pity, of sympathy,—in fact, of all those qualities which elevate us above the brutes, and bind man to man; and though a

stern acknowledgment was given to his successes in the field, yet those successes were always attributed to his necromancies, rather than to his valor; while the constancy of the Hindu was eulogized, his future glories foretold, and prophecies made of champions, who should redeem his land from bondage.

But the bands that maintained their independence on the hills were few in numbers, and as might be expected, the songs there prevalent were also few. So that, not long after the older ballads of the plain had been forgotten by the lowland peasant, the mountain chaunts ceased to occupy the attention of those whose great-grandfathers had fought and died for liberty. Nursed in peace, and unconscious of the fearful miseries which the Moslem had inflicted, the descendants of the patriots could not sympathize with the savage spirit of hostility that pervaded their ballads. They saw, in the enlightened, educated, and valiant soldier of the crescent, a model on which to form the nation. They admired the splendour of the conqueror's court, listened to their loftier philosophy, acknowledged their superiority in the field, and casting aside the honest prejudices of their fathers, that would not allow the common impulses of humanity to their invaders, from open enemies, they became warm admirers.

The change was great; yet the historian will perceive it was not unnatural. When the first furious horde of Tartar invaders burst on the devoted fields of India, she became, indeed, truly miserable, and the sufferers fiercely indignant; but when they died, when their conquerors were no more, the personal rancour which had fired one nation against the other, departed too. The descendants of the patriots had not witnessed the wrongs which had exasperated their fathers; neither were the successors of the conquerors the authors of those wrongs; and though the fact that they were the conquered subjects of foreigners was galling in the extreme, yet when the personal grudge between the two nations had been forgotten, the keen hatred with which the conquered regarded the conquerors was, in a great measure, removed.

As the feeling of personal disgust ceased to operate, other barriers also that held the nations apart, began slowly to give way. After a century or two had cooled his blood, the Rajpút began to look around him. He perceived resistance to constituted authority hopeless. He perceived the barrenness of his own hills, and the fertility of the plains. He marked the demeanour of the conqueror, and found him neither so haughty, nor so ungracious, as his enemies had represented him; and

weighing all these well, he calculated that it would be best for him to submit to the Moslem rule, and emigrate to the plains. He emigrated; the invader's yoke proved not heavy, and with a few inaudible murmurings, merely to satisfy his conscientious qualms, he settled there for ever, forgetting all his wrongs, and all his sufferings.

The Moslems, likewise, when the first flush of triumph was past, gradually became tame. They discovered, that if they wished to retain their conquests, they must cease to tyrannise. They discovered also, that that was a wrong policy, which prompted them to plunder a land, which, if properly managed, promised to remain in their hands for centuries; and, like wise rulers, they used every means in their power to conciliate the natives. Their concessions could not fail to establish familiarity; and when familiarity was established, the Hindu settler ceased to regard the Moslem with any other feeling than that of admiration. He neglected his national institutions, songs, and festivals, to imitate those of his masters, and in the course of a hundred or two hundred years, the relics of Indian traditional literature, which had survived the invasion, perished for ever.

It will thus be perceived that the ballads of India suffered much from Moslem tyranny, but more from Moslem condescension; for it was the latter, rather than the former, that extinguished the ardent nationality of the enthusiastic Rashtra. That this condescension was hollow, and assumed only to serve a purpose, will be readily believed by all who have studied the illiberal and tyrannical principles of the Moslem Government. The Mussulmans had found, that while they tyrannised in the plains, the Hindus had formed communities among the rocks and forests, to resist their authority; they had found also that, instead of bringing the Rajpūt to their feet, disheartened and subdued, the rigorous laws served only to tighten the bands by which he was bound to his national communities; and they had sense enough to discover, that it was against the true interests of the state, to have a large party of disaffected mountaineers, in the very heart of their dominions, whose interests were diametrically opposed to their own.

They had sought to obviate this evil; and as experience had shown them that opposition made it stronger, they had reversed their former course of proceedings, and had tried to dismember their enemies by conciliation. In this they had succeeded. The Hindu, as we have before remarked, observing

the utter impracticability of subverting the Moslem rule, and the unusually courteous aspect of the conqueror, had been allured down to the plains, to make the most of circumstances; and in the new society, and the new scenes to which he had been introduced, he had utterly neglected what his fore-fathers had once sedulously cultivated, and had, in the course of half a century after his reconciliation, ceased to be a member of the nation, of which his ancestor had been a member.

History assures us, that nothing tends more to keep up the nationality of a people, than the indigenous war-ballads of its first bards; and experience declares, that ballads thrive best amongst tribes whose nationality is marked, and whose literature is thoroughly native. It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose, that the Mohammedans directed their first efforts to suppress the ballads, and that the Hindus lost the art of cultivating those ballads, when they had been sufficiently reconciled to their conquerors, to imitate foreign models of composition. Such was the case in Wales, when King Edward the First reduced it to submission; for the bards were the only portion of the Cambrians, who had reason to complain of the king's severity; and such was the case in Rome, when she conquered Greece; for it was after she had learnt to imitate the exquisite modulations of Ionian verse, that she lost the genuine Saturnian ballads, of which Cato admitted himself to be an admirer. In the one case the conquered people, and in the other the conquerors, lost their hold of this branch of their national literature by the relations into which conquest brought them. Indeed, unless we suppose the Mussulmans to have been peculiarly anxious to put down these ballads, it is impossible to account for the rapid decline of the Indian songs, in point of merit, and the inconsiderable space of time for which the older ballads kept possession of the nation's mind.

After the reconciliation had taken place, the potentates of Rajasthan kept up, indeed, the ancient custom of retaining bards. But this was done, not merely to gratify their vassals with music, but to silence those conscientious qualms which at times assailed them, for embracing in friendship the enemies of their country, by the fond assurance, that though they had mingled in fellowship with their invaders, and renounced the sublime simplicity of their "surya" fore-fathers, yet they were still a nation capable of maintaining any ancient custom which was really good, in spite either of the frowns or the smiles of their conquerors.

But this was, as will be perceived, *only* a salve, and the Mos-

lem governors, aware of every principle which swayed the Hindu, were too wise to interfere in any way with this belief. They had dismembered the Hindus as a nation, and they had destroyed the means of their ever combining as one, by various means, of which sapping the foundations of Indian ballad poetry was not one of the least efficacious. For it must be observed, that when their attention was first directed against the Indian ballads, instead of attempting the impracticable task of eradicating them at once, they had, with consummate wisdom, only destroyed their nationality, the spirit they wanted to destroy, by introducing into the glorious music of the Chand Būjunga, Mohammedan conceits and Mohammedan imagery. They therefore remained still, and viewed with indifference the conduct of the Hindu chiefs, certain that no mischief could be brought about, as all the older songs had been forgotten, and as the bards, who were kept up for show, and who admired the conquerors equally with their brethren, would not, (and could not, in the then enervated state of the language,) compose chaunts, similar in spirit to those that had been lost.

The ancient ballads of India thus perished, when the Hindu ceased to be a nation. But as the practice of maintaining bards, to recite the glories of their house, still lingered among some of the proud land-owners of Upper Rajasthan, and as the Moslems, in their attempts to destroy the national songs of the Hindus, had corrupted, instead of eradicating ballad poetry, something still continued to be cultivated among them. It may, therefore, not be uninteresting to our readers to know the tenor and spirit of the songs that remained popular in Rajwarra, and the Mahratta country, when the productions of the older poets had been forgotten, and when the transfusion of foreign idioms, and foreign imageries, had so far enervated the language, as to render it unfit for the expression of those strong feelings of hatred and indignation, which had fired the first enemies of the Ghaznvide, or, in other words, to ascertain the tone of the mediæval ballads of Upper India.

When the reconciliation between the conquerors and the descendants of the first patriots had bound the two nations into one, or rather had brought down the one to acknowledge the superiority of the other, the Hindus, who had hitherto forced favors from their conquerors by their uncompromising demeanour, inspired real pity; and the Moslems, with the humanity which they could now well afford to display, observing their utter helplessness, felt for their fallen state. They set themselves in earnest to better the condition of their dependants,

and as real charity cannot be disguised, the generous liberality of the conquerors woke sentiments of gratitude in the hearts of those who felt their humanity.

The Indian muse, which had so long been forced to remain silent, now poured forth the strains of love for the generous conquerors; though, unlike the older songs, the ballads which she now sung, were luxurious and subdued.

These ballads, the modern ballads of India, so completely have the Mohammedans succeeded in their designs, differ very little from the vigourless *guzuls* of the Persian tongue. They have the same languor, the same warmth, the same rich imbecility. Women, wine, the pains of absence, the languid complaints of lovers, and other intolerable characteristics of Persian poetry, are their distinguishing peculiarities. But they differ a *great deal* from the nervous and spirited war-chaunts of ancient Hindustan. So striking, indeed, is the difference, and such a startling contrast do the ancient and modern songs present, when brought together for comparison, that the ordinary student of Indian history, and Indian antiquities, will stand surprised after perusing the chronicle of Chand, at the sudden change of sentiments and feeling displayed in these modern productions.

But he will find, if he will stoop to investigate the matter a little more closely, the change not very difficult to be accounted for. He will find, as has been already stated, that despair of being ever able to be free, and gratitude towards the pitying invaders, had been at work to break down the savage hostility which characterised the ancient ballads. He will find also, that another motive, still more mighty, perhaps, than these two, powerful as they are, lent its aid to destroy that hostility; and when he sees that despair, gratitude, and pride, were all conjoined to quench the fire of the ancient war-chaunts, he will come to the conclusion, as we think, that the transition from the ancient to the modern songs is not greater than might have been anticipated.

That the pride of the Rakhthores was as busily engaged in reconciling them to their enemies as their despair and gratitude, though apparently a paradox, is, nevertheless, true. After that one liberal enactment of the Moslem Government, which rendered the Hindus eligible to every office in the state, had come into operation, the latter entirely ceased to be a nation. They assimilated their interests with those of their conquerors. They regarded the glory of the crescent in the same light in which they had once regarded the glory of the banner of the Chohan. Fighting by the Moslem's side, in defence of the

country against one common enemy, the haughtiest recollections of the two nations were gradually intertwined. The victories and defeats of the army, inspired both alike with joy and sorrow, for both were equally engaged to maintain its honor. The popular heroes, in time, became the common property of both. They lived together, they fought together, they died together, so that even the very festivities to celebrate their victories, the great cause of dissension and bloodshed before, contributed not a little to bind the Rajpút prince in friendship, by ministering to his pride, as it was often under Rajpút leaders, and always with Rajpút assistance, that those victories were obtained.

To make ourselves thoroughly understood by the reader, we shall here present him with translations of a few of these modern songs. They are common-place, and savour much of the peculiarities of Hafiz and Saadi, but we hope that he will not deem them uninteresting, when we state, that they have been selected solely from *manuscripts*, or from the recitations of amateur singers and wandering minstrels:—

SERENADE.

He. Awake my love, the night grows old, the morning wind blows chill,
Beneath thy casement long I've watched, breathing tender ditties,
Awake dear idol of my soul, and let me hear thy voice,
Awake, and dream no more, and break not now thy promise.

She. Anxious I've watched the live long night, dear lord, to hail thy coming,
Anxious, lest thou in careless mood should'st spurn my love for others,
Oh come ! the morn shines on the hills, and long thou'st kept me waiting.

ANACREONTIC.

Think not of the future, the present time is fleeting,
Rise poet from inaction, and take advantage of thy youth,
Rise up young pilgrim, benefit by thy position, and drain thy glass, and let
thy wit sparkle like diamonds.

SONG.

My beloved, my heart is bound to thee with links of steel,
And yet I fret not, but glory in my bondage,
My spirit is as it were a captive unto thee, O ! cruel one ;
But still thy poet is as attached to thee, as are those pearls and ear-rings.

SONG.

My heart is smitten with sorrow, oh ! my sister, and the days of my youth are
clouded, for my lord is absent in the field of battle ;
Speak not to me of his comeliness and virtues, for they aggravate my misery ;
Speak not to me of the days when first he met me in the groves of Brindabun,
For the remembrance of those days makes me sorrowful in the extreme ;
Then was I beautiful, as the petals of young flowers—sorrow had not wasted
me then ;

When I met him on the banks of the Yamuna, a scarf of blue hung round me as a veil, and pearls were wreathed round my hair, and ornaments were on my body ;

Nay make me not bring back those scenes, for my sorrow is great when I think of them ; and it is better for a woman to remain silent and listless in her sorrow, than to rake up old remembrances to torment herself.

Gorgeous and interesting to Eastern readers, and written in a measure peculiarly musical, the modern songs are now sung by the minstrels of Western India, in quiet evenings, to mixed audiences of Hindus and Mohammedans. They suit the pride of both people, and their circulation is therefore extensive. Often, in traversing the wild hill districts of Marhatta, and the Concan, will the European traveller, if he quit the vicinity of his encampment, and stroll forward to the hills and villages of the natives, find, as we have ourselves found, the villagers (Hindus and Mohammedans) sitting together in the clear ivory moonlight, listening to some aged minstrel, singing these songs ; and often at dawn will he hear the clear voices of shepherd lads on the hills reciting some luxurious Perso-Hindu guzul. But we fear our remarks on Indian ballad poetry are growing too tedious, so here we close. Possibly, on some future occasion, we may revert to this interesting subject, and append to a more mature dissertation on the principal North-Western bards, notices of the works that are now extant, with free translations of the ballads that were prevalent in Northern India, during the reigns of Samarsi and Prithu Rai.

ART. VI.—*The Urgent Claims of India for more Christian Missions. By a Layman in India. London, 1852.*

THIS pamphlet, although intended for publication in London, and for circulation amongst the supporters of missions in England, has been written and printed in Calcutta; and it contains much matter that is well worthy of being seriously pondered by all well-wishers of India, whether their residence be within its territories or beyond its borders. We hope none will be misled by the somewhat ambiguous title, to suppose that it is the production of some crotchetty, discontented, universal fault finder, some "latter-day saint," or idle dreamer, who regards the existing missions as not sufficiently Christian in their principles or their modes of operation, and who desires that they should be superseded by another set of a more Christian character, that is, of a character more in accordance with the crotchetty author's notions of Christianity. In the pamphlet itself, we find an immediate and unambiguous solution of the question which the title might suggest, whether our author wishes for missions *more Christian* than the existing ones, or whether he desires a *greater number* of missions, similar in kind and character to those that now exist. Had the former been his meaning, we should either not have noticed his pamphlet at all, or have dismissed it with a brief acknowledgment of its receipt; but as the latter is unequivocally his intention, we hesitate not to devote an article to the consideration of his views, and the discussion of some of the subjects that he brings before us. Agreeing very fully with our author in his general views and sentiments, we shall have little more to do in general than to state over again his statements, and enforce his arguments; while we shall not fail to express our dissent, in the event of meeting with any sentiments in which we do not concur.

The missionary enterprise may be viewed in two different aspects, according as we especially regard the duty of Christians to propagate their religion, or the condition of those who are to be the subjects of missionary operations. The former view is more appropriate to a strictly religious periodical; but the latter comes fully within the field that we occupy. The *Calcutta Review* is not a religious periodical, in the ordinary sense of that term; but it is a periodical devoted to the advocacy of every measure that seems to promise good to the people of India, and to the free discussion of every proposal, emanating from whatever quarter, in which the interests

of the people of this land are involved. Now that the extension of Christian Missions is such a measure, it were a waste of words to prove. In this view then we propose to go over a portion of the ground occupied by our author; and while we shall say very little as to the missionary enterprise, as a measure tending to the enlargement of the boundaries of the Christian church, we shall freely state our opinions respecting it, as a measure bearing very directly upon the interests of the people amongst whom we sojourn. We shall restrict ourselves still further, and shall leave out of view, altogether, the eternal destinies of the people to whom it is the object of missions to make known the Gospel; and shall confine ourselves to a view of their present moral and social condition, and the manner in which this condition will be affected by the spread of Christianity among them. That Christian Missions, even as they exist in India at present, are of sufficient magnitude to justify a prominent notice in such a periodical as this, is fully evinced by the statements of facts contained in a late number of this *Review*; and were there nothing but the fact that the views and condition of 100,000 of our fellow-subjects have been entirely altered by the operations of the missionaries, while those of many thousands more have been very materially modified,—we should regard it as a shrinking from the post which we occupy, were we to refuse, when proper occasions present themselves, to consider the character of these operations, to bear testimony to what we know of the beneficial effects that have been produced, and to lend our advocacy to those who, like the author of the pamphlet before us, desire the extension of the agency employed.

Our plan thus leads us, first of all, to make some remarks on the moral and social character prevalent among the Hindus. Now this is a subject on which there is a strange diversity of opinion amongst those who have sojourned in this country. Europeans, generally, arrive in India with the impression that the Hindus are a mild, quiet and inoffensive race; and their first intercourse with the natives tends generally to deepen the impression. Many live for years in the country, and never see more of native character than its smooth exterior. They scarcely ever come into contact with any natives, except their domestic servants, who take advantage when they can, but, upon the whole, do their work tolerably well, and act and are treated like very fair-going machines. But the European who comes into contact with the natives in the counting-house, in the courts, or in the factory, must be singularly obtuse in his perceptions if he do not ere long perceive, that the most distinguishing charac-

teristics of the "mild race," are cunning, deceit, dishonesty, deliberate falsehood, and endless stratagems. If he read the newspapers, as all people in India do, it will not be long ere the almost daily reports of robberies attended with violence, atrocious cruelties, the murder of women and children for the sake of their ornaments, and other crimes of constant occurrence, and of a degree of heinousness scarcely known elsewhere,—completely dispel his original delusion, and replace it by a conviction, that the Hindus are the most criminal people on the face of the earth. Hence it is, that while so many of our Indian sojourners sit down in apathetic indifference, without caring or seeking to know any thing of the moral and social state of their fellow-subjects, supposing that they are well enough, and just about as good and as bad as the rest of mankind,—so many more take up with the notion that they are helplessly and irrecoverably depraved, and spend years and years in the country without making a single effort to elevate the position, or ameliorate the condition, of those by whom they are surrounded.

In pleasing contrast at once with the apathetic and sluggish on the one hand, and with the despondent croakers on the other—are those who, thoroughly acquainted with the inherent vices of the Hindu character and the Hindu system, yet believing conscientiously that the Gospel is capable of grappling even with such gigantic evils, grudge not their personal labor, and their liberal contributions, but are forward in identifying themselves with every measure which has, for its object, the good of the inhabitants of India. Such an one is the "Layman," the author of the pamphlet before us; and if his efforts to engage others to embark in the same enterprise needed vindication, we might well adopt the challenge of his own motto—"Is there not a cause?"—Is there, or is there not a cause?—We shall see.

In taking a rapid survey of Hindu character, we must say at the outset, that we are not to be understood as intimating that all Hindus are alike. In all communities there are individuals who fall far below the average standard, and others who rise far above it; and both classes are to be found in this community. It will be no answer then to any of our statements, to point to individuals who are free from the vices that we assert to be characteristic of the community; and this even, were it not true that the number of those who fall far short of the average standard greatly exceeds that of those who rise above it.

Another preliminary remark we must make. We can faith-

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fully promise, that in estimating the prevalent character of the Hindus, we shall "set down nought in malice;" but we cannot promise that we shall "nothing extenuate." There are certain practices that we know to be prevalent, about which we cannot write in these pages; certain sins and crimes so odious and base, that they ensure for themselves concealment and silence, by reason of their very odiousness; as some foul animals escape capture by the fetidness of the odour that they emit.

There are few qualities, that those who know the Hindus best, more unanimously ascribe to them, than the want of all regard for *truth*. If we were to examine the theology, the ethics, the geography, the history, and the popular astronomy of the Hindus, we should probably be able to satisfy ourselves, that it is impossible to contemplate these habitually, without having the love of truth, and almost the power of discriminating truth from falsehood, eventually obliterated from the mind. But be this so or no, we cannot turn our steps any where amongst the people, without discovering that such obliteration is well-nigh universal. Without leaving our houses, we find that our servants constantly lie to us, for any cause, or for no cause that is appreciable by our understandings.

If we go to any court of justice, and listen to the proceedings for a single hour, we shall certainly find false cases brought forward, and supported on oath by suborned witnesses; and more surprising still, we shall find that scarcely any man, however good his cause, will ever venture to trust that cause to the prevalence of truth. The plaintiff and the defendant in civil suits, the accuser and the accused in criminal prosecutions, alike put their trust in the power of falsehood. We believe there is not one judge, or one magistrate, of considerable experience in the country, who will declare that he believes that one case out of many hundreds that he has decided, has not been supported by perjured testimony on one side or the other, or that one out of every hundred has not been supported by perjury on both sides. But why, it will be said, do not the judges and magistrates reject this testimony altogether? This is easily said, but how can it be done? A magistrate may have a strong conviction that the story told him is either a tissue of unadulterated falsehood, or a skilfully concocted compound of partially told truth and auxiliary lies; but how is he to separate the one from the other? How to bring perjury home to the witnesses? It ought to be considered that the Bengali witness is no common liar; he is a proficient in the craft. The poet's description of the skilful poet is a hundred-fold more applicable to him

than to any poet that has ever written from the days of Homer downwards;—

Atque ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet,
Primo ne medium, medio ne discrepet imum.

And these perjured witnesses are not merely the vilest of the people suborned by the vile; but they are suborned by those who are accounted honorable. We venture to assert that no Hindu gentleman would, in the smallest degree, suffer in his reputation, were it ever so notorious, that he had knowingly made use of false testimony to support his own cause; while he would assuredly be regarded as having failed in his duties of friendship, if he scrupled himself to swear to a falsehood, could he thereby promote the interests of a friend. We assert without fear of contradiction, that such a line of conduct would be regarded generally as simply a refusal to accommodate a friend, when it could be done by a trifling inconvenience, or a small sacrifice on his own part. We say not that there are no native gentlemen who would act thus; we believe that there are such; but we speak of the tone of feeling amongst society generally, and we are persuaded that any one so acting, would suffer in general estimation.

In connexion with this, we may take the liberty to mention, that from the position that we happen to occupy, we are very frequently asked to grant recommendations to candidates for various situations; and we have never discovered that our ability to testify truly to the merits of the candidate is at all an element in the calculation of those who bespeak the recommendation. A request is made for a certificate. If it be granted in favorable terms, it is regarded as simply a personal favor; if it is refused, on the ground that we either know nothing at all of the applicant, or that, knowing him, we regard him as altogether unqualified for the appointment, the refusal is regarded simply as a personal discourtesy. There are few Europeans, of any standing in the country, who have not had abundance of similar experience.

If we go to the bazar, we find an abundance of adulterated goods, false weights and measures, the seller exercising all his ingenuity to cheat the buyer, and the buyer divided between solicitude to avoid being cheated, and to cheat the seller. In the domestic circle, the staple of conversation is falsehood, lying tales of the gods, slanders and defamation. In the intercourse of man with man in society, we fear that *everywhere* the amenities of life verge far too nearly on the confines of falsehood; but *here* the most undisguised and glaring falsehood is the prevalent rule. Even the brahman continually flatters the cold-

blooded, cruel, avaricious, and immoral Babu, and assures him, a hundred times in a day, that he is a very incarnation of kindness, liberality and purity!

But it were vain to attempt to particularize the Protean forms in which this foul monster shows herself. She is the great paramount power in India, and rules with relentless and almost unresisted sway over the great mass of the population.

In all other countries there are many men who have no very profound veneration for truth, and no real heart-hatred of falsehood—men who will prevaricate or distort the truth, or even utter a positive lie, when induced thereto by the prospect of a proportionate advantage. But it seems to be only in India, that the great mass of the people have attained to a state of absolute indifference with respect to truth and falsehood, and where they speak lies almost in preference to truth, when either would equally serve their turn, or when no advantage appears likely to be gained by the one or the other. So thoroughly is falsehood an acknowledged and recognized element in the intercourse of man with man, that we have met with hundreds of Hindus, who, instead of admitting any turpitude as attached to lying, have represented it as an essential and indispensable commodity, the removal of which would cause absolute stagnation in the courts and in the commercial world. We have, at present, to do only with the facts of the case, without reference to the causes of these facts; but we may just say in passing, that if we wished in the most effectual way to train up a generation of liars, we could not desire a more likely method than that which is universally followed in the home education, which is by far the more important part of the whole education, of the youth of this country. The beings that they are taught to reverence are notorious liars, and how is it possible that they who revere falsehood should love truth?

Although the Hindus, and others on their behalf, are continually boasting of their shastras, of their pandits, of their literature, of their ancient and modern civilization, yet there does not exist, and, probably, there never did exist, a nation where open and public *obscenity* is tolerated and encouraged, as it is among the Hindus. To this part of our subject our introductory remark is especially applicable. We know not any considerable portion of the whole feature of the case, and of what we know, it is but a small portion that we can commit to paper. We shall confine ourselves to an imperfect statement of what we have repeatedly seen in public, and chiefly in the public exercises of the Hindu religion. We have seen the distinctive

organs of the sexes set up as objects of worship, in the centres of villages. At an annual gathering of 20,000 men, women and children, held in a large enclosure belonging to a zemindar, we have seen an immense number of images, made of clay and wood, all of the most disgusting and filthy character. In every village there is, at least, one Jagannath's car; and although the figures upon these are not now so gross, in places where they are likely to be seen by Europeans, as they once were, yet in remote villages they are still covered with paintings and figures, as large as life, exhibiting all the forms of vice that the most depraved fancy can conceive; and once a year the whole population, including even those women who never else see the fair light of day, turn out to gaze upon these cars, and to join in their procession, to listen to the vile songs that are sung, and to witness the obscene dances that are performed in honor of the foul idol. Upon this car they gaze, these songs they hear, these dances they witness,—old men and beardless boys, matrons and tender virgins, the most respectable, as well as the most depraved of the community—without a blush-exciting thought as to the character of the exhibition. Once on retiring from a Babu's house, we observed near the entrance, unheeded and unconcealed, a wooden figure, that, had it been known or suspected to be in the most private apartment of any man out of India, would have consigned its owner to eternal infamy. Yet there it stood, without an attempt at concealment, apparently without any one's imagining that there was any reason why it should not be publicly exposed, as any other work of art might have been.

In enumerating a few of the most patent evils that prevail in India, we cannot pass over *Brahmanical influence*, which not only aggravates and rivets all other evils, but is itself an evil of tremendous magnitude. We shall not portray this tremendous power as it is exhibited in the laws of Menu, but shall glance at its present actual working upon the masses of the people. In order to obtain any blessing from the gods, they must first be propitiated; there is no propitiation without a gift, and no gift can be offered but through a brahman. Hence the faces of the poor are continually ground; and thousands of families are kept, from generation to generation, in a state of the most abject and hopeless poverty. Though a brahman can obtain no favor from the gods without an offering, he has unlimited power to curse; and this he does *gratuitously*, where his pride is offended, or his rapacious appetency for gifts is not duly ministered unto. It is impossible for any one who has not mingled with the people, to form any thing like an

adequate conception of the way in which this unlimited power of cursing operates upon the fears of an ignorant people. The influence of the Romish priesthood is the same in kind; but we cannot imagine that, even in the countries where Popery is most rampant, it can be exercised with aught like the same deadly effect. Without actually proceeding to the pronouncing of the irrevocable malediction, a hint skilfully thrown out, as to the probability of small-pox among the children, murrain among the cattle, fires, inundations and robberies, brings the reluctant Hindu to the brahman's feet, and delivers him over, soul and body, with all that he has, to the brahman's will. Final beatitude is consequent upon merit, and this merit is not made up of those elements that constitute moral excellence; but every thing good is summed up in one word—largess to the brahmana. Even merit is capable of being exhausted; and, therefore, in order to secure a long period of repose in a future state, the gifts offered must be valuable and frequently repeated.

But it is not only for the purpose of extorting money for themselves, that the stupendous influence of the twice-born is exercised. We can conceive arguments, though not sound ones, in favor of subjecting a people as little advanced in intellect and moral culture, as the mass of the Hindus are, to a despotic sway on the part of those who would use it well. But it is needless to discuss this question in the present connexion; for in point of fact, with so few exceptions that they do not modify the result in any perceptible degree, the influence of the brahmana as a body is exercised for the encouragement and development of every species of immorality. In the immediate discharge of their priestly functions, they minister to the basest passions of their votaries. The following instance will serve as an illustration. In the immediate neighbourhood of the writer, a few brahmana determined to get up an *extra puja*. The aid of the zemindar was solicited to raise the necessary funds; peons were sent to every householder, with an intimation that each must contribute according to his means; and about eleven hundred rupees were collected. A temporary theatre was erected, and the brahmana were the principal actors. The whole performance was a concatenation of ribaldry and obscenity, in which every sense of decency and propriety was outraged, both by words and actions. Men and women were taught how they might violate their conjugal vows, with secrecy and impunity; and seducers were instructed in the arts and stratagems by which they might triumph over the scruples of their intended

victims. This performance lasted about a week, the theatre throughout the whole time being crowded with men, women and children! Even little boys exclaimed that it was a shameful performance; and a respectable native said to the writer, "I would rather that my wife and children were changed into dogs, than that they should see and hear what takes place at that performance." Such exhibitions are by no means rare. they take place occasionally in all parts of the country, and disseminate in every quarter the seeds of pollution and depravity.

It is generally known that the Hindus are notorious for litigiousness, and it is probable that there are various causes that combine in producing this result. But it does not seem to be generally adverted to, that the brahmins are the great agents in fomenting quarrels, for the very purpose of leading to litigation. Before a suit can be instituted, and throughout the whole period of its dependence, the suitors on both sides seek to ensure a favorable issue, by liberal gifts to the brahmins. When a decision is pronounced, gratitude of course leads the fortunate suitor to give a splendid entertainment, and costly gifts, to the sacred body, through whose interest with the gods his success has been achieved; while the vanquished is taught to believe, that he has failed only because his gifts were too stinted; and he strives, by increased liberality, to wipe out that sin which frustrated even the exertions of the all-powerful intercessors on his behalf.

It is often said that the power of pardoning criminals is the prerogative of our gracious sovereign; but in regard to India, this is an idle boast. Impunity for every crime is in the hands of the brahmins. Suppose a crime is committed by one who can make it worth a brahmin's while to interest himself in his behalf. He hurries off to the *guru* of the injured party, and he prevails upon him to put his veto on the prosecution; or he finds out some one to whom the aggrieved man is indebted, and he compels him, on penalty of his direst curse, to intimate to his debtor that he must be prepared to pay up the last rupee, on the day on which he makes his complaint to the magistrate. We heard a great deal some years ago of a casual saying of a high Indian functionary, that he saw no prospect of good for India, unless the whole body of brahmins were pensioned. Pension the brahmins! Rather set two out of every five of them to work in irons, as a great body of compounders of felony. There are respectable men amongst the brahmins;—men who would not be on any account the originators of such a system. But even they generally fall into it, and do as others do to a considerable extent. In fact, it

would require a strong moral principle for any one to set himself in opposition to such a current. We do not of course know that throughout the country there are no brahmans who keep themselves free from the guilt of this oppression; but it has never been our fortune to meet with any such, except those brahmans who have renounced the privileges of their order, and embraced Christianity.

But some will be ready to say that it can only be the lowest and the most ignorant of the people who are subject to this oppression,—that the intelligent members of the community must have long ago shaken off this thralldom. Probably we also should have said so, had we been left to reason *a priori* on the likelihoods of the case. But in point of fact it is not so. And when we consider the matter more carefully, we perceive that it is not merely an ideal evil to fall under the malediction of a brahman. The Roman punishment of deprivation of fire and water, the mediæval fulmination of a ban or an interdict, were something more than ideal evils; and so is the curse of a brahman, which effectually cuts off him who is the subject of it from all the social courtesies and all the amenities of life, renders him “an alien to his mother’s children,” and subjects him to daily and hourly sufferings of the most aggravated kind. But indeed there is something about the opinion that is entertained of this matter that is well nigh inexplicable, unless we examine closely into the matter. But let us consider well the case of a man whom thousands of the most influential men in a country have conspired, by every means in their power, fair or foul, utterly to ruin. Let us consider that these men have implicit credence accorded to them by all the women, and the great majority of the men in the country;—that whatever falsehood they may please to utter, they are almost sure of avoiding detection and exposure. Let us consider further, that even the men who are utterly irreligious, are frequently not the less superstitious;—and then we will be able to estimate in some degree the social effects of a brahman’s curse. We know of a case in point that will aptly illustrate this part of our subject. There is in Calcutta a native gentleman holding a high official station. He is held in high repute by all Europeans who come into contact with him. He is one of the most intelligent of the native community, and has long ceased to perform puja, or to make offerings to the brahmans. We know not whether he has ever been formally cursed, but the brahmanical body generally have conspired to persecute him; and so well have they succeeded, that there is scarcely a native in Calcutta who does not regard him as a very impersonation

of all the vices. Even the most worldly-wise and acute and irreligious merchants in the bazar will be in despair as to their luck through the day, if they should be so unfortunate as to hear his name pronounced in the morning; and in point of fact, his name is never pronounced by the natives; and they have adopted a corruption of his name, in order that when they have occasion to speak of him, they may do so without bringing upon themselves, and those whom they address, the evils that they firmly believe would follow the exit of the ominous sounds from the lips, and their entrance into the ears. Pension the brahmans! Punish them rather, if any punishment can be devised which will meet the case of such atrocious malignity.

The education of the female sex amongst the Hindus has lately attracted much attention. Now we do not care whether the non-education and the seclusion of women be a religious requirement among the Hindus or not. It may be all quite true that Lilavati was a mathematician, and that in ancient times the daughters of kings presided at tournaments, and chose their own husbands. It is not on this account the less true, that the women of India are now left wholly without education, that they are disposed of in marriage without their consent, and that they are doomed to spend their lives in gloomy and dreary confinement. It is not easy to realize the wretchedness of the life of a woman in the higher classes of society. With her intellect wholly untutored, with her affections wholly unengaged at the period of her marriage, shut out from all intercourse with mankind, save the *purohit* or family priest,—one of the class of whom we have spoken, in whose hands she is as plastic clay in the potter's hand,—she necessarily becomes a prey, through sheer *ennui* and the prevalence of unchecked appetites, to all the evil passions that can find entrance into the female breast; and her seclusion becomes in some sort a measure of necessity. This is a subject on which we cannot dwell; but in its various ramifications, of non-education, early and involuntary marriages, Kulin polygamy, and the non-allowance of the re-marriage of widows, it forms one of the most important elements in the estimate that we must form of the moral and social condition of the Hindus.

It may seem an anti-climax to descend from these mighty evils, and to speak of the domestic discomforts that prevail in a native household; but yet it is not altogether so, though it would certainly be so were not these discomforts of so gigantic a magnitude, and so productive of moral evil of many kinds. A Babu's house has generally a good exterior, and a large court-yard for

the reception of visitors, but beyond, the apartments are small, dark and dirty, unpainted, unswept, unventilated. In them the men sit undressed, secure from female intrusion, and indulging in such conversation as may be better imagined than described. Outside are reeking pools and gutters, rife with accumulated filth in a high state of putrefaction, and exhaling noxious gases, the fruitful parents of cholera and fever. We have high authority for saying, that cleanliness is next to godliness; and certainly the filth and discomfort of most native houses are altogether incompatible with refined and exalted,—we had almost said with virtuous—feelings. If such be the condition of the rich, it must clearly be beyond the power of words to give an adequate representation of the poverty, the squalor and the domestic miseries of the poor. Though the soil of Bengal is one of the richest in the world, yet we question whether an equal amount of destitution could be found amongst any tribe or nation that is removed a single step above the most unalloyed savagism. It will give our English readers some idea of the state of things, when we mention that a man and his wife may toil from early morn till evening twilight in manufacturing a piece of cloth, and then spend half of the following day in conveying it to the market and disposing of it, and that its price will not yield them more than one anna (= 1½d. English money) above the price of the raw materials! And upon this they have probably a family of two or three children to maintain!! Any one who goes into the villages may see scores of poor women standing in black fetid pools, a few feet square, fishing for any living thing that can by possibility (or what any one not driven by dire necessity would call impossibility) be converted into food. The exhalations from these filthy pools are so noxious, that no European could stand beside them for a few minutes; yet do these women rake them for hours, clad in the only garment they possess, and which, saturated from day to day with putrid water, they must wear by day and night for months together.

We might say much more on these subjects, and might introduce many others bearing upon the same point; but we have said enough to show the condition of the people amongst whom we sojourn. We repeat what we said at the outset, that there may be, and doubtless are, individual instances of men who rise far above the average standard; but that the number is much greater of those who fall as far below it. We do not dwell with our author upon thuggism and dacoity, because we wish to confine ourselves to matters that affect the great body of the people; nor upon female infanticide and ghât-

murders, because these subjects have received very full discussion already in our pages. We may state generally, however, that we agree with our author in referring these horrid practices to Hinduism, or at all events, we believe that it is through the evil character of Hinduism that they have not been extirpated centuries ago.

Now then it were a waste of words to prove that *nothing but* Christianity can meet the wants of the people of India. Many things might be done for their improvement. A better system of police might do much ; a more summary administration of justice might do much ; the improvement of the relation between the ryot and the zemindar might do much ; the establishment of schools and the improvement of education might do much ; but none of these improvements, nor all of them together, would meet the case fully and effectually. If Christianity cannot meet it, then must we despair of its being met at all. *Can* Christianity then improve the condition of this people? Now if we could suppose the case of all the people of the land becoming actual Christians, not merely by profession, but in heart and life, then the answer to this question would be easy. Falsehood would be at an end, for every man would speak truth to his neighbour ; the obscenity of the heathen worship would be replaced by the pure and heart-felt devotion of the Christian ritual. The brahmanical priesthood would no longer seek to lord it over the minds and consciences of the people, or to retain a separate and distinct existence from their brethren ; female ignorance, and all its consequent evils, would flee away ; and a happy and contented peasantry would beautify the land. But we acknowledge that this supposition is inadmissible into our present argument. It may be very true that a time is yet to come, when the sublime spectacle shall be presented of a whole people under the direct influence of Christian principle ; but this consummation has never yet been realized ; and it would not be fair to represent the present state of India in contrast with such a state of things, as if this were the alternative with which we have to do. All that we are entitled to assume is that what has been done in other countries may be done in this ;—that a certain proportion of the people may be brought under the direct influence of Christian truth and Christian principle, while the remainder shall be subject to that influence only in an indirect manner. Now our assertion is that the diffusion of the Christian religion amongst a people, even when it is heartily embraced only by a small proportion of them, has ever issued in the elevation of the tone of morality, in the banishment of certain forms of vice, and in the mighty improve-

ment of the social and domestic relations. It did this in ancient times, both amongst the civilized denizens of the central parts of the Roman empire, and amongst the barbarous inhabitants of its remote borders. It did this in the middle ages, amongst the wild invaders of Europe, and, to a limited extent, amongst the Tartars of Central Asia. It has done this in our own day, in the islands of the South Sea, and amongst those who have embraced it in Southern Africa. The Gospel has therefore shown its capability of elevating and improving a people indefinitely; and therefore we are quite justified in asserting that it is capable of mitigating all the evils that we have slightly sketched as abounding amongst the people of India.

We are very far from asserting that the state of things in Christian countries is such as it is desirable that it should be. There is much that is evil, lamentably evil; but we fearlessly assert that the most immoral lands of Christendom are not to be compared with the most civilized nations of heathendom. Men who have breathed a Christian atmosphere from their childhood, do not habitually utter lies. If they be impure and sensual, they at least court concealment, and thus at once pay a certain degree of homage to that virtue which they do not practise, bear undesigned testimony to the comparative purity of the community to which they belong, and, in some degree, save those by whom they are surrounded from the contaminating influence that would be exerted by unblushing and unconcealed vice. We cannot deny, indeed, that in some of the scenes described by Mr. Mayhew, in his *London Labor and London Poor*, there is a state of things indicated that is scarcely different from, and certainly no whit better than, that which prevails amongst the most wretched and degraded of our population. But then those persons whom he describes, though living within the geographical limits of Christendom, are just as effectually removed even from the diffusive influence of Christianity, as are the population of the remotest of our Bengali villages. They are *in* Christendom, but not *of* it. Instead then of these cases showing that Christianity, when diffused amongst a people, does not elevate that people—even those who do not themselves become Christians—in morality, and consequently in external decency and domestic comfort, they only show that there are places in England where this influence has not yet been put forth, and that the boundaries of heathendom are wider than people in England generally imagine. But compare class with class, nobility with nobility, gentry with gentry, clergy with brahmans, merchants with merchants, peasantry with peasantry, shop-keepers with shop-keepers, and even the dregs of the

population of London and Liverpool and Glasgow with the same class in Calcutta and Benares and Lucknow,—and we are confident of the result. The state of the case, therefore, is simply this. There are dark places in England into which the light of Christianity has not penetrated; but surely that is no reason why we should believe that where it has penetrated, it has not cast a cheering and enlightening ray. There are abundant instances to show that this has been the unvarying result, and we have every reason to believe that it would be the result in India.

But if any doubt remained on this point, we have only to compare the condition of the Christian villages that already exist in India; with the heathen villages in the midst of which they are placed; and we cannot fail to be struck with the contrast. Let any one go to the district of Tinnevely, or to the missionary station at Burdwan in Bengal, or even to the Christian villages to the south and east of Calcutta, and he will see in an hour the contrast between incipient life, and undissipated death-shade. Or if any one is necessitated to study the subject in the closet rather than in the field, let him ponder the recently published work of Mrs. Mullens—which a cotemporary compares, for the minuteness of its details, to the writings of Defoe—and he will be led, by a pleasing constraint, to admit that a great work has been begun, a work that has only to be carried on and perfected in order to revolutionize the moral and social aspect of India.

Now there is a large body of men, in England and elsewhere, that admit the duty incumbent on them of carrying on this work; and the question to which the author of this pamphlet mainly addresses himself is, whether they are carrying it on to an extent commensurate with their means of doing so. Are the means employed for the evangelization of India in any degree adequate to produce the result desired? Let our author answer. After giving a statistical table of the population of the various kingdoms in India, under the heads of British possessions, Tributary and allied states, Independent states, and Foreign possessions, with the number of missionaries employed in them, he goes on:—

Now here is almost every kind of Government and climate, with great varieties of language and of race; the total gives us an area of 1,135,440 square miles, and a population of more than 145 millions, and this estimate of population is by many considered too low. Here are great countries without a single missionary; others with two or three. Of these territories, the Bengal Presidency has as large an area as Spain, and the North Western Provinces and Rajputana greatly exceed the whole Austrian Empire and Bavaria. The Presidency of Madras is larger than Great

Britain and Ireland; the Bombay Presidency and Scinde are larger than Prussia. The Nizam's territory is larger than Belgium, Holland and Denmark; Oude is nearly as large as the kingdom of Sardinia; the Punjab, added to the North Western Provinces, will form a much larger territory than France; Gwalior is about equal to Portugal; the Guikowar's country is larger than Switzerland, and Ceylon would contain several important German states.

On the other hand, the immense empire of Russia in Europe, including Poland and the provinces conquered from Turkey and Sweden, is double the size of India; but it has not nearly half her population. The vast empire of Brazil is larger than Russia, but its population is not one-twentieth of the population of India. Nay more, the whole enormous continent of Africa contains not one-half her population, and the whole of North and South America little more than a third. In fact, there is no country in the world so populous as India, except China; and into that we have very partial access, nor do we know when we may be allowed to penetrate further. It is very probable that the civil war there will continue long and extend widely; and, perhaps after all, if we had access to China, we should find difficulties, from varying dialects and other causes, that would long retard our operations. But we know India: we know not only her magnitude and importance, but also her people. They are under British influence and sway, and yet how great a part of the whole land do we find to be neglected altogether!

He then gives a view of the population of some of the principal towns in India, as below,* and then proceeds:—

To these, if I had the needful statistics, I might add many more towns, like Gwalior, Lahore, Furruckabad, Azimghur, Masulipatam, Bangalore and Tanjore; but the towns I have mentioned above will suffice as specimens. It must, however, be borne in mind, that besides many large towns with more than 50,000 inhabitants, India has also a countless number of others, with a population ranging from 5,000 to 30,000; towns in fact,

	<i>Population.</i>	<i>Languages.</i>	<i>Number of missionaries.</i>
* Calcutta and the suburbs	800,000	Bengali	37
Madras	700,000	Tamil	25
Bombay	280,000	Marathi	13
Dacca	200,000	Bengali	2
Benares	300,000	Hindui, and Hindustani	11
Agra	120,000	Ditto	12
Murshedabad & Berhampore ..	120,000	Bengali, and Hindustani	2
Midnapore ..	70,000	Bengali	None.
Delhi	150,000	Hindustani	None.
Patna	200,000	{ Hindui Hindustani	{ 1
Lucknow	300,000	Ditto	None.
Saugur	70,000	Ditto	None.
Bareilly	65,000	Ditto	None.
Surat	160,000	Guzerathi	None.
Allahabad	70,000	{ Hindui Hindustani	{ 4
Mirzapore	55,000	Ditto	3
Puna	100,000	Marathi	1
Amedabad	100,000	Ditto	None.
Joudpore	60,000	Hindui	None.
Jeypore	300,000	Hindui	None.
Hyderabad in the Deccan	200,000	Tamil	None.
Nagpore	80,000	Marathi	

fully equal to the average of the English country towns, and the principal boroughs in the agricultural counties. The places where large weekly markets are held, or where pilgrims occasionally assemble in great crowds, are also almost innumerable.

It is difficult to present any analogy to the tables which are here supplied; but let us endeavour to make their facts familiar to the mind, by supposing a similar case elsewhere. Europe is a large continent; but if Russia be kept out of mind, it is *neither larger nor more populous than India*. Let us then suppose Europe to be what India is now, a mission field, wherein Heathenism and Mohammedanism are almost universal. Let us think of the countries of Europe as if they were countries of India. Let France, for instance, be thought as of Bengal; Spain as the Madras presidency; Prussia as the Bombay presidency; the Austrian empire as the North Western Provinces; then think of the whole of Turkey and Greece as the Punjab and Scinde; Italy as Nagpore and the Nizam's country; Bavaria as Bundelkund; Piedmont as Indore; Switzerland as Bhopaul; Belgium as Sattara; Holland as the Mysore countries; the various small states of Germany as the states of Rajputana; Great Britain and Ireland as the various hill tribes; Sweden and Norway as Oude; and then apply to these countries the figures I have supplied. Suppose, for instance, that France was in a state of dark Heathenism; and that Christian benevolence sent thirty missionaries for Paris and the suburbs, two for Guienne, a few for Dauphiny, but none for Brittany, Normandy, Burgundy, Lorraine, Gascony, Champagne, or Languedoc. Then think of Central Germany, and Bavaria, and Sweden, and Norway, and Great Britain, and Italy, and the Ottoman empire, altogether, or nearly altogether unsupplied. Imagine the whole number of missionaries to be equal to one for every 350,000 people. Think of such a continent in Heathenism, and *such* efforts to evangelize it; think, too, of the aggravation of the case, in the varieties of language, in the strong prejudices of the people; in the power of a Heathen priesthood, as cruel as the Druids, and more subtle; in the neglect of great cities; in the afflictions of a trying climate; and in the experience of very slow success. Think of all this not as an exaggerated, but as a true and simple illustration of India's destitution, and then marvel no more, if scoffers return home to declare, that in the course of their Indian travels they never met a single missionary or a single convert! Think of the scene thus exhibited to view—an immense region, a vast population, few and widely scattered labourers, and this sixty years after Carey led the way from England in the glorious work of preaching the Gospel to this people, and sixty years after the labours and success of Swartz were published, to animate our torpid churches! Surely, I may say, that it was not thus that the early Church dealt with Heathen lands. It was not thus that the first followers of the Saviour acted in obedience to the last command,—“Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature!”

Our author next gives an enumeration of the zillas of Bengal, with their population, and the number of missionaries employed, as follows:—

District of the Twenty-four Pergunnahs (in which Calcutta is situated.)—Probable population, including Calcutta and the suburbs, Howrah, and Baraset, two millions. Number of missionaries 37.

Nuddea or Krishnaghur, a very large district of 8,115 square miles.—Population in 1801, 764,000; now the probable population is one million. Seven missionaries.

Jessore, a very large and fertile district of 5,000 square miles.—Probable population 1,200,000. One missionary.

Backergunge or Burrisaul.—Probable population 400,000. Two missionaries.

Dacca, Jelalpoore.—Probable population about half a million, and extent about 7,000 square miles. No missionary.

Dacca.—Probable population fully a million, and extent about 8,000 square miles. Two missionaries.

Tipperah, a large district, about one hundred miles long, and in some parts fifty miles wide, and an area of about 8,000 square miles, with a population probably of one million; (the estimate in 1801 was 750,000). No missionary.

Chittagong, a very large district, 120 miles long, and about twenty-five miles wide, with a population believed to exceed a million. One missionary. Adjoining this district is a large territory called Independent Tipperah, with no missionary.

Sylhet, area 2,861 square miles, population (in 1801), 492,495; probable population at present 700,000. One missionary.

Mymensing, one of the largest districts, but a considerable part still a jungle.—Probable population 800,000; (the estimate in 1801 was 600,000). No missionary.

Pubna, a comparatively small district, but very fertile.—Probable population 400,000. No missionary.

Rajshye, a very large and important district.—Probable population one million and a half. No missionary.

Bogorah, a poor district.—Probable population 200,000. No missionary.

Rungpore, a district of 2,876 square miles.—Probable population 700,000. No missionary. Adjoining Rungpore is a large territory called Kooch Behar, in which there is no missionary.

Dinagopore, a district of 3,519 square miles.—Probable population 800,000; (the estimate in 1801 was only 600,000). One missionary.

Maldah, a small district.—Probable population 200,000. No missionary.

Murshedabad, a very fertile and important district.—Probable population 1,200,000. Two missionaries.

Birbhum, a district of 3,858 square miles.—Estimated population in 1801 700,000, now it is believed to be a million and a half. One missionary.

Burdwan.—The richest district in Bengal. Probable population two millions, and extent probably 5,000 square miles. Three missionaries.

Bancúrah or West Burdwan.—Probable population 700,000. No missionary.

Midnapore, a very extensive district of 7,000 square miles.—Probable population one million and a half. No missionary.

Hugli, a fertile and rich district.—Probable population 1,200,000. Four missionaries.

These estimates of population are not certain, but I cannot obtain any better. It is known that the population in many large districts is very dense, and one with another their average of population, I believe, greatly exceeds a million each, and to this must be added the population of the extensive Western Mehals, which have no missionary.

The end then being to evangelize India, to bring it into the condition of a Christian country—or continent rather—and such being the amount of means employed, the question arises—are these means in any degree adequate to the end?

To this question there can be but one answer. In order to *keep up* and sustain Christianity in England, we have towns with three or four thousand inhabitants, supplied with two established clergy, and six or eight dissenting ministers, with a staff of Sabbath-school teachers, tract-distributors and district visitors;—while we have one missionary to *introduce* Christianity among the 800,000 people of Dinagepore, three missionaries to make its influence felt by the two millions of Burdwan; while 403 missionaries are all that are employed to labour amongst the 150 millions of India's population, or one missionary to 372,000 people. Now it may be granted that the English towns are over-abundantly supplied, through the unhappy divisions that exist among the British churches; but no one will say that any man can discharge the duties of a Christian minister with full effect to more than 2,000 people: whereas in India each missionary on an average has 186 times that number. It may also be admitted, that it is not the part of the churches of Christendom to afford an adequate supply of laborers to a heathen country, but rather to set the work a-going, and trust for its carrying out to the exertions of native laborers trained up by those sent from Christendom; but even for making this beginning, it seems to us perfectly clear that the means used are utterly inadequate.

It becomes then of importance to enquire, whether the means at the disposal of the church, and of Missionary Societies, are judiciously and fairly distributed, so that India gets her fair share as compared with other portions of the missionary field; and then whether these means are supplied, in an adequate or commensurate degree, by those who acknowledge the duty to supply them.

Our author, taking account of the amount of men and money at the disposal of the various missionary bodies, judges, and we think justly, that a fair proportion has not been allotted to India. The Wesleyan Missionary Society, with an annual income of £100,000, has not a single missionary in Bengal and Upper India. The Baptist Missionary Society, also with a large income, had till very lately, no missionary in the Madras Presidency, and now we do not know that it has more than a single missionary there. Various other Societies seem to have a special affection for islands, and some for the Cape colony. Now we have no desire whatever to prejudice the claims of those or any other fields of missionary labor; but we cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that India has peculiar claims, which have not been sufficiently taken into account.

Her first claim upon British Christians rests upon the singular relation in which she stands towards the British empire. If Providence has given the sovereignty of India

to England, and if almost every family of the higher and middle classes in England has derived a portion of its wealth and standing from India, surely there is a peculiar call upon Britain to do what is possible for the benefit of the people of this land. We are very far from wishing to deny that India *has* derived benefit,—much benefit, from its subjection to Britain. For nearly a hundred years the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa have been under the immediate influence of the British Government. We admit the superiority of that Government, and acquit it of all collusion with the rajas and zemindars in oppressing the people, according to the customs of the former regime, when the nawab squeezed the raja, the raja squeezed the zemindar, and the zemindar squeezed the ryot, to the extremity of their several capacities—when skilful artisans were kidnapped, carried from their homes, kept in durance, and compelled to labor for the zemindar, without the semblance of remuneration—when the possession of a rupee on the part of the ryot was deemed as criminal, or was as sure to bring down punishment upon him, as the harboring of a gang of robbers—and when, as soon as it was known that there was any money in a village, guards were placed round it to prevent egress till the whole was delivered up. These practices exist to a considerable extent now, but it is in spite of the Government; and not, as formerly, through its connivance and countenance. But probably the power of the Government to check these mal-practices is put forth nearly to its full extent; and we have no great reason to hope for any very considerable amelioration of the condition and character of the people from any thing that it is in the power of Government to do for them. Yet the condition of the people is such as we have described it in a previous part of this article. The conclusion, therefore, seems to be inevitable, that the designs of Providence, in establishing the relation that subsists between India and England, cannot be fulfilled by the mere subjection of the former to the *government* of the latter, and that an element is to be infused into the intercourse of the two peoples, more important than any that it is in the power of Government to employ. And especially when we consider that one of the main advantages that England derives from India in a pecuniary point of view, is not the augmentation of the national revenue directly, but rather the profitable employment of so many Englishmen, who, albeit the days of colossal fortunes are at an end, may yet take home comfortable competencies, and distribute their wealth, through the usual channels of industry, over many districts of their native land,—we cannot avoid the conclusion that India has special claims upon the

people of England, apart altogether from her claims on the Government. Now the *Christian* people of England, and of all other countries, profess that the greatest blessing that can be conferred upon a heathen people, is the communication to them of the knowledge of the Gospel. Upon these, therefore, the people of India have special and peculiar claims.

Our author charges Missionary Societies, and we think not unjustly, with a lack of due discrimination in the apportionment of their means, and with what is practically an undue partiality to other localities, to the prejudice of the claims of India. We say *practically*, or in the result, for we do not believe that any such partiality is intended. The fact is that people who have never left England, have great difficulty in realizing the magnitude of the field that is open in India for the carrying on of missionary efforts. They all know that India is a much larger country than Ceylon, but they do not consider *how much* larger it is; and they do not see the disproportion which really subsists, when they consider that Ceylon has thirty-eight missionaries, and India has 403, or nearly eleven times as many. They think somewhat in this way, Ceylon is one country, and India is another; and there are nearly eleven times as many missionaries in the latter as in the former; but there is no great deficiency complained of in Ceylon, therefore India, which has nearly eleven times as many, must surely be abundantly supplied. To be sure, India is much more extensive than Ceylon; but surely eleven missionaries for one is a great disproportion. Now reckoning the population of Ceylon at $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, and that of India at 150 millions, it appears that in order that a fair proportion should be kept, India should have exactly 100 times as many missionaries as Ceylon; that is, that if Ceylon is entitled to thirty-eight, India is entitled to 3,800 instead of 403; or if India is entitled to no more than 403, Ceylon is entitled only to four; or dividing the 441 rateably, between the $151\frac{1}{2}$ millions, that India should have 436 and a fraction, and Ceylon four and a fraction. We may here be allowed to say that we believe Dr. Duff has done a great deal, by his lectures and speeches, in England and in Scotland, to enable the supporters of missions to realize the stupendous magnitude of India; and the pamphlet before us will go far to deepen the impression that he has made. Again, if we compare India with China,—it is generally understood that the population of all China is about double that of all India, or about 300 millions; and, therefore, it might be supposed at first sight, that if a new division of the revenues were made, while India would gain at the expense of

Ceylon and the West Indies, and the South Sea Islands, she would have to give up so large an amount to China, that, probably, she would be no gainer over all. But then it must be considered that, of the 300 millions of China, or whatever be its population, only an insignificant fraction is accessible to missionary efforts; whereas all India, from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya, is thoroughly accessible to judicious men. It is not, therefore, China that we ought to take into account; but that portion of the Chinese population with whom it is in the power of missionaries to come into contact. And so it is with the missions in Southern and Western Africa. It is altogether deceptive to talk of these being missions to Africa; they are missions to the country bordering on the Cape Colony, and to the little corner of Sierra Leone; but, practically, the missions to India, or the city missions of London and Liverpool, are as much missions to the remainder of Africa as they are.

But some of the supporters of missions may be disposed to say, that granting the claims of India to an increased share of the means at the disposal of the missionary bodies, on the ground of the vastness of its accessible population, other countries present stronger claims, on account of the greater amount of success that has been attained in them. Now it may well be questioned, whether, in such an enterprise, success ought ever to be taken account of as a rule of duty; and whether, in fact, the very want of success, as indicating either the peculiar indisposition of the people to the reception of the Gospel, or the inadequacy of the means employed for bringing it home to them, ought not to be one of the strongest reasons for increased exertion. But setting this aside, it ought to be considered that the success achieved in India is greater than is generally believed. We venture to say that very few of the supporters of missions were prepared for the statistics given in our pages six months ago, showing 103,000 Native Christians in India. And then, on the other hand, it ought to be considered that some of the success achieved in some other missionary fields, cannot be counted upon as being more than temporary. Look for example at the West Indies. Before the abolition of slavery in the British possessions, an intense interest was very naturally, and very properly, excited in England, on behalf of the slaves. Every benevolent society sent a supply of men, money and books, and the negroes on every estate were more or less indoctrinated into a knowledge of the Gospel. After the emancipation, the liberated slaves very naturally, (and who shall contradict us when we say very properly too?) looked upon the missionaries as their friends.

The Christians were animated with the zeal of new liberty, and who shall say that these feelings were not natural and proper also? Chapels were built, funds were subscribed, and some missionaries found that they could be supported by the free-will offerings of their converts, without aid from the society by which they were originally sent out. But events have shown that this was not a sufficient basis on which to rear the expectation of a permanently self-sustaining church. Apart altogether from the cooling of the ardor of first love, (which may probably have taken place, although we have no positive evidence that it has,) the introduction of slave-manufactured sugar into England on the same terms on which that manufactured in our own possessions is imported, and the importation of Indian coolies as laborers into the West Indies, had an immediate effect on the resources of the members of the mission churches, threw many of them out of employment, and rendered it merely impossible that they should contribute to the support of Christian ordinances amongst themselves as they had done before. Now it would be very wrong to argue any thing against the Christian character of those men on this ground; but as the great proof adduced of the greater success attained in the West Indies than that achieved in India, was the self-sustaining character of the churches in the one country, and the dependence of those in the other, it is quite fair to point out that this superiority of the West Indian churches was in some sort accidental.

We have an instance of the uncertain nature of success from other causes in the Cape colony and frontier. There was no lack of missionaries laboring there, and their labors were attended with a gratifying amount of success. But the incursion of the Kaffres has swept away the prosperity of the colony, and the mission stations have shared in the general calamity. Property has been destroyed, Christian communities have been dispersed, and the shadow on the dial, that seemed to be approaching to the indication of the general evangelization of a considerable portion of South Africa, has receded many degrees. Far be it from us to undervalue the good that has been done to individual converts; but in so far as the christianization of the country is concerned, the work must be begun anew. And what the Kaffres have done in South Africa, the French have attempted to do, and have, to some extent, succeeded in doing, in the South Seas. So also the Austrians have put an effectual stop, for a time, to the Free Church of Scotland's mission to the Jews, by the expulsion of the missionaries from their territories. We repeat again, that in all these instances, we believe that no little good has

been effected, and that nothing is farther from our intention, or our desire, to under-value that good; all that we mean to show is, that success is not the rule or measure of duty; and that is shown by this consideration among others, that a great amount of present success may be neutralized, in so far as the design of christianizing a country or community is concerned, by various adverse circumstances, whereas a gradual and scarcely perceptible change in the sentiments and habits of a people, with little of what can be chronicled as success, may be slowly, but surely, leading to a great and important and permanent revolution. Now, in India, any success that may be attained is free, so far as human eye can see, from such casualties as those to which we have referred, as having actually occurred elsewhere. The inhabitants are the people of the soil, which their ancestors have inhabited for thousands of years; and therefore are on a different footing altogether from those migratory and nomadic tribes, who are here to-day and away to-morrow. The resources of the country itself are inexhaustible, and, therefore, the prosperity of the people is not dependent on the fluctuations of commerce, the variation of tariffs, or the capricious enactment or suspension of navigation laws. There is therefore every reason to hope that, whatever aid the converts may give to the upholding of Christian ordinances among themselves, and the sending of the Gospel to their neighbours, they will be able to give permanently, and in constantly increasing amount. Any disturbance of the peace of the country too, either from internal discontent or from external invasion, is scarcely to be regarded as possible.

We think, therefore, that the claims of India to a larger share of the resources actually at the disposal of the various missionary bodies is made out to a demonstration; but our author goes further, and we go along with him, in thinking that those resources ought to be greatly increased. We have to deal only with those who acknowledge that it is their duty to do what they can, for the benefit of their fellow-men, by the impartation to them of the blessings of the Gospel. We are not, therefore, concerned to prove that this is the duty of any class of men, but only to enquire whether the present efforts of those who acknowledge this duty are commensurate with their means. Now we think our author shows conclusively, what indeed has often been shown before, that a much greater number of men, and a much larger amount of money, might be spared by the British churches, than is actually provided by them for missionary purposes. As to men, it is gratifying to know, that there is an improved feeling amongst the

young men in the universities and colleges of Europe respecting missions. And we trust that the magnitude and importance of the subject will be more and more pressed on their attention, until the missionary bodies, instead of having thankfully to accept any one that offers his services, and send him to the most destitute of many destitute stations, shall have it in their power to select the best of several applicants, and to send him to the station best suited to his peculiar qualifications. As to money, we believe that, with few exceptions, men who acknowledge the duty, and think that they discharge it, do not realize the magnitude of the object, and do not give in accordance with their means. They give from habit, more than from any immediate sense of the magnitude and the importance of the work to be done. One gives a shilling, another a half-crown, a third a half-sovereign, a fourth a sovereign, and a fifth, it may be five, or even ten, pounds a year. It ought to be regarded as a duty, on the part of the directors of Missionary Societies, to endeavor to root out this plan of giving from habit; or, if this may not be, to introduce more munificent habits among their supporters. That the amount of contributions for missionary purposes depends, more than might be before-hand supposed, on the character of the means adopted for its collection, we may illustrate by an extract from a speech delivered by Dr. Duff, at the recent meeting of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, in Edinburgh, and which we take from the *Witness* newspaper of the 28th May last, only correcting one or two evident mistakes on the part of the printer or the reporter:—

Now I will give one simple fact, merely by way of example, as illustrative of this subject. Here, for instance, is a summary of the experience of the Church of England Society; its characteristic is the same in all the great English Societies. To begin with the collections. The yearly average of the first nine years very little exceeded one thousand pounds; then they advanced, after some years, up to two thousand pounds, and continued at that rate for some time. Again they advanced, so that the yearly average of the next ten years was about £3,000. The average of the next ten about the same, of the next ten £5,000, and of the next or last ten about £7,000. The slow progress in rate of increase by collections made them, at the end of fourteen years, consider anew the whole subject. What were they to do? The world was open before them, and this is but a trifle. Thus they commenced the plan of associations. They did not, however, as already indicated, give up the collections. Their system did not admit of that, and they have continued them up to this year. The first year they began the associations, there was an immediate increase in their resources. The first nine years the collections averaged £1,000; but whenever they commenced these associations, you find that the average of the first five years amounted to more than twelve times the collections for each of the first nine years, or £12,000, and the next ten

years the average increased still more, even to nearly treble, so that this is the rate of increase. The yearly average of the first nine years of the associations is, in round numbers, £12,000, and the next ten £31,000, the next ten £45,000, the next ten £78,000, and so on they went, until, between associations, and collections, and legacies, they now obtain above £100,000 yearly. I believe this is the experience of all the great English Societies. They could not now trust to collections alone for so great a work. I have stated again and again that a twelve-month ago I asked some of the venerable fathers connected with some of the great Societies in London, whether they could trust now, when the spread of missions is so extensive, to annual collections. How they shook their heads with astonishment that a Scotchman should put such questions! They thought, I suppose, that we were rather canny in the north, and too shrewd to put such a stupid question.

Various inferences might be deduced from this statement. At present we have only to do with it, as confirmatory of our opinion that the incomes of our various missionary bodies would be greatly enlarged, if more adequate means were adopted for bringing the subject, and keeping it, before the minds of the Christian people, and rousing them to mental and spiritual activity in the matter.

We have grounded our advocacy of the extension of Christian missions in India, mainly on a consideration of the great evils which prevail amongst the people, which certainly cannot be cured by *any other* means, and which, we believe, the general diffusion of Christianity is capable of curing, or at least greatly alleviating. But we are not ignorant of the fact, that in order to induce men to engage heartily in any enterprise, it is necessary to show them that there is a reasonable hope of success to attend its prosecution. Now although we repudiate altogether the idea that success, either achieved or expected, ought to be the rule or measure of our duty, we willingly admit the propriety of holding out both the one and the other, when they exist, as a stimulant to exertion. Even Lord Bacon, in setting forth his noble *Organum*, did not disdain to state the grounds of his hope of success from the adoption of the method of enquiring of nature which he inculcated. "Itaque conjecturae nostrae, quae spem in hac re faciunt probabilem, aperiendae sunt et proponendae; sicut Columbus fecit ante navigationem illam suam mirabilem maris Atlantici; cum rationes adduxerit, cur ipse novas terras et continentes, praeter eas quae ante cognitae fuerunt, inveniri posse confideret; quae rationes, licet primo rejectae, postea tamen experimento probatae sunt, et rerum maximarum causae et initia fuerunt," (*Novum Organum*, I. 92.) Let us then, in imitation of the sage, state very briefly a few of the grounds of hope, that may well stimulate to increased exertion the supporters of the missionary cause in India.

First of all we would notice *what has already been done*. A good deal of knowledge has been acquired respecting the country; although not nearly so much, we agree with our author in thinking, as is desirable. A Christian community, consisting of 100,000 individuals, has been collected. These, scattered all over the country as they are, can scarcely fail to exercise an important influence on the surrounding masses; and although we hear complaints from time to time, that many of the Native Christians are not all that their friends, and the friends of missions and of India, could desire, yet we cannot doubt that this influence upon the whole must be very favourable. Especially we augur great good from the bodies of native missionaries, preachers and teachers that are now clustered around all the missions, and from whose labours we anticipate that great good will result. Again, the Christian literature that has been created, consisting of many admirable tracts and books, and especially of the Scriptures, well translated into all the Vernacular dialects of India, is a powerful auxiliary to the missionary; and gives each one the power that two could scarcely possess before. Then it is of no little consequence that a large body of the people have become tolerably familiar with missionaries, and with the object for which they have come into the country. There is an extraordinary change within the last thirty years in the reception that missionaries meet with from the people among whom they have been most in the habit of going. *Then*, on the arrival of a missionary in a village, a signal was given by the first brahman who heard the news; the tidings flew from mouth to mouth, and were received with a universal shout of *hari bol*, which was often continued in deafening tones, until the intruder was fairly driven from the field, without having succeeded in making his message heard by a single individual. *Now*, the Brahmans either do not shout, or their opposition is vain. The cleanest and shadiest place in the village is pointed out to the missionary; a chair, if the village can boast of a chair, is brought for him; crowds of eager listeners press to hear him; and on his departure, he is greeted with numerous hearty salutations and invitations to return.

We have already set forth the baneful effects of the brahmanical influence upon the people in every particular. It is, therefore, in the highest degree satisfactory to be able to announce that *this influence is decidedly on the wane*. There is a scepticism as to the powers of this sacred order beginning to be diffused, even in quarters where, but a few years ago, you might as well have expected to find scepticism as to the equivalence of two and two to four. The brahman affects

to keep cholera and small-pox at a distance from the locality in which he condescends to dwell; but one or the other enters his own dwelling, and carries off his only son. He promises to cure diseases by charms; himself and members of his family are living monuments of his failure and imposture. He encourages litigants, with the assurance that the goddess Kali sits in the court, watching over the interests of her own clients; and that, if duly propitiated, she will influence the magistrate to give a favorable decision; but the verdict proves, either that Kali has gone to sleep, or that the brahman's account of her power over the magistrate is a fable. The brahman promises rain, but drought continues; or he promises drought, and the rain pours down. Now all these things have been for generations, as much as they are now; but during all these generations, the brahmanical ascendancy has been maintained by explanations and quibbles, and the magnifying of cases of apparent success, the invention of cases of marvellous success that never occurred, and the imputation of failure, in all cases, to the sins, in this or some former birth, of the person on whose behalf the boon was solicited. But now a change begins to be visible even in the remote strongholds of Hinduism. The influence of the brahmanical order is still stupendous; but all who can contrast it with what it was a quarter of a century ago, will perceive that the point of a wedge has been introduced, and is destined to overthrow the system. The people, probably, *fear* the brahmins, as the dispensers of curses, as much as they ever did; but they now *hate* them very considerably, as the obtainers of their money on false pretences. The sudra dares not express to a brahman a hint of a doubt as to his power; but we have seen a whole crowd roaring with the laughter of delight, at seeing a brahman writhing on the horns of a dilemma.

The *character and influence of modern education*, as compared with that which alone existed some thirty years ago, seems to afford ground for sober hope. Bengal then had its pandits, its village schools, and its colleges. In the lower schools, the only instruction given was in writing and arithmetic; and in the colleges the sole study was the Sanskrit, ten or twelve years being occupied exclusively in committing to memory its grammar and its dictionary. If any subject connected with science, history or geography, were introduced, the pandits had not a single correct idea to communicate. But at the present moment there are tens of thousands of men who have been instructed by the missionaries in the great truths of Christianity, while many have received instruction, on other subjects, of a

high order. And although we have a quarrel with the Government system of education, on the ground that it excludes good which might be admitted into it, and admits evils that might be excluded, we never thought for a moment of denying that it is doing good. Our only question regarding it is whether it is right to support a system which is capable of doing some good, while we have it in our power to support one which is demonstrably capable of doing more. But we are happy to be able to state a fact, of which our author appears to be ignorant, that the prohibition which forbade the Government teachers to use their *private* influence on the side of Christianity has now been removed; and although we believe that any prominent efforts of this kind, on the part of a teacher, would be strongly disapproved, there is now nothing in the rules of the educational service that distinguishes the teacher, out of school, from any other person in the service of Government.

One of the great obstacles to the reception of the Gospel in former times, was the influence of the Government, and the character of many of those who were regarded by the people as the representatives of Christianity. It is a good ground of hope that there is a *great improvement in these respects* now. The Government support of idolatry, as recently shewn in our pages, has now dwindled down to the merest shadow of its former self, and will soon, we confidently predict, cease altogether. The abolition of idolatrous oaths in the Company's courts, was a step in the right direction. The "liberty of conscience act" was an act of justice, and a great boon; and various other doings of late years on the part of the Government, indicate a desire to give a fair field to Christianity, in delightful contrast to their early treatment of it. Yet there are many things in which improvement is still to be sought. We heartily endorse our author's recommendation that the *charak puja* should be put down by authority,* and as heartily accept his endorsement of our recommendation, contained in the second article of our present issue, that the Government offices should not be closed in honour of any of

* Our author seems to represent it as a usual thing for women to swing in this puja. We had never heard of such a thing. We therefore asked many natives whether any such thing had ever occurred. One told us of an instance that he had heard of, that occurred long ago; another had heard of some distant place, whose position he knew nothing of, where the practice is common; and a third gave an account of a *European lady*, who was said to have swung at Bhowanipore, near Calcutta, in order to acquire merit for her husband! We suspect all the cases are equally fabulous; although we would not positively say that in the mad frenzy of that diabolical festival, there may not have occurred some instance in which a woman was strung up in the excess of wantonness.

the idolatrous festivals. We unite with him in condemning the conduct of the Government, a few years ago, in requiring that a Christian convert in one of the protected states should be given up to the Native Government of that state for punishment, as a discontented subject; his only crime being the profession of the Gospel.

Amongst the evils which the Government ought to remove, is one which it has itself originated, and to which we cannot do justice at the close of an article, which has already exceeded the limits to which we intended to restrict it. We refer to the Abkari or Excise system, which we regard as one of the greatest evils that a well-meaning, but misjudging, Government ever inflicted upon a people. In its operation it is a grand encourager of drunkenness, perhaps the only vice in the whole catalogue of conceivable evils, from which the Hindus were nationally free. We hope to be able to treat this important subject at length on a future occasion.

As to the *character of Europeans in India*, we believe that it is now much more favorable to the diffusion of Christianity amongst the native than it once was. There have always been excellent men in India; but their influence in former times was more than counteracted by the vices of their countrymen of an opposite character. *Now* we believe that there is a great improvement in the general tone of morality among European residents; and moreover that the natives have learned to make a distinction between Christian and unchristian Europeans. They do not now regard every man as a Christian who wears a hat, and do not regard the vices which are still practised by some hat-wearers as characteristic of the Gospel.

As we introduced this division of our subject by a quotation from Bacon, so we shall end it, and our article together, with the continuation of the same passage. "Principium autem sumendum a Deo; hoc nimirum quod agitur, propter excellentem in ipso boni naturam, manifeste a Deo esse, qui auctor boni et pater luminis est. In operationibus autem Divinis, initia quaeque tenuissima exitum certo trahunt." (*Novum Organum*, I. 93.)

The publication of this very pamphlet is itself one of those "beginnings," which will not fail to contribute to the "issue;" and we earnestly commend it to the serious attention of those to whom it is addressed.

ART. VII.—*Selections from my Medical Note-Book, or Practical Observations on the Indian Village Cholera, &c., &c. By Thomas Moore, B. A., Assistant Surgeon, Bengal Medical Service. Calcutta, 1852.*

THIS volume is a reprint, in a revised and collected form, of a series of papers which were, for the most part, published in the *London Medical Gazette*, some two years since; and, but that cholera was then on the wane in England, the views of the author, both as to the pathology and treatment of this fell disease, founded as they are upon numerous *post mortem* examinations, would have attracted more attention than they appear hitherto to have done. We commend the work to the attention of the medical profession in India, as recording the results of an earnest and industrious study into the causes and morbid effects of this scourge of our age; for, though we are but little disposed to agree with the conclusions at which Dr. Moore has arrived, we willingly accord him all praise for the patient, and, in this country, laborious investigation in which he has been engaged.

We would ask Dr. Moore, why he has denominated the disease, "*Indian village cholera*." The impression this suggests to the reader is, that he is about to describe some peculiar form of disease localised in the Indian hamlet, differing in type from that too fatally known to the medical profession, whose dreaded march carried terror and dismay through all the countries it visited, baffling the skill and science of all the most celebrated physicians of Europe. The carelessness or vanity of writers in applying names to diseases, has been a fertile cause of confusion in medical literature; the name should convey some intimation of the nature of the malady, the organ affected, or some generic feature; all of which are wanting in the term, "*Indian village cholera*," as applied to a disease, which has spread its ravages over most parts of the habitable globe. There is the less excuse for this act on the part of our author, as there are so many synonymous terms for cholera already in common use among medical writers, from the following list of which he might surely have selected one appropriate:—

"Asiatic cholera, Indian cholera, spasmodic cholera, epidemic cholera, malignant cholera, pestilential cholera, cholera asphyxia, cholera biliosa, cholera morbus, mort de chien."

Dr. Moore, in accordance with the plan adopted by most systematic writers on the subject, divides cholera into three stages; the symptoms of which, as arranged and grouped by

him, we shall make no apology for presenting at length to our readers:—

In its progress, the Indian village cholera is divisible into three stages. The symptoms which denote the premonitory stage from the second or intermediate stage, and this latter from the third or last stage, are, in general, well marked.

* * * * *

Whether cholera has come under my observation in the huts of the natives in their villages, or on board ship, when in medical charge of cooly emigrants, or in regimental and civil hospitals, I have noted a degree of uniformity in the symptoms by which each stage of the disease has been indicated. The exceptions have been few. I propose, therefore, to select the results of cases treated by me on one occasion as illustrative of the particular features of each stage of the Indian village cholera.

Fatal cases of cholera in the third or last stage.—The Indian labourers, destined as emigrants for Mauritius, had not been on board the “ship *Sophia*” more than twelve hours, when I was summoned from shore to visit the vessel, in consequence of the outbreak of cholera. The disease had commenced with the men. Until the third day’s sail from the Sand Heads, men, women, and children, were attacked by it. To our relief, the cholera then disappeared. It may not be out of place to notice, that by this time, few of the coolies were able to appear on deck in consequence of sea-sickness.

The symptoms and general features of the disease, as the vessel lay at anchor off Cooley Bazar, were of the worst type. When I went on board, there were three men in the last stage of cholera. They were cold, and covered with a clammy sweat. The perspiration was oozing out in large drops on the forehead, the neck, and on the chest. Their eyes appeared sunken in their sockets. Their breath was cold. In each case the tongue was cold. Their features were shrunk. The skin of the face seemed to have been pinched backwards. The voice was feeble, hollow, inarticulate. Their strength was completely prostrated. In two of these cases the pulse at the wrist was imperceptible; in one, barely perceptible. In the larger arteries the pulse could be felt. It was quick, and communicated to the touch a feeble vibration.

The impulse of the heart could not be felt. The action was rapid, distant, and indistinct. The first, or muscular sound of this organ, was almost inaudible. The second, or arterial sound, was clear, sharp, distinct. The breathing was short, and at intervals laboured. The extremities were icy cold. The nails of the fingers and toes of a deep blue colour, as if steeped in indigo, were curved inwards. Their pulpy points were shrivelled. The calves of the legs suffered from spasmodic contractions. The muscles of the forearm and arm, in like manner, were seized with convulsive spasms, and became round and hard, as resisting under the grasp as balls of iron.

Vomiting and purging had ceased in two of these cases, and were succeeded by hiccup and dry retching. In the third case, the rice-water or sero-mucous discharge continued to trickle from the bowels, without the knowledge of the patients. Their only desire was for cold water, to quench an insatiable parching thirst.

At the commencement of the attack, frequent and copious rice-water discharges from the stomach and bowels were the most prominent symptoms. Weight, and oppression and spasmodic twinges in the epigastrium, and along the course of the diaphragm, quickly followed. In each case the abdomen was sunken, doughy, inelastic under pressure, without pain

or tenderness, until the spasms extended to the recti muscles. The secretion of urine was suppressed.

These cases of cholera, in the last stage of the disease, had well nigh run their course previous to my visit on board. I need scarcely add, they terminated fatally.

Cases of cholera in the second or intermediate stage.—Besides the three cases in the third or last stage of cholera, there were two men, one boy, and one woman, in the second stage of the disease. Vomiting and purging were the most prominent features in each case. These were the symptoms chiefly complained of by the patients. The liquid discharges from the bowels were slimy, sero-mucous, depositing a flaky sediment, and resembled congee-panee, or rice-water. The fluid rice-water discharges from the bowels occurred sometimes twice, sometimes three times, or more frequently, in the hour, but occasioned no pain nor uneasiness in the abdomen.

The act of vomiting was frequent, and attended with a feeling of constriction at the pit of the stomach, and with spasmodic twitches shooting back towards the spine. The abdomen was free from pain on pressure, felt soft to the hand, and in three cases was inelastic. In a fourth case it was distended with flatus, but in none was the abdomen pinched inwards and backwards towards the spine.

The feet and hands retained some degree of warmth. In the rest of the body the heat was above its natural standard. In the calves of the legs, the muscles were spasmodically contracted. The spasms, however, were not severe; nor protracted in duration. They yielded, in general, to the hand-rubbing and shampooing used by their friends. The tongue in each case was loaded, moist, and warm. With this moisture of the tongue, thirst was urgent. The desire for cold water, to allay the dried parched feeling in the mouth, could not be satisfied. They were allowed to drink as much water as they wished.

The pulse was quick, varying from 116° to 120° , sharp, contracted, wiry under the finger, perceptible at the wrist. The impulse of the heart could be felt. Its action was strong. Its sounds were distinct. In all, there was a marked degree of anxiety in the countenance. Some dulness and suffusion of the conjunctiva of the eyes were noticed, but there was not present that sunken state of the eye-balls into their sockets so characteristic of the advanced stage of cholera. With the exception of the woman, the patients, although weak, possessed sufficient strength to walk from the larboard to the starboard side of the vessel. The secretion of perspiration from the skin was checked. The secretion of urine was suppressed in two; in others, when passed, it was scanty in quantity, and high-coloured.

As to the origin of their illness they were not able to give any satisfactory account. They felt themselves suddenly prostrated in strength after arriving on board. They suffered from languor, from pains and aches over the body and in their limbs, striking upwards and inwards towards the pit of the stomach. All their pains seemed to centre in this particular part of the stomach. Upon these, sickness of the stomach, quickly followed by vomiting and purging, supervened. The discharges of fluid afforded relief. They were not described as having added to their sufferings.

The woman remained under treatment for twelve or fourteen hours. The symptoms progressed unfavourably from hour to hour. They assumed the features of the third stage of cholera. She died. The treatment adopted in the case of the boy checked the vomiting and purging. Hopes of his recovery were entertained. They were not realized. The stage of collapse set in. The pulse disappeared at the wrist. The body became cold, and covered with a clammy sweat. The eyes sank in the sockets. The muscles

of the extremities were cramped into hard, round balls. The tongue became cold; the breath cold. He died.

The recovery of the other cases took place before we cast anchor in Saugor Roads.

Cases of cholera labouring under the premonitory symptoms.—The cases labouring under the premonitory symptoms of cholera were few. They did not number more than four. The symptoms of which they complained were prostration of strength, wandering pains about the body, more particularly in the loins and abdomen; distaste for food; nausea, and inclination to vomit; rumbling of the bowels, occasionally attended with griping and looseness; thirst, with full and loaded tongue. The pulse in each case was full and compressible, ranging between 90° and 95° . The skin was hot, rough, and dry.

Three of the cases recovered under the treatment adopted. They were convalescent before the vessel reached Diamond Harbour. The symptoms in the fourth case did not yield so soon to the treatment. The symptoms of the second stage rapidly set in. With difficulty this man's life was saved.

Such, then, were the symptoms by which the premonitory, intermediate, and last stages of the Indian village cholera, amongst these Indian emigrants, were denoted. Such, I may add, is the group of symptoms which has marked the progress of these three stages of cholera in almost all the cases noted by me. With atmospheric changes, the symptoms may vary in degrees of intensity. With atmospheric changes, the virulence of the symptoms may become modified. Under the influence of certain changes in the atmosphere, the disease may disappear as suddenly, and in as unaccountable a manner, from its locality on shore, or from the vessel afloat, as it has made its appearance suddenly and unexpectedly. These modifications in the symptoms, arising from the state of the atmosphere, or from peculiarities in the constitutions of patients, I regard as exceptional; so marked, in general, has been the uniformity in their intensity during the development of each stage of the disease.

Whatever the causes may have been which contributed to the sudden appearance of cholera on board, there can be little doubt that the cases which terminated fatally, exhibited the symptoms of the disease in its severest form.

The symptoms recorded in the fatal cases may be regarded as those met with in three-fourths of the cases which terminate in like manner. In this, the third or advanced stage of the Indian village cholera, the discrepancy which exists in the catalogue of symptoms is, perhaps, less than in any other disease, with which I am acquainted. The accurate record of the symptoms in a single case will serve to denote those in nine-tenths of the cases similarly affected, and swept away in the same incredibly short space of time. More particularly, in reference to the natives of India, does this observation hold good.

A single report from a village to the effect that cholera has made its appearance, is sufficient warning, that in the course of a few days the inhabitants of that same village will be carried off by tens and twenties, and that in the reports subsequently made, there will not be the slightest difference in the development and rapid progress of the symptoms, until the force or virulence of the cholera shall have expended itself.

The general truthfulness of this account will not be disputed by those conversant with the disease, though the symptoms enumerated as pertaining to the premonitory stage, might have been more extended and prominently brought forward; it is

during this period that remedies may be applied with the greatest prospect of success. When the disease has run on to the third stage, the general experience of the profession corroborates what Dr. Moore here states :—

General results of treatment in the third stage.—When cholera has advanced to the third stage, medicine and the skill of the physician can effect but little. Cases of recovery, under successful treatment, have been recorded. In what form of disease have not cases of the last or hopeless stage been successfully treated, and duly recorded?

The Pharmacopœia has been ransacked for some potent specific,—for some infallible anti-cholera pill, or powder, or drop, or mixture. Apparently the search has not been made in vain. For this, the direst scourge of the human race, I believe there are more specifics known, and publicly advertised, than for any other disease to which the human system is subject,—the venereal disease excepted. Did these anti-cholera specifics possess only a fractional part of the virtues attributed to them by their puff-masters, mankind would have little to dread from cholera.

In the East, or elsewhere, cholera, in its third stage is, numerically speaking, as fatal, perhaps, more fatal, than yellow fever in the West, when black or coffee-ground vomit indicates that the disease has progressed to an advanced stage.

During the prevalence of cholera, therefore, as an epidemic, it behoves every man to observe with more than common attention any derangement of the health, however slight. Among other symptoms occasionally observed for some days prior to the breaking out of the disease, while it may be said to be yet latent in the system, may be mentioned a frequent sighing, accompanied with slight oppression of the breathing, occasional giddiness, and sense of debility attended with pallor of the countenance, more striking from its being sometimes accompanied by a dark ring round the eyes, while the pulse, so far as we have observed, in place of being “full and compressible,” has been weak, small, and oppressed.

Dr. Moore would limit the seat of the disease to the mucous membrane of the bowels. He writes :—

Seat of the disease.—The seat of cholera,—the genuine type of which I consider to be that form prevalent in Indian villages during certain months of the year,—is in the mucous membrane of the bowels, and in the structures subjacent to, and contributing to the formation of, the several coats of the intestines. In a practical point of view it is a matter of little consequence in which of the component strata of the mucous membrane of the intestines, the source of the symptoms, and, consequently, the seat of the disease, be fixed.

* * * * *

Beyond the possibility of cavil, pathological anatomy has revealed, and has proved, that the only type of disease deserving the name cholera, originates in a blaze of inflammatory action, involving every membrane, every tissue, and every glandular body in the gastro-intestinal canal, from the œsophagus to the rectum. This morbid condition of the stomach and

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intestinal canal, will be found in every case of cholera where the examination of the viscera has been conducted within one hour after death.

Pathological anatomy has revealed, and has proved, that the symptoms characteristic of cholera arise from intense vascularity,—from a fretted and irritable and sero-mucous eliminating condition of the mucous membrane and subjacent tissues of the stomach and intestinal canal.

With this statement we by no means agree; decidedly as it is enunciated, we must not merely cavil at, but deny, the assertion, that cholera originates in a “blaze of inflammatory action.” If so, it is an inflammation *sui generis*, differing from every other form of inflammation with which we are acquainted, and assumed to exist merely from the discovery of a fugitive erythematic redness which entirely disappears within two to three hours after death. We would ask Dr. Moore, to what assemblage of symptoms does the term inflammation strictly belong? To what is it restricted? The celebrated Dr. Cullen thus defines it “Phlegmasiæ: Inflammationes. ‘Febris synochus; phlogosis; vel dolor topicus, simul læsa partis internæ functione; sanguis missus, et jam concretus, superficiem coriaceam albam ostendens.

“Genera phlogosis. Pyrexia, partis externæ rubor, calor et tensio, dolor.”

Dr. Copland in his dictionary defines as an Inflammation:—

“Alteration of the vital actions of a part, manifested by morbid sensibility, or pain, by redness, increased temperature and swelling, generally with more or less febrile commotion of the system.”

These being then the attendants of inflammation, let us briefly inquire how far they are present in cholera, and, first as regards heat. The complaint of burning heat is the sole evidence of there being any actual increase of temperature internally, while opposed to it, there is the visible fact, that a thermometer placed in the mouth, at the extremity of the mucous tube, actually sinks several degrees, indicating as low a temperature on the internal, as on the external surface of the body, and this sudden and rapid diminution of the animal heat, which often sinks below that of the surrounding air, is one of the most remarkable features of the disease. The loss of caloric is infinitely more rapid in a given time, in a bad case of cholera, than it is in the corpse immediately after dissolution from any other complaint, nay, after death from cholera, the temperature will often rise for some hours, above what it was before death. This fact has been frequently noted, and explanations of it have been attempted, but the cause is still involved in as much obscurity as the other phenomena of this disease.

The next distinguishing mark of inflammation is pain of the part affected, "dolor topicus." Does this exist in cholera? Refer to Dr. Moore's description of the symptoms. In the third stage, he says, "in each case the abdomen was sunken, doughy, inelastic under pressure, without pain or tenderness, until the spasms extended to the recti musculæ." In the second stage, he says, "the rice-water discharges from the bowels occurred sometimes twice, sometimes three times or more frequently in the hour, but occasioned no pain nor uneasiness in the abdomen," and again, "the abdomen was free from pain, on pressure felt soft to the hand," and in three cases was inelastic. This is when the disease was developed; among the premonitory symptoms, he mentions wandering pains about the body and abdomen, and says, "they" (the patients) "suffered from languor, from pains and aches over the body and in their limbs, striking up towards the pit of the stomach. All their pains seemed to centre in this particular part of the stomach." We must confess never to have remarked this centralization, but admitting that it is so, it is no more an evidence of inflammation than the cramps of the legs are of inflamed gastrocnemii. The symptoms characterising gastritis, enteritis, gastro-enteritis, or inflammation of any of the abdominal viscera are so well and strongly marked that a mistake in diagnosis is rarely committed, or possible to a physician of moderate experience; and what are their symptoms? the very reverse of what holds good in cholera. One of the most striking is the extreme tenderness, so great that in many cases, even the weight of the bed clothes cannot be borne, and anything like pressure causes the patient to shrink in agony from the touch.

The next symptoms of inflammation mentioned in the above definitions is pyrexia, and this is an invariable attendant, unless the part affected is of trifling extent or but slightly inflamed. The fever which attends cholera has always appeared to us to present far more of the typhoid than synochal type, unless in the case of stimulants having been either injudiciously or too freely administered by the attendants; and this is far more frequently the case than is commonly supposed. We have met with numerous cases of cholera which proved fatal, not from the violence of the disease, but from the violence of the re-action produced by the brandy and opium given *ad libitum* by the terrified attendants. How common is the practice of pouring down teaspoonful after teaspoonful of laudanum, with a little brandy to check the cramps and purging, the vomiting, perhaps, having ceased. What possible chance of recovery remains to the unfortunate patient under such circumstances? Even were

the unaided powers of nature, the *vis medicatrix naturæ* adequate to successfully combating the disease, the officious attendants have paralyzed them. So long as the state of collapse continues, absorption through the mucous membrane of the stomach is almost, if not entirely, at a stand. Let re-action once commence and this function acts with two-fold vigor, the ounce or two of laudanum which has been given in teaspoonfuls during the preceding ten or twelve hours, is at once taken up, and the rejoicing of the friends at the manifest improvement, too speedily gives place to mourning over the state of coma, in which the patient is plunged by the opium which is taken into the circulation. This is no exaggerated picture. We have seen it over and over again, and would impress it strongly upon our readers, that the most deadly poisons may lie as an inert mass in the stomach, during the stage of collapse, but if recovery from that state commence, their destructive effects are manifested with amazing force, from absorption going on so rapidly to supply the great drain, which has taken place from the system. The same explanation applies to the use of stimulants, an excess of them may give rise to pyrexia of the synochal or inflammatory type, but unless under these circumstances, the fever, if any, which accompanies cholera, is decidedly typhoid.

The pulse of inflammation, particularly of that affecting the intestinal mucous membrane, is peculiarly hard, wiry, and incompressible, so much so, as to be almost diagnostic of the disease to the *tactus eruditus* of the experienced physician. What is the case in cholera? The very reverse of this; it is sluggish, and oppressed, weak, and low, as distinct from the pulse of inflammation as possible. Regarding Cullen's other sign of inflammation, "the buffy coat" formed upon the blood taken from the arm, we cannot speak from our own knowledge, but even were it to show itself on the blood of a cholera patient, it would have but little weight, for it is now admitted, that it is seen in many other forms of disease, whence it is divested of almost all diagnostic value.

The commencement of inflammatory affections is generally attended with more or less general excitement of the system. Is this observed in cholera? On the contrary, of all the symptoms, none is so invariably present, none, indeed, so truly essential and diagnostic, as the immediate sinking of the circulation. Mr. Orton, in a well-written essay on the subject, speaks to the same effect; he says—"I have purposely placed, first, the rapid depression of the vital powers, because it seemed to me the most essential part of the disease; the vomiting and purging

'are but secondary compared to it—many persons died, having vomited and purged but two or three times, which under no circumstances could be sufficient to destroy life—and in some of the worst cases which came under my observation there was no vomiting or purging at all." Instances of death without vomiting or purging are, by no means, uncommon, and cases must have occurred in the practice of every medical man in India, where the patient has been struck down at once, and death has ensued within one or two hours. In Mr. Thom's report upon the pestilence, as it raged at Kurrachí in Scinde, in 1846, he says—"Many men died without vomiting or purging or spasm; collapse and profuse sweating were the only two constant and invariable symptoms." Of course, under the head of collapse is placed the loss of pulse, obstructed circulation and flaccid vessels, and even where the attack was less severe, he assures us that the collapse preceded vomiting and purging, the primary symptoms being a sudden faintness, prostration of strength, restlessness, and anxiety, accompanied by vertigo, deafness, loss of vision, alteration or hollowness of the voice, weak, slow, and irregular respirations, performed in convulsive starts, and with very little dilatation of the chest to receive any quantity of fresh air, all indicating congestion and stagnation of the blood in the heart and large vessels, but not inflammation. We might multiply instances from all who have written upon the subject, proving, in fact, that the very worst and most alarming state is precisely that when vomiting and purging are totally absent.

We cannot then but arrive at the conclusion that the phenomena of the disease, as observed during the life of the patient, so far from warranting, are entirely opposed to the opinions of Dr. Moore as above set forth, and again enunciated in the following paragraphs:—

Unless the viscera be examined at an early period after death, we can form but a faint idea as to the mischief which has been in active operation during life. If deferred for several hours, the appearances in the stomach and duodenum, jejunum, ileum, colon, and rectum intestine, are illusory. The diffuse and continuous scarlet and deep crimson red efflorescence will have subsided. With the exception of a faded rose-coloured tint, and of a few straggling veins gorged with blood, there will not remain a trace of the mucous membrane, and of the subjacent tissues, having been the seat of inflammatory action. The internal surface of the stomach will be pale and consequently deceptive, although covered over with a layer of tenacious, glutinous, or gelatinous mucus, semi-transparent, and possessing the consistence of a thick solution of isinglass. The internal surface of the small intestines will be pale, or will present a faded rose-coloured tint, although besmeared with a ropy, inspissated, and gelatinous mucous exudation: and although at the same time they are distended with

secretions of serum, of mucus, and of lymph, all blended together, and forming a thick puddle.

* * * *

Pathology of the Indian village cholera.—I have stated that the true type of cholera is a disease originating in a blaze of inflammatory action, which involves every tissue in the stomach and gastro-intestinal canal, from the œsophagus to the rectum. I have to admit, however, that, under certain circumstances, pathological anatomy has not thrown much light on the disease. I have to admit that, under certain circumstances, these views will not be corroborated by pathological anatomy.

* * * *

In the ordinary run of diseases, pathological anatomy elucidates plainly and simply, but unmistakeably, the seat of the disease from whence the symptoms have proceeded. Cause and effect are set forth in such prominent relief, that ignorance and scepticism are at once dispelled. But in cholera, in numerous dissections conducted under my immediate surveillance, pathological anatomy has not revealed a morbid state of the visceral structures distinct, extensive, and widely diffused.* Pathological anatomy has not exhibited an abnormal state of a particular viscus,—nor of a particular membrane, upon which the finger could be placed as the seat of the disease,—as the positive source from whence the symptoms of cholera took their origin.

In this respect pathological anatomy has afforded no other aid than that of negative evidence. The dissections have proved that which cholera is not. Pathological anatomy has demonstrated, that those who had fallen victims to the Indian village cholera had not died from the effects of hepatitis, of splenitis, or of nephritis: nor had they died apparently, and in the ordinary acceptation of the term, from the effects of gastritis, duodenitis, ileitis, nor enteritis. Never have I seen the liver, the spleen, the pancreas, and the kidneys, more healthy in appearance than in many of those cases of cholera where death has occurred between fifteen and twenty hours from the onset of the disease. Never have I seen medical men more disappointed in their expectations than at the close of the post-mortem examination of a patient who had died from the effects of cholera.

The symptomatology of the disease is perfect. The pathology of cholera upon which its symptomatology depends, is not invariably apparent to, nor can it be traced by, the eye, unless the examination of the viscera be conducted within one or two hours after death.

We cannot admit that this fugitive redness upon which Dr. Moore lays so much stress, is sufficient to establish his position in opposition to that of all the leading pathologists who have made this disease their study. He will say that they have not fulfilled those conditions upon which their discerning this sign of inflammation depends—that their examination if made within two hours of death would have shown it to them as to him. Allowing this, we yet cannot agree that this redness proves inflammation to have existed, and that inflammation so extensive as to destroy life, leaving no trace of its presence

* The time allowed to intervene between the patient's death and the examination of the viscera, is the cause of the diffuse and scarlet efflorescence having disappeared.

a few hours after dissolution. The morbid changes usually present in the mucous membrane and sub-mucous cellular tissue of the digestive canal are "marks of congestion, in some cases approaching to a sub-inflammatory state, but generally in spots or patches of various sizes, the color of these varying from a very dark venous congestion to a more roseate hue. *Decided marks of inflammation are always wanting, even in the most remarkable of those congested states.* Both stomach and bowels are frequently of a paler colour than natural both in their inner and outer surfaces. The vena porta, and all the large abdominal veins, are loaded with black blood, resembling tar."* Dr. Gardner, who examined the post-mortem appearances after death from cholera, on a very extended scale, and gave an elaborate and detailed report upon those presented by large numbers of cholera subjects, states that "the intestinal canal was not uncommonly natural throughout in colour and appearance. In about two-thirds of the cases, however, there was what the French describe as '*psorenterie*,' a prominence of the aggregated and solitary glands, but especially the latter. Patches of ecchymosis were frequently found, especially in the cæcum."

Morbid anatomy, equally with symptomatology, therefore leads us to an inference directly opposed to that of Dr. Moore, that the cause of cholera is a "*blaze of inflammatory action*" throughout the alimentary canal. Differing from him so widely, it might be supposed we should also object to the mode of treatment adopted by him in conformity with the theory he has adopted. This treatment consists in venesection in some cases—cupping glasses to the abdomen, and lunar caustic internally, in all. The author has given no numerical returns of the success of this practice, by which we might be enabled to judge how far it would bear comparison with that of others, but writes:—

Thus much, however, may be recorded in favour of the treatment recommended. Of one hundred cases of the Indian village cholera, admitted into hospital in the first, second, and third stages,—if an equal division of the cases in each stage be made, and one-half be treated on the principle of abstracting blood locally by cupping, and of arresting the secretions of serum, mucus, and lymph, by the administration of lunar caustic internally, the mortality will be numerically less than in the second half, treated on any other plan with which I am acquainted.

His cautions as to the use of the lancet are well founded, and the experience of its warmest supporters limits the period during which it may be used, and the class of patients to whom

* Copland Dict. Pract. Med.

it is applicable, to a very small number. Dr. Martin, in the last edition of the *Influence of Tropical Climates*, &c., says—“It will be seen then, that excepting the blood-letting which we have been obliged latterly to abandon as deadly, our practice remains very much as it was at the commencement of the disease in 1817.”

We believe that the cases, particularly in this country, are very limited, where it would not be found dangerous to practice venesection. It could only be used with safety when the patient was young and plethoric and in an early stage of the disease, and then, not as Dr. Moore proposes, with a view to subdue the inflammation, but to remove from the circulation a portion of the blood, that its mass may be more nearly adapted to the moving powers which are so rapidly becoming weakened. Dr. Moore does not, however, strongly advocate its use:—

The practice of blood-letting in cholera must be regulated by the pulse and constitution of the patient, as well as by the stage of the disease. It is useless to lay down stringent rules for the guidance of the profession, as to when the lancet ought to be employed, and as to when the lancet ought not to be used. The medical man, at the patient's bed-side, can alone decide whether general bleeding would prove injurious or beneficial. Upon his judgment, based on experience, must rest the responsibility of prescribing or withholding the lancet.

Venesection, when prescribed by me in the treatment of cholera, has not realised the expectations entertained of its utility. This was particularly the case when employed in the second and not in the first stage of the disease. In the third stage, the opening of a vein for the purpose of abstracting blood has positively hastened the patient's death. The use of the lancet will prove injurious, if, with the cessation of the pulse at the wrist, the impulse of the heart cannot be felt when the patient inclines to the left side. Its use is also contra-indicated, if, with the cessation of the pulse at the wrist, the action and muscular sound of the heart are indistinct, or with difficulty can be heard in the cardiac region; but the use of the lancet may not prove injurious should the impulse and action of the heart remain strong and vigorous, even after the pulse has ceased to beat at the wrist.

Cupping and lunar caustic are his sheet anchors. Of the use of the former we have no experience, but we have read that during the prevalence of cholera in Paris in 1832, a practitioner of some eminence in his profession declared, at a meeting of medical men, in favor of the application of leeches to the abdomen as the most satisfactory method of treatment. It was objected by a member present, that all the patients, whom he had thus treated, died. The advocate of depletion candidly admitted the truth of this statement, but at the same time contended that it was not from cholera but from simple exhaustion that his cases proved fatal; and he argued that the beneficial effects of topical blood-letting were clearly vindicated

by the *blanched* state of the alimentary canal after death!* Dr. Moore points to the *red* condition as proof of the necessity of such bleeding, though he objects to leeches:—

This mode of local depletion by cupping is preferable to the application of leeches. In applying leeches there is an unnecessary waste of time; there is also an unnecessary degree of worry caused to the patient. The drain of blood from the system may be sufficient, but leeches fail in producing that which is most required—a quick and decided impression on the irritable, the sero-mucous eliminating surface of the stomach and bowels.

Under no circumstances should the cupping instrument give way to the lancet. In the earlier stages of cholera, whilst the pulse at the wrist is full and bounding and throbbing, the lancet may be used first—the cupping instrument soon after. The symptoms which contra-indicate the abstraction of blood by venesection do not contra-indicate the local abstraction of blood by cupping. In the last stage of cholera, when the patient is in the jaws of death, cupping has shared the fate of all other remedial measures: its failure, however, is no valid objection against further trial, even in the last stage.

The third defensive weapon in the hands of our author is lunar caustic. As a means of checking the flow of the serum of the blood, by acting as a mere mechanical chemical agent upon the minute pores through which the elimination of this fluid takes place, we agree with our author that “there is not in the Pharmacopœia a preparation which will bear comparison with lunar caustic, when the object to be gained is to arrest the morbid secretions from a mucous surface.” And were the checking of these secretions the cure of the disease, this agent would deserve even a higher eulogy than that given to it by Dr. Moore as a remedial means. We are somewhat surprised it should not have been tried more extensively in Europe, where the whole range of the mineral and vegetable kingdom seems to have been ransacked in search of a new remedy. The only observations we are aware of, respecting its use, are by Drs. Garlicke and Ross, both of whom, in the *Medical Times* of 1849, have strongly recommended its use. The latter combined it with opium in the following formula, after having tried with some success acetate of lead. His testimony in its favor is so corroborative of that of Dr. Moore, that we cannot forbear extracting it:—

Nitrate of silver was at last given in this form:—R. Argent. nit. gr. j.; pulv. opii, gr. $\frac{1}{4}$; Ft. pil; post sing. alvi deject. liquid. sum.

If the purging were very frequent, the pills were given regularly every hour to the extent of five or six doses, or even more if necessary. When the evacuations have been very profuse, two or three pills have been given at a dose, and repeated until the evacuations were partially or wholly arrested

* Medical Gazette.

—a result that invariably occurs. This remedy is as certain in its effect of restraining the rice-water purging, as opium and chalk-mixture in checking the premonitory diarrhœa.

Since I commenced the use of this remedy, my assistants and myself have treated 858 cases of diarrhœa in all its stages, and of this number, seventy only have been placed under the nitrate of silver treatment, but these seventy were the worst cases, and in the rice-water stage. They were considered by myself and assistants, as they happened casually to come under the care of either, to be beyond the reach of other remedies, and were placed upon the plan recommended as a *dernier ressort*.

When my assistants find that the purging is not restrainable by the opium, kino, and chalk in full doses, but that the dejections become more watery and copious, the pulse begins to fail, and the powers of the system to yield, they administer the nitrate of silver pills; and I am happy to say, that the effect is so decided, that fully developed collapse rarely occurs. The same remedy has been given in profound collapse, and the patients have recovered. The first case in which it was administered was that of a youth of the name of Boak, who was blue and almost pulseless, and profusely purged; nevertheless, the purging was arrested, and the lad recovered. This was the first instance of recovery I had witnessed from a state of collapse so deep.

Seventy cases of the severest kind have been placed upon this treatment from among eight hundred and fifty-three, and, in that number, there have been only five deaths.

I state, again, that these seventy cases were not all cases of collapse, though these and many more of the aggregate number were cases of cholera so called; for I confess myself quite unable to draw the line of distinction, in practice, between cholera and diarrhœa.

They were not cases of collapse, because seeing them early, they were not allowed to run into that stage. In the stage of actual and deep collapse, I believe that medical treatment is of little avail, but I am satisfied that the only chance for the patient is suppression of the evacuations.

I may remark, that I have never seen any evil results spring from its use. It may be employed, with judgment, in the secondary diarrhœa as well as in the primary,—and in any case, indeed, where an arrest of purging may seem necessary; but it must not be given rashly, and when simpler remedies will effect the same end. Vomiting sometimes succeeds an arrest of the purging, but although troublesome, it does no harm; and, if a little fever should supervene upon the use of the silver, it would, in some cases, be desirable, and assist re-action; in other cases it can be readily assuaged by the usual saline remedies.

Dr. Moore has some strangely fanciful opinions regarding the identity of cholera with the plagues, with which, from time to time, at the express command of the Almighty, the rebellious Jews were visited. He states in his usual *decided* style—“The fatal scourge, or plague, in the camp of the Jews, must have been cholera, and no other form of disease.” He would make their encampment in some pestilential ground, the cause of the plague which destroyed 14,700 “in the matter of Korah,” and its cessation, which is ascribed in Holy Writ to the intercession of Moses, he, without the slightest authority for the statement, would make dependant upon the moving of the camp. The destruction of the 185,000 Assyrians before Jeru-

saalem is ascribed to the same agency—cholera. We must plead guilty to blindness in being unable to trace this analogy.—Of a large camp besieging a populous city, nearly 200,000 are destroyed in one night, and there the pestilence stays; it does not spread to the city or to the surrounding country, does not even continue with the remnants of the besieging army. Why will man not see that God's ways are not as his ways, why will he puff himself with vain knowledge, and in the pride of his understanding deny what God himself has declared, because to his small mind the fact is to be explained from natural causes? This wandering from his subject, to explain, as he supposes, satisfactorily, from common causes, some of the miracles of the Old Testament, leads our author naturally to the subject of contagion, and we cannot but think that he enunciates his opinions on this disputed question in a style as unbecoming as it is decided, and in a manner which shows him as ignorant of the facts upon which the contagionists found their opinion, as he evidently is of the controversial literature on the subject, with which the press teemed during the last visitation of the epidemic in Great Britain. Dr. Moore writes:—

The experience of the majority of writers and observers, professional and non-professional, has established the fact that cholera is dependent upon, influenced by, and propagated through the medium of, certain atmospheric changes. Their observations prove that cholera does not spread by contagion, nor by infection—that is, the disease is not communicated from individual to individual by direct contact, but spreads and commits its ravages through the influence of the atmosphere.

Others there are who entertain a different opinion. This class of theoretical contagionists is not numerous: their theories even are not well-grounded: their views of the origin of cholera as an epidemic or as an endemic disease, are not comprehensive nor consistent: the facts upon which they ground their opinions, as to the contagious and infectious properties of cholera, tell equally in favour of the opinions against which they combat. In the list of contagionists figures conspicuously the name of Professor Graves, of Dublin. His reputation has been damaged by the obstinate tenacity with which he adheres to the erroneous views expressed as to the contagious and infectious properties of cholera in his published articles.

The matured opinion of practical observers in India has set the question at rest. The cholera,—the true type of the Indian village cholera,—originates in and travels from locality to locality, not through the medium of personal contact, but through the medium of an impure, a contaminated, an infected atmosphere: that such is the medium, has been incontestably proved. The changes in the atmosphere account for the cessation, as well as for the prevalence of this form of disease during certain months of the year in India. They are sufficient to account for the outbreak of the same form of cholera in any other part of the globe besides India. Farther, the cause assigned for its outbreak, without reference to the theories of contagion and infection, accounts for the peculiarities and eccentricities of cholera, starting into existence in one region of the globe,—travelling from thence by forced

marches,—becoming diffused over the earth's surface,—ravaging every country by turn, and sparing neither sex nor age in its progress.

The question of contagion is one of the most vital importance to the whole community, and cannot be lightly dismissed with a pooh-pooh of contempt at the “obstinate tenacity” of its supporters, even though its non-contagious character is so positively affirmed by Dr. Moore to be established and set at rest. Far from this; if there is one question in connexion with this disease more unsettled than another, not even excepting the mode of treatment, it is this truly *questio vexata* of cholera. Dr. Moore would not accuse Dr. Copland, the erudite and accomplished author of the most able and most complete medical work probably ever penned by one man, of forming hasty or crude opinions. We do not think he would deny that any assertion made by him is deserving of grave consideration, or that his authority is not to be lightly set aside. We can only suppose that he was ignorant of the conclusions arrived at by this excellent physician, who says :—

I can truly state that, although my attention has been much engaged by this disease, since the time of its eruption in the delta of the Ganges, I approached this topic with my mind entirely unbiassed, and desirous of adopting that view of it, which well ascertained fact should most fully support.

Now, when we turn to the great authorities on the subject, to the official depositories of the origin and rise of this pestilence, we find that all the reports, the Bombay, the Madras, and the Calcutta, favour the infectious nature of the disease more or less. It is true that a majority of the surgeons and assistant surgeons in India, who sent reports to their respective medical boards, state that they do not believe the disease infectious; but a large number of them give a very different opinion, whilst the reason assigned by many for believing the disease to result from other causes than infection, are actually favourable to the existence of an infectious property. Even where they have argued against its infectious nature, they have often adduced the strongest evidence, although unconsciously, of its possessing this property.

The above evidence, I consider amply sufficient to prove that the disease, even from the commencement of its ravages, evinced, unequivocally, infectious properties. If my limits would permit, I could also demonstrate from the same sources that the eyes of many were shut, by previously entertained dogmas on the subject of contagion, against this property, and that several, even where they were arguing against its existence, were actually adducing important facts in support of what I have been cautiously led to believe, namely, that the disease manifested a tendency to propagate itself by means of a morbid effluvia exhaled from the bodies of the affected, similar to what is evinced by measles, and fevers, whose infectious properties have been well ascertained and generally admitted.

I have now shown, from the chief sources, that the disbelief of infection, in respect of the pestilential cholera, was not general in India, that the productions which issued from the three Medical Boards very strongly favoured, and indeed proved, the existence of this property, that two out

of the three actually insisted upon the activity, of its influence, and that therefore, the dangerous opinion, so very generally propagated, and even acted upon, both in this and foreign countries, that the authorities in India did not consider the disease infectious, is entirely without foundation in truth.

This testimony of Dr. Copland, in favor of the contagion of cholera, is supported by the authority of the Academy of Medicine in Paris. In *L'Union Medicale* for 1850, there is a leading article devoted to this question, in which the writer deprecates the declaration of the contagiousness of cholera, by the Academy of Medicine, on the ground of public alarm. Many sittings of the Academy have been devoted to the discussion of the question, and the result is, that the proofs of contagion outweigh those of non-contagion.*

The same view of the question is maintained by many of the most eminent physicians of Europe; and, although they are opposed by an equal array of talent, the mere fact of their adhering to the convictions, which their enquiries into the subject have induced, convicts Dr. Moore of an unwarrantable assumption, in asserting that the question is set at rest.

We believe that were the meaning attached to the term "contagion" more defined and specific, the differences between the two parties of contagionists and non-contagionists would be to a great degree removed, and be found to be little more than a mere verbal distinction. Dr. Holland, in his elegant and philosophical work, *Medical Notes and Reflections*, has a chapter devoted to the question—"Method of Inquiry as to Contagion," in which he has stated, with the clearness and acumen peculiar to his writings, the conditions upon which such an inquiry should be conducted. He remarks that, to be contagious, a "disease is communicated by some morbid matter, thrown off from one person, and capable of producing like symptoms in the second, when conveyed either by inoculation, by simple contact, or indirectly through some medium of transference. Here then three main conditions present themselves, each open to many variations; and, in their combination, capable of producing the numberless varieties and apparent anomalies in the laws of contagion. These are:—first, the condition of the person giving the infection; secondly, the state of the person receiving it; and, thirdly, the condition of the medium through which the transference is made."

It is commonly asserted, though the fact is far from being satisfactorily proved, that the *materies morbi* of a contagious disease exerts no influence beyond a few feet from the diseased

* Medical Gazette.

surface from which it emanates. In reference to this question, Dr. Holland states:—"It is another and frequent mistake, in reasoning upon contagion, to consider that the infectious nature of a disease may be disproved, by showing that it has spread without any obvious communication through man or human means. The two conditions brought into the question are, in fact, perfectly compatible with each other. If a virus can be transmitted from the body through a few feet of air, we are not entitled, from the partial experiments hitherto made, to set any limit to the extent to which, under favorable circumstances, it may be conveyed through the same or any other medium. Common reason now concurs with our actual experience of the transmission of the virus of certain diseases in various ways and to remote distances."

We believe it will ultimately be admitted that though cholera is generally an epidemic non-contagious disease, yet it may, under certain favoring conditions, on the part of the recipient and of the communicating medium, prove contagious. That this is the case in Scarlatina and one or two other maladies, is not disputed; and admitting it to be the case in cholera, all the anomalies, irreconcilable with a strict adherence to one side, become easily explained. We shall conclude this, we fear, too long notice on cholera, by an extract from the *British and American Journal of Medicine*, in which this view of the subject is ably supported:—

CONTAGIOUS PROPAGATION OF CHOLERA.—Of what nature soever be the exciting cause of this disease—and there has been no want of speculation on this point—its mode of propagation is a question of at least as great, if not greater, importance. Does the disease propagate itself by contagion, or is it a simple epidemic of a non-contagious character? The medical world has been much divided on these two questions. When we reflect that contagious diseases frequently exhibit themselves in a form apparently epidemic, and that epidemics assume many of the features of contagious diseases, it becomes a matter of exceeding difficulty to draw the line of demarcation between them. We do not mean to assert that epidemics are necessarily contagious, or that contagious diseases are necessarily epidemic; but we mean to say that, with reference to cholera, generalizations have been formed and conclusions arrived at, without a full and attentive consideration of all the facts of the case. A reversal of opinion has taken place in favour of its contagious character, even among the most strenuous non-contagionists. It is not our intention to enter upon, or discuss the data upon which these conclusions have been arrived at; that would form matter for a whole number of our journal. But we may contrast, not without some degree of interest, the altered opinions of one of the most authoritative Boards on the subject in Great Britain. At the last visitation of cholera in England, the Metropolitan Sanitary Commission emphatically declared the disease to be non-contagious (?); this year the General Board of Health, of London, treats this question in the most cautious non-committal way, observing, that "the extent, uniform tenor, and undoubted authority of the evidence obtained

from observers of all classes in different countries, &c., appears to discredit the once prevalent opinion, that cholera is *in itself* contagious—an opinion which, if fallacious, must be mischievous." And again, "It is so far true that certain conditions may favour its spread from person to person," &c., &c., &c. The Central Board of Health again, of Dublin, is equally cautious. While in one portion of its address it talks of the "non-contagious character of cholera, in another it says, equally distinctly, "that it is rarely, if ever, contagious"—a species of phraseology which, to our mind, is sufficiently conclusive as to its being so sometimes. While evidence of the strongest description can be adduced to prove its epidemic character, evidence equally conclusive can be produced to demonstrate that it is contagious—contagious, however, under like circumstances, with typhus fever or dysentery, but not to the same extent; and the means capable of depriving the latter of much of their malignity in this respect, are equally, if not more, effectual with the former. We have a decided objection to conceal the truth in this matter, fully persuaded that ignorance of causes does infinitely more harm than their divulgence. It lulls into a security which is false, and prevents a recourse to precautionary measures, which would otherwise, in all probability, have obviated an attack.

We have devoted so much space to the notice of cholera, that our remarks upon the remainder of the work before us must necessarily be very brief. We would willingly have dwelt at some length on the paper on intermittent fever, for we believe that the author has done the state some service in recommending, and supporting that recommendation by numerical returns of his success, the use of tartar emetic in preference to quinine, in the simple forms of fever, which so generally predominate in our native regiments. The high price of quinine must always be a consideration in the hospital practice of so large an army as that of India; and any mode of treatment promising equal success, which substitutes a cheap for this expensive drug, is deserving of extended investigation by the medical servants of Government. The use of emetics is of very old date in fever, but since the introduction of quinine, it has become almost entirely suspended; and Dr. Moore deserves great credit for having brought it again so prominently and favorably forward. Drs. Wilson, Philip and Cullen, both strongly recommended their use during the cold stage, at the accession of the paroxysm of intermittent fever; though they were more generally prescribed during the hot stage, as by the celebrated Corvisart, in conjunction with bleeding. Others have considered them as positively hurtful, as M. Chomel, who, in his elaborate work, *Traité des Fieures*, says, "Les vomitifs sont constamment nuisibles, lors même que les malades sont tourmentés par des efforts de vomissement; on pourrait tout au plus permettre quelques verres d'eau tiède, lorsque l'estomac contient des alimens récemment pris, et que les efforts

‘ auxquels se livre le malade sont insuffisans pour les expulser.’”

When Dr. Moore once mounts a hobby, he allows no obstacles to oppose him in his ride; disregarding them, he gallops on, treating with contempt all who pretend to point out another path than the one he is himself pursuing, even though the landmarks and finger-posts set up by their experience indicate the safety of the way they advise. This may proceed partly from ignorance, partly from vanity; but conspicuous as it was in the paper on cholera, it is not less exemplified in the one before us, wherein he asserts, contrary to the universally admitted fact, that quinine has no antiperiodic virtues. Has Dr. Moore ever had experience in the treatment by quinine, of neuralgia, intermittent headache, or any other periodic affection? We trow not; or he would have been more guarded in expressing so decided an opinion on the properties of this invaluable remedy.

That he has brought forward a mode of treatment, which had fallen into desuetude, and which the results obtained by him recommend most favorably to the notice of the service to which he belongs, we cordially admit, and trust that others will be induced by the report of his success to extend the investigation and test its correctness. Should it be found to maintain the character which he ascribes to it, he will have conferred a boon upon a large class, to whom the expense of quinine has almost prohibited its use, while in our Government hospitals, the saving would be far from inconsiderable; but where expense is a secondary consideration, we are convinced quinine will always hold the first place as a remedy in the treatment of intermittent fever.

We must close this volume with a commendation of the diligence of its author, and a word of parting advice—that ere deciding so hastily, and coming to such crude conclusions as he has done, he would study what others have done in the same field, and comparing the results which they have obtained with his own observations, he will be more diffident of his own powers, and less dogmatic in the assertion of his opinions.

ART. VIII.—*Papers relating to Hostilities with Burmah. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Her Majesty's Command, June 4, 1852. London. 1852.*

THE year fifty-two of a century is clearly not the fortunate one for the kings of Burmah. One hundred years ago, the Peguers, under Bonna Della, to use Syme's most peculiar and original Burman orthography, took Ava, captured Dweepdee, the last of a long line of Burman kings, and flattered themselves that Pegue was henceforward to be the capital of the empire. Probably Dweepdee felt as little grateful on that occasion to the "renegade Dutch and native Portuguese," through whose assistance this consummation had been brought about, as his present Burman majesty does at this interesting moment to General Godwin and his "renegade" English, as the lord of the white elephant doubtless considers them. The triumph of the Peguers, in the eighteenth century, was, however, but short: for Alompra arose, and turned the tide of victory in favor of his Burman followers. The reins of empire soon fell from the hand of the Peguan monarch, and—if we are to believe the meagre records of that period—the rise of Alompra, and the humiliation of the Peguans, were in part ascribable to the covert friendship and assistance of the English factory at Negrais.

A century sees the aspect of Eastern affairs altered wonderfully. A hundred years ago Clive and Lawrence, pitted against the able Dupleix, had a hard struggle to maintain, and the petty clandestine aid which the Negrais factory could afford the Burmans, probably a little powder and some untrustworthy muskets, scarce forms a greater contrast to the force and its equipments now at short notice hurled against them, than does the narrow footing made good on the shores of India by the valour of Clive and Lawrence, to the modern Anglo-Indian empire in its gigantic magnitude. The Burman humiliation of 1752 was not destined to be of long duration, and the gentlemen of the Negrais factory soon repented themselves of the countenance given to the Burmans. The change of policy was too late for the Peguers, the star of Alompra was in the ascendant, and the Burmans were quickly freed from a hated yoke. So far as the Peguers are concerned, 1852 promises almost as hopefully for them as when Bonna Della took Ava; for, although General Godwin has not as yet accomplished that feat, Rangoon, the city of Alompra's founding, is once again in the hands of the English, and if the next cold weather sees our flag on

Amerapoora, the Alompra will be found with difficulty, who, with his Burmans, shall be able to strike those colours and plant his own. Indeed, the "sun-descended king," and his "multitude of umbrella-wearing chiefs," must by this time feel rather uncomfortable as to the issue of a contest, which the former war with the British taught them to be hopelessly unequal, and of a very different character from the wars with the "Elder Brother" of China, to which Burmans are rather fond of adverting.

If not too much occupied with the internal troubles of his own empire, the "Elder Brother" must, too, we should think, be participating in the uncomfortable emotions to which the "Younger Brother" must now be a prey; and as the Department for Foreign Affairs is seldom wholly asleep among the celestials, the vermilion pencil has probably before this been penning a despatch, if not to the "Younger Brother dwelling in golden palaces to the westward," at least to the Tsoun-tu of the Yunan frontier, to watch well the gold and silver road, and to keep a sharp look out after the "red-bristled barbarians," who, though not now "madly careering the celestial waters" in hostile array, threaten to acquire a dangerous proximity, in fact to touch the South Western Frontier of China. The Tsoun-tu, as in duty bound, will be furbishing up and adding to the fierceness of the indescribable dragons and unclassified tigers, on the jacket breasts and backs of the great military officers, and will be exciting the courage of his brave soldiers by visions of peacocks' tails, and red, blue and white mandarin buttons. We are not scholars enough to know whether those queer combinations of strokes at every imaginable angle, called Chinese characters, would reveal to an experienced eye the tremors of a nervous penman; but if the Tsoun-tu of the Yunan frontier chanced to observe a want of firmness in the strokes of the vermilion pencil, when it warned him to be on the alert against the English, the fact would be pardonable. That power, which, step by step, wherever in the East it has set its foot, has not only subdued its neighbours, but gradually annexed their territories; that power, whose mission on earth seems to be to belt the sphere with its colonies and possessions, must seem to the "Elder Brother" fast encircling his celestial empire, and drawing around it a web of ominous strength and structure. Lord Gough's operations in the Yangtse-kiang, and the humiliating peace which redeemed the empire of China from immediate dissolution, have left the English posted conveniently for aggression along the sea borde from Canton to Chusan; Labuan, the Straits Set-

lements, and the Tenasserim and Arracan Coasts, are the links of the chain ; and now if Amerapoora shall be occupied, and the golden and silver road between Yunan and that capital open to the English, the doom of the celestials will appear certain. Lord Ellenborough when he prescribed, that on no pretence whatever permanent footing on the continent of China was to be established, saved that empire for a while from the rapid dismemberment with which our successes threatened it ; but the foresight which dictated such instructions seems never to have contemplated what the wielder of the vermilion pencil must now regard as a not unlikely consummation, that in the course of the expansion of our enormous Indian empire, its boundaries may shortly be conterminous with those of China on the south-west ; and that in spite of all precautions to the contrary, the outposts of our battalions, and the gay-liveried, fantastically-flagged, and ill-armed masses of China, may soon again come into awkward juxta-position. The "Elder Brother" may well feel a horror creep down to the very extremity of his right regal pig-tail, when he receives the news that we are again soldiering in Burmah, visions of Chin-kyan-foo and Nankin will disturb the sacred pillow, whilst the ghosts of the long line of chests of dollars, which left the Royal Treasury as a *douceur* to the outside barbarians, will haunt His Majesty's dreams.

It may be reasonably doubted, too, whether the sensations of ether "Younger Brothers," besides the unhappy one of Ava, will continue to be of the most agreeable description. There must be a flutter among all the trans-gangetic monarchs, who will feel that if the eagle builds its nest in the midst of them, whilst brood after brood of its young are finding shelter along the cliffs of the circumjacent seas, they may look to having their royal feathers seriously ruffled ere long. Such anticipations as these, with the near example of the Rajah of Sarawak's ability in establishing himself in a chiefship, will hardly favor Sir J. Brooke's negotiations with the Prince Chou Fao, unless indeed fear outweigh jealousy, and the dread caused by the fate of Burmah stimulate the court to facilitate access to Bangkok and Siam. Chou Fao is said to be an intelligent man, and to have men around him who understand English ; and if by chance any of these should bring to his notice that the English Press, when drawing attention to Neale's work on Siam, already speak of that empire, "should the conduct of the Burmese be such 'as to compel us to take possession of their country,' as the 'only independent state between our boundary of the Indus 'on the west, and Hong-Kong on the east,'" Chou Fao, although he may smile at the geographical knowledge which

ignores Cochin-China, will think that coming events cast their shadows before, when the gentlemen of the press conclude that "sooner or later we must have to deal with the Siamese as 'close neighbours, to be regarded as friends or foes.'" The Cochin-Chinese, those wary folk, will be doubly jealous and apprehensive, and the Shans of all denominations, who are wedged in amid Burmans, Chinese, Siamese, and Peguers, will be well on the alert to side with the strongest, and to place themselves under the protection of those whom, at the moment, whether from proximity or power, it may be most expedient to court and flatter.

Whether it is destined in the counsels of Providence, that our empire shall be largely extended to the eastward, it is not for us to determine; but knowing what has been the course of events hitherto, how regularly our being brought into collision with Asiatic powers has issued in the absorption of their territories into our empire, it becomes our rulers in the first instance, and all British men in the next, to be well advised of the ground on which they stand, when they assume a hostile attitude towards their neighbours. The venerable hero, now at the head of the British army, once declared that a great nation ought never to engage in a little war; and judging from the past history of our Indian empire, it would seem that we *cannot* do so; for however small a war may seem in its commencement, however apparently insignificant the causes that bring it on, it expands in magnitude as it proceeds, and stretches out in its issues to results that at the beginning could not have been foreseen. Being now then fairly embarked upon a war with the Burmese empire, it is a question in which every Briton is concerned, to enquire what are the grounds on which hostilities are declared on our part; whether we be the aggressors or those on whom the aggression has been made; and if it be clearly made out that we have suffered injuries and wrongs, whether redress might not have been attained by any other means less deprecable than an appeal to arms. Into this enquiry, we need scarcely say that no consideration of the possible or probable effects of the annexation of a greater or smaller portion of the Burman territories on the state of the people, ought for a moment to be permitted to enter. It may be quite true, that the King of Burmah is mad, that he is a great tyrant, and that it would be a great blessing to the people to be delivered from his yoke, and transferred to the gentle sway of our own beloved sovereign. It may be quite true, that blessings, physical, intellectual, moral, and religious, would result from our conquest of Burmah; but into the enquiry as to the justice of

our cause, none of these considerations must be allowed to enter. The question is only this,—had we good reason for declaring war against Burmah? Or rather, was it absolutely necessary for us so to do?

For the prosecution of this enquiry, we gladly acknowledge at the outset, that the Blue Book before us affords ample opportunity. The statements of Lord Dalhousie are distinct and straightforward, and we read them with a strong conviction that they are the deliverances of a man who feels that he has nothing to conceal. Another point in connexion with this Blue Book, which we may mention as worthy of all commendation, is the promptitude of its issue. According to the rate at which these things have sometimes been managed, Burmah might have been conquered and annexed, General Godwin might have taken his seat in the House of Lords as Baron Martaban, and Lord Dalhousie been converted into the Duke of Amerapoora, before the British public had the means of forming any judgment as to the real causes of the war. Whereas, in the present case, the whole proceedings, down to the despatch which left Calcutta on the 6th April, are laid before Parliament on the 4th June. This is as it should be.

Since 1826, we have been at peace with the Burmese, our relations with them being regulated by a treaty concluded at Yandaboo on the 24th February of that year, and a commercial treaty signed at Ratanapara on the 26th November, and ratified by the Governor-General on the 1st September, 1827. By the seventh article of the former of these treaties, it is stipulated that, "in order to cultivate and improve the relations of amity and peace hereby established between the two Governments, it is agreed that accredited Ministers, retaining an escort or safeguard of fifty men, from each, shall reside at the durbar of the other, who shall be permitted to purchase or build a suitable place of residence, of permanent materials." We are not aware whether this article of the treaty was ever implemented by the resident of a Burmese Minister at the Governor-General's durbar. A British Minister did reside at the Burmese court: but the practice was discontinued a dozen years ago, in deference to the feelings of the King of Burmah. Of this discontinuance, we find the following account in a volume entitled *Treaties and Engagements between the Honorable East India Company and the Native Powers in Asia*, published by a former Under-Secretary to the Government of India:—

"Agreeably to the 7th article of the Treaty of Yandaboo, Major H. Burney was, on the 31st December, 1849, appointed British Resident at the court of Ava.

“ In March, 1837, a revolution broke out at Ava, and in April, the Prince Tharawadi deposed the king his brother, usurped the throne, and shortly afterwards put to death the heir apparent, most of the royal family, and all from whom he apprehended opposition. He denied that the treaty of Yandaboo was binding on him, contending that it was personal with the ex-king. His conduct towards the Resident was unfriendly in the extreme ; in consequence of which, Colonel Burney removed the Residency to Rangoon. Towards the close of the year, Colonel Burney retired from the office of Resident, in which he was succeeded by Colonel Benson.

“ The new Resident was treated with marked indignity by Tharawadi, who evinced great repugnance to the residence of a British officer at his court, and revived the arrogant pretensions to objectionable ceremonial. In consequence of the inimical and insulting treatment experienced by the Residency, it was removed to Rangoon, and eventually withdrawn altogether in January, 1840. Since this time all communications with the Burmese authorities have been conducted through the Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces.”

For twelve years then all negotiations with the court of Burmah have been conducted through the intervention of the Tenasserim Commissioner ; and accordingly it was through Colonel Bogle, that complaints were, in June of last year, transmitted to the Government of India, of gross injuries inflicted on two commanders of British vessels by the Governor of Rangoon. As the fact of these injuries is not disputed, and as it will be allowed by all that they were of so gross a nature that the British Government was bound to demand such satisfaction as could be given to its injured subjects, we shall not dwell upon the particulars of the injuries themselves. Upon receipt of the representations of Captains Lewis and Sheppard, backed by testimonials from the merchants residing at Rangoon, the President in Council, after communicating with the Governor-General, who was then absent from Calcutta, intimated to Colonel Bogle, that Commodore Lambert had been instructed to proceed to Rangoon, with full instructions to demand reparation for the injuries and oppressions to which Captains Lewis and Sheppard had been exposed. Now this is the first point which is open to question. Why was the usual course of procedure departed from ? Why was not Colonel Bogle ordered to conduct the negotiations in the usual way ? Lord Dalhousie's answer to this question is the following—“ The absence of any accredited Agent of the British Government at the court, or in the territories of Ava, increases the difficulty of dealing

' with such cases as these. Experience of the course pursued by the Burmese authorities towards former Envoys, seems, at the same time, to dissuade the Government of India from having recourse to the employment of another mission, if the object of the Government can be accomplished in any other way." We quite agree that the sending of an Envoy in terms of the treaty, merely with a guard of fifty men, would have been tantamount to the sacrifice of the whole fifty-one, and would have led infallibly to the involving of us in an internecine war with Burmah, which it seems to have been the sincere desire of the Governor-General and the Government to avoid if possible. But we do think that it would have been well if the ordinary channel of communication had first been tried, and Colonel Bogle had been instructed, without any demonstrations of hostile intentions in the first instance, to make a firm and decided demand upon the King of Burmah for the dismissal and punishment of the offending officer, and ample pecuniary compensation to the aggrieved British subjects. It is not at all likely that such a demand would have been complied with; but it would, we think, have been better that it had been made, and made in this way. But Lord Dalhousie thought that the more decided method of sending at once an armed Envoy, a "Cromwellian Ambassador," would have the effect of intimidating the Burmese authorities, and so avoiding the necessity of actual recourse to war. And this truth and justice compel us to say, that if Lord Dalhousie's expectation had been realized,—and the expectation was not an unreasonable one,—and the Burmese authorities had submitted at once to his demands, no fault would have been found, either by others or by us, with the way in which he had advanced these demands. It would therefore be unfair to blame him merely because the event has not accorded with his reasonable expectation; but we cannot help regretting that the usual means had not been tried and exhausted before recourse was had to so extreme a measure as the despatch of an armed flotilla to Rangoon.

To Rangoon, however, did Commodore Lambert proceed, in command of Her Majesty's Ship *Fox*, and the Honorable Company's Steamers *Tenasserim* and *Proserpine*. Captain Latter accompanied the Expedition as interpreter. The Commodore was instructed, in the first instance, only to demand pecuniary compensation from the Governor of Rangoon for the injuries inflicted on Messrs. Lewis and Sheppard; but he was ordered, in the event of such compensation being refused, to forward a letter with which he was charged from the President in Council to the King of Ava, in

which His Honor stated his conviction that the King would at once condemn the conduct of the Rangoon Governor, remove him from his office, and order the due compensation to be rendered. On the Commodore's arrival off Rangoon, however, he received such representations from the British subjects resident at Rangoon, that he took upon himself to deviate from his instructions, and to decline entering into correspondence with the Governor; he therefore despatched the letter of the President in Council to the King of Ava, and sent Captain Latter to Calcutta to explain his reasons for departing from the orders under which he proceeded on the service entrusted to him. And here the next question occurs—Was this deviation from his orders justifiable on the part of Commodore Lambert? Of this our readers will be able to judge after they have perused Captain Latter's statement of the reasons that induced him to act as he did:—

CAPTAIN LATTER TO MR. HALLIDAY.

Calcutta, December 6, 1851.

With reference to your request that I should draw up a statement, for the information of the President in Council, of the matters which I have been charged by Commodore Lambert to communicate to the Government of India, I will commence by giving a simple account of what occurred from the time the Expedition anchored off Rangoon, until I left.

As Her Majesty's Ship *Fox* was proceeding up the river with the Steamers *Tenasserim* and *Proserpine*, and on the day before we arrived off Rangoon, and at a spot some considerable distance from the town, a boat came off to the frigate, containing a Mr. Crisp, an English resident at Rangoon, with a message from the Governor, asking for what purpose the Expedition had made its appearance in the river? Commodore Lambert replied that he came for the purpose of making a communication to the Governor of Rangoon, on certain matters which he would not then allude to. He also requested Mr. Crisp to ask the Governor to appoint a day and hour to receive the said communication.

The next day we arrived off Rangoon, when, after some time, Mr. Crisp wrote off to say that the Governor had appointed next day but one, Thursday, at 11 o'clock, to receive the communications, and fixed the Custom-house, which was close to the wharf, as the place of meeting; his own house being some two and a half miles inland. The whole of the remainder of Tuesday passed, and a portion of Wednesday morning, without any of the British subjects or Europeans coming off to the frigate, and information was conveyed to the Commodore, that the Governor had threatened to cut off the heads and to break the legs of all the foreigners, British or others, who went down the wharf to welcome the frigate. I consequently obtained the Commander's permission to land, entirely alone, and unarmed, so as to give no cause or excuse for misinterpreting my mission, to call upon some of the English residents and others, and to procure information of what was going on, as from their total non-appearance, and no communications having been made from the shore to the frigate, there was no knowing but any mishap might have occurred. I landed accordingly, and sent the frigate's boat back. No obstruction was made to my landing, further than a slight attempt to make me enter the Custom-

house, which I knew they would have interpreted into my having entered the frigate in the Custom-house books, just as if it was a common merchant-ship. This I easily avoided. I consequently proceeded to visit several of the English residents, and they said that no boats would go off from the shore, they having been prohibited, and they likewise mentioned the threat given out publicly by the Governor.

On my way up, however, from the wharf, I met Mr. Crispe coming down the road, who stated that he was going off with a message from the Governor to Commodore Lambert, requesting the Commodore to unmoor his frigate, and to move a few yards lower down ; in fact, among the mercantile shipping, the frigate having been moored a little above them, and in the middle of the stream. As I was on shore at the time, the Commodore sent for Mr. Edwards, my clerk, (who, as you are aware, was for many years the confidential clerk with the former Residencies,) who was intimately acquainted with all the usages and etiquette of the Burmese Court, and asked him whether there was anything in the spot his frigate occupied, that its occupation should militate against the religious feelings or etiquette of the Court, or people of Burmah. Mr. Edwards replied, that nothing of the kind was the case, and that it was only their usual way in trying to commence a quantity of petty annoyances, such as were employed in cases of the former Residents and Agents. The Commodore consequently declined moving his frigate.

Several of the British inhabitants came off with me, and then stated their case to the Commodore.

During that day, information, which appeared quite satisfactory to the Commodore, was brought off, that the Governor of Rangoon had sent for the Nakodah, or native captain, of a native Madras ship, a British subject, and had fined him 150 rupees, for having lowered the flag of his vessel, as the frigate passed up, in compliment to the Commodore's broad pendant. This appeared a second instance of what may be styled something like impertinence.

On that day, (Wednesday,) the British subjects, who had come off, having made their complaints known, *vis à voce*, to the Commodore, were told to put them in writing, which they did in apparently a somewhat hurried manner.

Early next morning two or three of the English residents came off with information, that during the night, information had been sent to them by one of the Governor's Council, to warn the party who were about to land, to be on their guard, as the Governor had mooted the subject of seizing the officers who landed as hostages, and if the whole Expedition did not leave immediately, to threaten to cut off their heads ; and what looked strange was, that the Governor of Rangoon had, that night, changed the place of meeting, from the Custom-house, near the wharf, within a few yards of the frigate, to his own house, some two and a half miles inland, and he never sent any notice of this change. Of course, as the threat of seizing the Deputation which was to land, came in a very vague manner, not the slightest notice was taken of it. But, in the meanwhile, the Commodore, having weighed every thing that had occurred, thought it advisable to suspend the discussion of his original demand, viz., an apology and compensation for the ill-treatment of Messrs. Lewis and Sheppard, captains of British merchant ships, and to have a written letter delivered to the Governor by Captain Tarleton, commander of the frigate, and myself, stating that he, the Commodore, had intended to have communicated with the Governor of Rangoon on certain specific complaints made against him

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of maltreatment of British subjects, but that since his, the Commodore's, arrival in the Rangoon waters, many fresh instances of his, the Governor's, misconduct towards British subjects had been brought to his notice, and that he, the Commodore, thought it his duty to take other measures than those he had at first intended to pursue.

This letter was translated by me into Burmese. We landed, went to the Governor's house, escorted by some of the English residents and traders. I read aloud to the Governor, first in English and then in Burmese, the letter, and Captain Tarleton delivered it. The Governor made his appearance in a somewhat informal dress; being dressed in nothing but common white clothes, and smoking a cheroot; whilst all the Under Governors were in their court dresses. This was the more to be remarked, because the Governor has several gold crowns, which he wears on state occasions. The European officers were, of course, in full uniform. The Governor wished us to stop and sit down, but Captain Tarleton thought it more prudent to say that we had only been charged to read and deliver the letter to him, and that we had received no instructions about holding any other communication. We then bowed, withdrew, and returned to the frigate. We received no opposition either going or coming.

The Commodore thought it advisable to send up to the court of Ava the letter, of which he was the bearer, from the Government of India to the King of Ava, together with an explanatory one from himself to the Prime Minister. These letters, viz., to the King and the Prime Minister, were made over to the Deputation sent by the Governor of Rangoon on the next day (Friday), on board the frigate, with his answer to the Commodore's previous communication. The Governor of Rangoon's answer contained merely a simple denial of ever doing any injury to British subjects. The person, to whom the said letters were entrusted, was represented by the Deputation to be the Governor's confidential representative, and that any communication made to him was equivalent to being made to the Governor himself.

I will now proceed to state the reasons that Commodore Lambert expressed for deviating from his first intentions of demanding an apology from the Governor, and pecuniary reparation to Messrs. Lewis and Sheppard. They were, that the fresh complaints he had received of the Governor of Rangoon's misconduct to British subjects, some of which appeared to him well founded and deserving of notice, proved, in his opinion, that the Governor of Rangoon was unfit to be entrusted with the lives and property of British subjects; and he, the Commodore, appeared to think, that when the Governor-General came to know of these fresh instances, he, the Governor-General, might not consider the taking satisfaction for merely Messrs. Lewis and Sheppard's cases sufficient, but might wish to take further steps.

The Commodore likewise considered the two or three dubious and improper instances of the conduct of the Rangoon Governor towards his frigate and flag, showed an inclination to give annoyance and irritation, and that there was much more chance of any discussion coming to a happy and peaceful termination, and no collision taking place, if held with a new Governor, than with the present incumbent. Thus he made his removal a preliminary to entering into any discussion.

We think these reasons are sufficient to justify the course that the Commodore adopted, and we believe our readers will think so too. This course was approved of by the Governor-General; who thus stated his views, both in regard to that

course, and as to the measures to be adopted in the event of either of several contingencies :—

Fort William, December 27, 1852.

* * * * *

Having regard to the additional long list which was delivered to you, of unwarrantable and oppressive acts committed upon British subjects by order of the Governor of Rangoon, as well as to the personal bearing of that functionary towards the Commodore of the squadron, and of his obvious intention of resorting to the usual policy of the Burmese Court, by interposing endless delays, and disregard of official communications addressed to him ; His Lordship is of opinion that you exercised a sound discretion in cutting short all discussion with the Local Governor, and in transmitting at once to the King of Ava the letter addressed to His Majesty by the Government of India.

Thirty-five days have been allowed for the receipt of a reply from the King, and it is desirable, that you should, in the meanwhile, be furnished with instructions for your guidance in every contingency that can be foreseen.

Either the King will send a reply, complying with the demand of the Government, by a removal of the Governor, and a payment of compensation to the parties whose cases have been taken up by us ; or the King will give no answer, either from the known arrogance of that Court, or from his being kept in ignorance by his servants, of the letter addressed to him, or lastly, His Majesty will refuse to concede to the terms of the Government of India.

If the King should recognize the justice of our representations, and should comply with them, all difficulty will be happily removed for the present ; it will only remain to guard, if possible, against the recurrence of similar causes of complaint for the future.

The statements contained in the memorial presented by the British subjects of Rangoon, must be received with caution, not having been made the subject of complaint at the time ; these additional cases cannot now be made the ground-work of an increased demand for compensation. But it may reasonably be concluded from them, that the cases of Captain Lewis and Captain Sheppard are not isolated instances of oppression on the part of the Governor, but that there has long been a systematic course of oppression pursued by him, and habitual violation of rights and treaties.

The removal of the present Governor, therefore, will hardly be a sufficient guarantee against the renewal of such conduct by his successors. His Lordship conceives, that a British Agent must be placed at Rangoon, in pursuance of the treaty, with the guard of fifty men allowed by the Vllth Article. His influence should further be sustained, for some time to come, by stationing a war-steamer, well-armed, in the river of Rangoon, which will probably ensure his being treated with respect, and will, at all events, provide for the personal safety of himself and British subjects in the town, in the event of the Governor proceeding to extremities.

If, on the other hand, the King of Ava should refuse to concede the just demands we have made, or should fail, within the ample time allowed, to give any answer to the letter of the Government of India, whether through arrogance, indifference, or the intrigues of his servants in keeping the letter from him, this Government cannot tamely submit to the injury and the insult it has received in the persons of its subjects.

At the same time, while it is the imperative duty of this Government to maintain the rights of its people, secured by solemn treaties to them, it is a duty not less imperative, that the Government should endeavor to obtain

redress by the least violent means, and that it should not have recourse to the terrible extremity of war, except in the last resort, and after every other method has been tried without success.

If the King's reply should be unfavorable, the only course we can pursue, which would not, on the one hand, involve a dangerous submission to injury, or, on the other hand, precipitate us prematurely into a war, which moderate counsels may still enable us with honor to avert, will be to establish a blockade of the two rivers at Rangoon and Moulmein, by which the great mass of the traffic of the Burmese Empire is understood to pass.

To bombard Rangoon would be easy, but it would, in his Lordship's judgment, be unjustifiable and cruel in the extreme, since the punishment would fall chiefly on the harmless population, who already suffer from the oppression of their rulers, even more than our own subjects.

To occupy Rangoon or Martaban with an armed force would be easy also, but it would probably render inevitable the war which we desire in the first instance by less stringent measures to avert.

An armed ship of war should remain off Rangoon, or near enough to receive British subjects, should they be threatened. If, however, the aspect of affairs, on the receipt of the King's reply, should be menacing, his Lordship thinks that British subjects should, for security's sake, be brought away at once, when the blockade is established.

Within the prescribed five weeks a reply was received from the King, stating, that in accordance with the demand of the President in Council, the Governor of Rangoon had been recalled, and promising that his successor should be charged to make strict enquiries as to the injuries alleged to have been inflicted on British subjects, and to decide their claims—"according to custom." Thus far then matters appeared to be proceeding favorably; and it seemed as if the presence of the flotilla had produced the effect contemplated by Lord Dalhousie in its despatch. But these appearances were speedily dissipated. The new Governor arrived at Rangoon on the 4th January; and at once offered an evidently studied insult to the British plenipotentiary, as we ought now to designate the Commodore, by refraining from intimating his arrival to him. Whether this was by order from the "Golden Foot," or whether it was that MAHAMENGHLA MENG KHANNYGYAN (!) chose to do a little of the "Bahadur" on his own account, is one of those historical secrets, which will never be solved. At all events, Commodore Lambert sent Mr. Edwards, the active and trustworthy assistant interpreter attached to the Expedition, to ascertain when it would be convenient for the new Governor to receive a communication from the Commodore, stating that the Commodore would personally wait upon the Governor as soon as the matters at issue were adjusted. The reply was as satisfactory as could be desired, Mahamenghla, &c., &c., would be only too happy to receive any communication from Commodore Lambert, whenever it might suit his convenience to send it. In fact such

friendship seemed just about to spring up between Mahamenghla and the Commodore, as promised to put that of Pylades and Orestes to the blush for ever. The following day (6th January) was fixed for the delivery of the letter; and on that day Commander Fishbourne, R. N., accompanied by two of his officers, and by Captain Latter and Mr. Edwards, proceeded to the Government House. They were refused admittance, on the plea that the Governor was asleep. On their insisting that he should be roused, his Secretary, after much parley, professed to go into his apartment, and returned with a message that he would see Mr. Edwards, but no one else. Again they averred that the Governor was asleep, and again they stated that he was willing to see Mr. Edwards. After a great deal of discussion, in the course of which Mr. Edwards appears to have had a dagger pointed at his breast, and the officers were refused any shelter from the rays of the sun, except that afforded by a shed erected for the accommodation of the lowest class of suitors at the Governor's court, the discussion came to an end by the withdrawal of the officers. On reporting to the Commodore the reception that they had met with, he was naturally indignant. He resolved to have nothing more to do with this man. He declared the Rangoon river, the Bassein, and the Salween above Moulmein, to be in a state of blockade; he wrote to the King, to the effect that he would hold no further communication with the Governor of Rangoon, without special instructions to that effect from the Governor-General; and he seized a ship belonging to the King, which was lying "conveniently" in the Rangoon river, "by way of reprisal."

Now, while we think all sensible men must approve of the other parts of his procedure, this last act, the seizure of the ship, does seem to us matter of regret. The Governor-General thinks it necessary to vindicate the commencement of active hostilities, and does so on such grounds as these:—

If it be objected (says he) that the main cause of the present rupture appears to be but a question of form; that a great Government may well afford to treat such petty slights with indifference; and that it would be wise for the Government of India to pass by unnoticed, as well the offence itself, as the present refusal of apology for it, rather than to be drawn by it into the evils of a war with Burmah, I desire to record my fixed conviction, that the Government of India will commit an error, perilous to its own security, and at variance with real humanity, if, acting on this view, it shall yield to the pretensions of the Burmese, and shall now patch up a hollow and unsubstantial peace.

Among all the nations of the East, none is more arrogant in its pretensions of superiority, and none more pertinacious in its assertion of them, than the people of Burmah. With them, forms are essential substance, and the method of communication and the style of address are not words but acts.

The conduct of the Governor of Rangoon towards the British officers, on the 6th of January, would have been felt as ignominious by the lowest officer at his durbar, if he had himself been subjected to it. The ignominy inflicted on these officers, if it be not resented, will be, and must be, regarded as the humiliation of the power they serve. The insult has been persisted in to the last. The form of address in the letters of the Burmese officers has been that employed towards their inferiors; and in the conveyance of their official communications, a studied disrespect, the most elaborate insolence, have been exhibited.

Were all this to be passed over, and friendly relations to be renewed, the ground thus gained by the Burmese would be fully taken advantage of; the oppressions and exactions to which British subjects at Rangoon have been exposed would be re-doubled; the impracticable discourtesies which have been the steady policy of the Government of Ava since the conclusion of the treaty of 1826, and which have driven away one British Envoy after another from Ava, and subsequently from Rangoon, (till for many years past there has been no representative of this Government in Burmah at all), would be habitually practised towards the Agent who may be placed at Rangoon; and within a very brief period of time, the Government of India would be reduced to the same alternative which it has now before it, of either abandoning its subjects, and acknowledging its inability to protect them, or of engaging in a war; on which it would enter with the disadvantage of having, by its previous concessions, given spirit to the exertions (Qu. exactions?) of the enemy, and strengthened their already overweening confidence in their means of successful resistance.

Now we are neither Cobdens nor Malmesburies, to deny altogether the validity of this defence. It would have been most injurious had Commodore Lambert overlooked this insult offered to his officers, and his official communication sent through them, and had he gone on treating with the Governor of Rangoon as if nothing had happened. We fully agree with Lord Dalhousie then, that Commodore Lambert could not pass over this act of studied contumely without notice. But to have noticed it *in some way*, and to have avenged it *in the special way*, in which Commodore Lambert did avenge it, are two things altogether different; and while his Lordship's pleading fully covers the one, it does not, in our estimation, extend to the other of these essentially different things. As the King had so promptly disavowed the conduct of the previous Governor of Rangoon, we think he was entitled to an opportunity of stating whether he approved of the doings of this one; and it does seem to us that no evil would have resulted, if the Commodore had done all that he did, with the important exception of the seizure of the "Yellow Ship," and had made a peremptory demand of the King that he should command the Governor to proceed on board the *Fox*, accompanied by the principal native inhabitants of Rangoon, and a deputation of the British subjects resident therein, and in their presence, and in that of the officers of the squadron, to make to Captain Fishbourne, and the officers who had accompanied him, such an apology as

Commodore Lambert should dictate to him. Whether the "Golden Foot" would have acceded to this demand or not, we cannot determine. Very probably he would not; but his refusal would have put us into a more *comfortable* position in a national point of view than that which we actually occupy. And after all it is far from impossible, that the King would have complied with such a demand. We see no reason to believe, that the removal of the original offender from his Government was not done in good faith; and it is not difficult to suppose that his successor, when dressed in his new authority, and at a distance from the Golden Foot, may have acted a part the very opposite to that which he was instructed to act.

The seizure of the King's ship was then the first act of war on our part. On the 16th, the Commodore moved his flotilla down the river, in order to carry out the blockades that he had announced, the *Hermes* having the seized ship in tow. The *Fox* was fired into from the stockades on the bank, and from a large fleet of gun-boats in the river, and then it was that British gunpowder was lighted, and a volley of shot and shell made short work of the enemy's gun-boats. After making arrangements for carrying out the blockade of the several rivers, the Commodore proceeded in the *Hermes* to Calcutta, to arrange the method of further operations. In the end of January, the Governor-General reached Calcutta. The *ultimatum* of the British Government was communicated to the Governor of Rangoon, and the authorities of Ava, as follows:—

1. "That the Government (Qu. Governor?) should transmit a written apology for the insult to which the British officers had been subjected at Rangoon on the 6th of January last."
2. "That he should pay immediately the sum of 9,900 rupees, demanded as compensation to Captain Sheppard and Captain Lewis."
3. "That he should consent to receive, in due and fitting manner, the Agent who should be appointed under the treaty of Yandaboo."

These terms being rejected, it was finally announced to Commodore Lambert, on the 13th February, that the Government of India had "determined to proceed at once to exact, by force of arms, the reparation which it had failed to obtain by other means." Such troops as could be spared were ordered to proceed to Rangoon, and Lieut.-General Godwin was appointed to the command of the Expedition.

The question now, after securing Moulmein and Arracan from insult, which was promptly done, was, which of two courses to adopt. With the aid of Her Majesty's Ships, and of the Bom-

bay and Bengal Steam Flotillas, it was in the power of the Indian Government at once, by the taking of Rangoon, and the occupation of the sea borde of Pegue, to strike a blow, which might have the effect of intimidating the court of Ava, and of inducing it to submit to our demands; or, by waiting until the end of the monsoon, that is, for eight or nine months, operations on a large scale might be organized and undertaken, with a whole dry season available for their successful completion. The first plan held out the prospect, if the court of Ava were intimidated, of an immediate settlement of the quarrel: and as it was well known that the Governor-General contemplated returning to England, there were weighty public and private motives to induce him to adopt that course which held out the hope and chance of a speedy pacification. On the other hand it was clear, that with every exertion, the force requisite to strike an effectual blow could not rendezvous at the mouths of the Irrawaddy before the beginning of April, and that therefore forty days were all that could be counted upon for military operations; that the enemy, conscious how limited the time was before the setting-in of the monsoon, usually about the 10th May, might, though the chief places in Pegue were taken, not be sufficiently humiliated to force him to succumb; that then, though Rangoon, Martaban, Bassein, and even Prome might be captured, our troops must remain inactive amid the swamps of Pegue for seven months, and would have to be there maintained at great cost, and no small risk of destruction by disease; and that ultimately, in November, in order to resume operations and bring the war to a close, additional forces must be brought into play, and the second plan be thus superadded to the first, without any real advantage having been derived from the earlier operations; the cost of the war in men and money being thus much enhanced.

The question was of importance, and required a more thorough knowledge of the policy and power of the Burmese than was possessed by our Government. The experience of the former war was, however, against the probability of our views being attained by immediate operations at the mouths of the Irrawaddy, for though success was pretty certain with respect to the capture of Rangoon, and of any other petty places on the coast or delta of the Irrawaddy we chose to appear against, yet there was no analogy between the blockade or the taking of such places, and similar energetic measures against the river mouths and harbours of a civilized mercantile people. A Burman King thinks no more of removing a town, than a British Army in India thinks of striking its tents; and he requires to feel

the pressure of events near to himself in order to be influenced. The capture of a far distant town is too remote a stroke to operate on the nerves of the monarch at the capital. Such a blow is more likely to exasperate than to intimidate; for danger being remote, an insult of the kind irritates the pride of an arrogant barbarian. Where there is a just appreciation of relative power, such a stroke might bring the weaker party to reason at once; but the conduct of the Burmese authorities had not been indicative of any capacity on their parts correctly to estimate our resources, as compared with their own. Nor is this surprising, when it is remembered, that since the close of the last war, they have had no opportunity of watching the change which a steam navy produces, as respects facility of operations in Burmah. The great advance made in this branch of the public service has vastly increased our powers of aggression against such countries as Pegue; but there had been nothing to bring this fact practically home to the senses of the Burmese or their King. They had remained exactly as they were in 1824-26, both mentally and physically; and their irregular and ill-armed levies are not a whit improved either in armament or organization. Their stockades are the same—their war-boats exactly what we first found them a century ago. Stationary themselves in every thing, and devoid of the opportunity of watching others, in consequence of their own isolation, it is not surprising that they should entertain the notion that we are exactly the same warriors we were before. They could not be expected to calculate on the facilities we have acquired in the course of a quarter of a century. Steam has given wings to whole regiments—aye, to overwhelming batteries of the heaviest artillery, as well as to regiments—and of this the Burman would have no idea from anything he had witnessed.

An argument in favor of early operations, and a sudden stroke, may have been deduced from the terror which the exhibition of our increased facilities of aggression might be expected to produce; but such a lesson is not general, and it takes time to uproot a permanent stationary idea from the mind of a whole people.

Considerations of economy, of the health and efficiency of the troops, and of complete results, were opposed to littoral operations in the month of April; it was a choice between certainty on the one hand, and chance on the other. The Press, both in India and in England, has expressed itself very stringently against those who advocated certainty in preference to chance; but it may be doubted whether any single individual,

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knowing the Burmese, their country, its climate, and our own available resources in men, sided with the Press. All correct elements of calculation, usually resorted to in estimating the relative values of projected military expeditions, were undoubtedly put aside, when a chance of immediate success, with its accompanying drawbacks, in case of failure of object, was permitted to outweigh a somewhat deferred certainty, comparatively free from the serious inconveniences attending the other course. But, after all, this is a matter of opinion ; and we ought to admit, that it is much easier to condemn a plan when it has been adopted and has failed, than to choose between two plans which are candidates for adoption.

War once decided upon, there was no lack of energy on the part of those entrusted with the preparation of the Expedition. Our establishments, naval and military, gave good proof of their service qualities, and showed that at a moment's notice, if war be the object, they are ready.

Meanwhile, however, judging from the report of an officer despatched to the Aeng Pass, the direct route on Ava across the Arracan mountains, it does not appear that any signs of war-like preparation in the districts around the capital of Burmah were observable. The traders were passing between the two countries, now in a state of war, exactly as if nothing had happened to disturb their peaceful relations, and those coming from Amerapoorra said nothing of rumours of war.

At Rangoon, however, besides the blockade, which injured ourselves far more than the enemy, the state of affairs was very different from that in the neighbourhood of the capital. More shots had passed, and the Governor-General's letter had to be conveyed under a flag of truce. It was received with some show of respect, though the reply on the 2nd February was communicated in very humble guise—a common person in an ordinary canoe conveying the Governor's answer, that as the Governor-General had not approved of the Commodore's measures at Rangoon, the Woongee could hold no further communications with him, though he was prepared to negotiate with another Commissioner. A royal letter to Colonel Bogle, the Commissioner at Moulmein, was to the same effect, and requested that some other than Commodore Lambert might be authorized to treat. The Governor-General, who had arrived in Calcutta on the 29th January, aware by these proceedings, that it had become futile to entertain hopes of an amicable arrangement, pressed forward with vigour the naval and military expedition on which he relied for bringing to a speedy termination this most undesirable state of affairs. At the same time, as a last chance of

averting war, a letter was addressed to the King of Burmah, and delivered through Colonel Bogle to the Woongee of Martaban. A bombastic harangue to the Burmese, who received the letter, was listened to with perfect indifference, and made far less impression than would have done the simple statement, that if an answer accepting the terms offered by the Governor-General were not received by the 1st April, hostilities would commence.

On the 7th March the Bombay squadron of war-steamers was at anchor in the Madras roads. By the 29th March the last of the vessels and steamers conveying the Bengal division of the force had put to sea; but although the final orders for embarkation reached Madras on the 25th, the Madras contingent were not on board until the 31st, and consequently did not reach the rendezvous, the mouths of the Rangoon river, until the 7th April.

The Bengal squadron and troops had all reached the rendezvous on the 2nd April, and General Godwin, finding that no tidings of the squadron from Madras were to be obtained, decided, in communication with Admiral Austin, who had reached the day previous in Her Majesty's Ship *Rattler*, to proceed at once to capture Martaban, a weak place on the Burman bank of the river, opposite to Moulmein, the British station on the Salween. The General, immediately on arrival in the Rangoon river, had despatched Captain Latter on board the *Proserpine* with a flag of truce, to ascertain whether a reply from the King had been received, the 1st April having been the day fixed as the period, after which, were no answer received to the Governor-General's letter, hostilities would commence. The flag of truce was not respected but fired upon, and Captain Brooking, the commander of the *Proserpine*, had to return the fire of the stockades, and to withdraw his little vessel, which he skilfully effected, blowing up a magazine of the enemy, and otherwise doing severe execution, in return for the insult to the flag of truce. No doubt, therefore, could be entertained of the resolve of the enemy to try his strength with the British forces, when the movement on Martaban was decided upon.

Sending on, upon the 2nd, the *Proserpine* to Moulmein, to give notice of projected movements, Her Majesty's Steamers *Hermes*, *Rattler*, and *Salamander*, left the Rangoon river at day-break of the 3rd April, and reached Moulmein at noon of the next day. General Godwin immediately issued orders, that the troops destined for assaulting Martaban were to be in readiness for embarkation by 4 P. M., and by that evening a wing of H. M. 80th, a wing of H. M. 18th, a wing of the 26th Madras

N. I., with detachments of Bengal artillery and Madras sappers, in all about 1,400 men, were on board.

Martaban is in itself a most insignificant place, and provided the steamers could be brought into position, so as to admit of the effective play of their artillery, it was not possible for the Burmese to defend the place. Approach to it however is difficult, and though Captain Brooking of the *Proserpine* knew the river well, and led the way, yet the *Hermes* grounded.

The *Rattler*, however, after putting General Godwin on board the *Proserpine*, managed well, and taking up a position at a little upwards of a couple of hundred yards from the town defences, opened a destructive fire. Meanwhile the *Proserpine* was engaged in taking the troops from the larger steamers and in landing them, keeping up at the same time a constant fire with her guns. The enemy, loosely estimated at 5,000 men, offered no resistance, and the place was taken, with only a few wounded on the side of the British. Having garrisoned the place with the 26th M. N. I., and some Madras artillery, the General took with him the wings of the 18th and 80th Regiments, the company of Bengal artillery, and some Madras sappers, and again reached the rendezvous of the Rangoon river on the 8th.

Whilst the movement on Martaban was taking place, Commodore Lambert, having with him Lieut.-Colonel Coote, and three companies of the 18th Regiment, was finding work for the *Fox*, *Serpent*, *Tenasserim*, and *Phlegethon* in destroying stockades up the Rangoon river, and thus disembarrassed the approach from the Bassein creek, nearly to the King's wharf at Rangoon, of these river defences. On the 5th, several stockades were thus taken and burnt, without any casualties. These bonfires were so effectual, that General Godwin afterwards could scarcely find a trace of where the stockades had stood.

The General, on the 8th of April, had the satisfaction of seeing the Bombay squadron and the Madras division of troops at the rendezvous. He thus found available for operations, the following force, naval and military, which we copy from the lucid abstract of the Rear Admiral's Secretary, Mr. G. P. Martin:—

HER MAJESTY'S SHIPS.					BOMBAY STEAM SQUADRON.				
Rattler.....	130	Men	11	Guns.	Feroze	280	Men	7	Guns.
Fox	298	"	40	"	Moozuffer.....	280	"	7	"
Hermes.....	120	"	6	"	Zenobia.....	200	"	6	"
Salamander....	135	"	6	"	Sesostris.....	135	"	4	"
Serpent.....	125	"	16	"	Medusa.....	60	"	5	"
A Gun-boat ...	10	"	1	"	Berenice.....	97	"	1	"
<hr/> 818 Men 80 Guns. <hr/>					<hr/> 952 Men 30 Guns. <hr/>				

BENGAL STEAM SQUADRON.			
Tenasserim.....	80	Men	6 Guns.
Pluto	86	"	7 "
Phlegethon ...	86	"	6 "
Proserpine	86	"	6 "
Enterprise	70	"	2 "
Fire Queen	70	"	2 "
Mahanuddee ...	22	"	4 "
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500 Men 33 Guns.			
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TROOPS.

H. M.'s 18th Royal Irish.	850	Men.
H. M.'s 51st Regiment...	900	"
H. M.'s 80th Regiment...	460	"
Five Companies of Artillery	517	"

Bengal 40th N. I.	}	... 2,800 Men.
Madras 85th N. I.		
Ditto 9th N. I.		
Gun Lascars	70	„
Two Companies, sappers and miners.....	170	„
	<hr/>	5,767 Men.

ORDNANCE.

8-Inch Howitzers	2	in No.
24-Pr. ditto	6	"
9-Pr. Guns.....	8	"
<hr/>		16 Guns.

Making a total of Ships of War	19
Men	8,037
Guns.....	159

Fourteen transports (7,888 tons) and the King of Ava's ship were the adjuncts to the above force, and carried coal, commissariat, ordnance, and engineer stores. One of them, the *Tubal Cain*, of 787 tons, was employed as an hospital ship.

The 9th being passed in making dispositions, on the 10th the fleet advancing up the river, came to anchor below the Hastings' Shoal. On the 11th, as the tide served, the vessels crossed the shoal, and were soon engaged in silencing the stockades, and subsequently in storming and burning those on the immediate bank of the river. This important day's work cleared the approaches to Rangoon, and secured the orderly and undisturbed landing of the troops at daybreak of the 12th.

By seven o'clock General Godwin had on shore, and ready to advance, H. M.'s 51st, H. M.'s 18th, the 48th Bengal N. I., and some of his field-pieces—and with this portion of the force he contemplated that morning storming Rangoon. When the column advanced, it did not proceed far before guns opened upon it, and skirmishers showed themselves in the jungle. Here it was discovered that a strong stockade, called in the last war the White House Picquet, lay just in the way of the advance. Four field guns immediately opened upon the work; whilst a storming party of four companies of H. M.'s 51st advanced, under cover of the jungle, to the assault. The experience of the last war had been lost sight of. The critical moment in attacking a stockade is when you break forth from the jungle, and come upon the open space cleared around it; once there, the quicker you close upon the work, plant

your scaling ladders, and assault, the better ; the head of the column, if this be smartly done, suffers little, and the stockade is carried, with a few casualties among the rearmost sections. Hesitation, however, or a halt at the edge of the jungle which you have cleared, entails a certainty of loss, and often a failure. Judging from the despatches, there seems to have been a momentary check, for Major Fraser of the Engineers mounted alone the enemy's defences, and his gallantry "brought around him the storming party."

It is evident that this unexpected taste of the enemy made the General bethink himself of the remainder of his force, and of the possibility of the battering guns being of use in the attack of the main position at the Dragon Pagoda. More destructive than the enemy, the sun had struck down Warren, St. Maur, Foord, Griffith, and Oakes, some of his leading and most valuable officers ; and all were suffering from fatigue and exhaustion ; rest, rations, and reinforcements were necessary before the more serious assault on the Pagoda could be attempted. Bivouacking, therefore, on the ground, the remainder of the 12th, and all the 13th, were passed in landing the battering guns and the other portion of the force, and in making preparations for the advance early on the 14th. Whilst the troops were thus bivouacked for a couple of days, the flotilla was not idle ; the Dragon Pagoda proving to be within reach of the shells of the shipping, a magazine was blown up in the main position of the enemy on the 12th ; and the fire continued at intervals throughout the day and night of the 13th, with precision, and with very formidable effect. Almost the first shell sent into the place on the 12th was said to have burst in the Governor's house, and to have wounded him in the leg ; and not only was a magazine destroyed by the bombardment, but during the nights of the 12th and 13th, the whole of the new town was burnt by the fire from the shipping. There was no cover from this destructive bombardment, and of the 25,000 men whom the enemy was said to have had in his works on the 11th, large numbers fled during the three days that the fleet was pouring its shot and shell into every work and stockade that its far-reaching fire could search. None but the bravest of the enemy remained until the 14th, and these, too, necessarily much dispirited by the desertion of so many of their combatants, the loss and destruction of so many stockades, the conflagration of the town, and the immeasurable superiority of the British artillery afloat.

General Godwin, having profited by the lesson he had received

at the White House Stockade, and having also given time for the naval bombardment to take full effect, had with him at daybreak of the 14th, H. M.'s 80th and 18th, and the 40th Bengal N. I. and six field guns. H. M.'s 51st, and the 35th Madras N. I. in reserve, and the 19th Madras N. I., kept open the communications with the shipping. The heavy guns were to be moved by men, and this, the hardest service of the day, the artillery-men, and a detachment from the fleet of 120 men, under Lieutenant Dorville, were to perform.

The new town of Rangoon has been thrown back from the original position on the river bank, to a distance of about a mile and a quarter; it is, as described by the General, nearly a square of about three-quarters of a mile, having at its northern side the Pagoda as a sort of citadel or stronghold. The direct road from the river to the Pagoda "comes up to the south gate running through the new town," and it is probable enough that the enemy expected to be attacked by that road, and made preparations accordingly. Except on the north and east sides, where the Pagoda Hill came into the lines of defences, the town was surrounded by a strong stockade consisting of stout timbers, sometimes in triple row, backed by a horizontal layer, and the whole braced together so as to form a strong revetment to an earthen rampart varying from fourteen to sixteen feet high, some twenty feet in thickness, and surrounded by a good ditch.

General Godwin's plan of attack was, avoiding the defences of the town, to circle round to the north-east side, when, if he carried the Pagoda, Rangoon was his without more trouble.

Giving the town as "wide a berth" as he could, he drew up his troops at about 800 yards from the eastern side of the Great Pagoda, under cover of some hillocks, and there patiently awaited the arrival of his battering guns. As soon as these reached him, and were put into position, their fire opened on the eastern entrance of the Pagoda, and with such effect, that the already intimidated enemy were driven from their defences. Captain Latter observing this, suggested that the assault should be instantly given, and volunteered to show the way. Godwin resolved to carry this into execution, and forming a storming party of a wing of the 80th, two companies of the 18th, and two companies of the 40th B. N. I., ordered Lieut.-Colonel Coote to storm the Pagoda. The column had to march over the 800 yards, exposed to such fire as the enemy might have the courage to pour upon it; but their confidence was gone, and except the last volley, which killed Doran, and wounded Coote, as the stormers with a wild hur-

rah rushed up the steps and mastered the position, the defence was feeble and ill-conducted. The enemy's ninety-two guns of various calibres, and eighty-two wall-pieces, were evidently no match for the 159 well-served and abundantly-furnished pieces of the naval and military expedition. Our loss, 17 killed and 132 wounded, during the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th, proves that the Burmese are still what Munro designated them in 1824, when he says "the military character of the enemy is far below that of any of the Indian native powers."

This is not written with a view to derogate from the merit due to our forces engaged. On the contrary, the very handsome terms in which the Governor-General in Council expressed his unqualified approbation of the brilliant service performed, was graceful and just; for gallantry, fortitude, and endurance were exhibited by both officers and men. We would only moderate the ebullitions of admiration for the courage and conduct of the enemy, which grace the military despatches, and which the returns attached to those despatches do not corroborate.

We are not disposed to be over-critical, for, on the whole, General Godwin has done his work well. A few questions however suggest themselves to the peruser of his despatches on the capture of Rangoon. How came the White House Stockade to prove a surprise? Was it prudent to have started, contemplating the storm of the Great Pagoda, with only half his force, and no heavy guns, as he did on the 12th? The fact is that the momentary check, and the first brush with the enemy at the White House Stockade, by making the General more circumspect, and leading him to give ample time on the 12th and 13th for the naval bombardment to produce its full effect, whilst he was causing his heavy guns and troops to be disembarked, probably prevented a doubtful issue at the Great Pagoda on the 12th. However inferior your enemy, he is never despicable in a defensive position, for the strengthening of which ample leisure has been at his command.

Between the 14th April and the 17th May, the General appears to have been occupied in putting his troops under cover, and preparing for the monsoon; at the same time finding amusement for the troops in an active search for booty, in the course of which they evinced an iconoclastic zeal that would have gladdened the heart of a Leo the Isaurian. Beyond the detachment of two companies of H. M.'s 51st to reinforce Moulmein, and a fruitless chase after the Rangoon Governor on the 6th, 7th, and 8th, nothing of any importance was done until the detachment destined for Bassein embarked on the 17th May. It consisted of 400 of H. M.'s 51st, 300 of the 9th Madras N. I.,

67th Madras sappers, and the naval brigade and marines of H. M.'s Frigate *Fox*. The Steamers *Sesostris*, *Mozuffar*, *Tenasserim* and *Pluto* formed the squadron, and reaching Negrais on the evening of the 18th, at daylight on the 19th the Expedition proceeded up the Bassein River. At four o'clock in the afternoon the enemy's works came into view, and half an hour sufficed to bring the flotilla to anchor opposite a Pagoda in the centre of the enemy's defences. This had been effected without a hostile shot having been fired; and the 51st being quickly disembarked, was also permitted to land without opposition. An attempt at a parley was however interrupted by a discharge from the line of works; upon which the Pagoda was forthwith carried, and also a mud fort of some extent, but incomplete. At the latter, Major Errington and several officers and men were wounded; but the casualties were on our side few, whilst the loss of the enemy appears to have been considerable, the fire from the shipping being as usual most destructive.

Bassein being thus taken with small loss, and a garrison of 160 men of H. M.'s 51st, and 300 of the 9th Madras N. I., with two howitzers left there, the remainder of the troops re-embarked, and on the 23rd May again reached Rangoon.

The arrival of the 67th Bengal N. I., on the 10th May, had somewhat strengthened General Godwin's hands, and enabled him to take Bassein, and garrison it, without seriously weakening himself at Rangoon. Bassein is a point of importance in the military occupation of Pegue, both with respect to the command of the navigation of the noble river on which it is situated, which forms one of the main arteries of the delta of the Irrawaddy, and also with regard to the proximity of the southern extremity of the British Provinces on the Arracan coast. With Martaban, Rangoon, and Bassein in his possession, the General has established a good base in Pegue; and as he captured at Bassein fifty-four guns, besides thirty-two wall-pieces, he has materially reduced the Burmese artillery resources, having, in the course of these operations, stripped them altogether of one hundred and fifty-one pieces of ordnance of various calibres, and one hundred and twenty-two gingals or wall-pieces.

Into Bassein he had to throw additional artillery-men, and the remainder of the Madras 9th N. I.; he was therefore scarcely able to spare any considerable strength of men from Rangoon for distant enterprizes, though the fulness of the river, were not the inclemency of the moonsoon a serious drawback, was much in favor of an advance to Prome. Such an advance is the only event in the history of the war that has as yet trans-

F F

pired ; but as the details have not been distinctly given, and the result seems to have been confined to the taking of an outpost, it is not necessary to enter into any detail respecting it. The Governor-General has also visited the seat of war, but for what special purpose, or with what present or prospective result, has not transpired. The troops seem to have been kept in good health and spirits. Captain Latter has been placed in charge of Rangoon as magistrate, and the people, who fled away on our taking possession of the place, have returned in large numbers.

Hitherto all military operations have been conducted under the support of an overwhelming fire from the shipping ; the Burman artillery, mostly of small calibre, ill-provided, ill-served, and scattered over a series of extensive works, was evidently no match for the concentrated fire of heavy shot and shell, which our well-appointed floating batteries could pour into any work that had the misfortune of lying within reach of the river. Not only is there no secure cover for the defenders of the stockades from our formidable projectiles, but with singular ignorance the Burmans have not had the ordinary foresight to supply their temporary or permanent works with tolerably safe magazines. Wherever, therefore, the shot and shell of the shipping can search a work, it is evident that a few rounds teach the enemy that it is untenable, and therefore it is hastily abandoned. So long therefore as our Steam Flotilla can co-operate, and the enemy chooses to place himself in positions favorable to the combined action of our land and floating forces, the game must needs be easy. It remains to be seen whether they will alter their system of defensive positions, and with what spirit and what judgment the war, as it ceases to have the delta of the Irrawaddy for its theatre, will be conducted.

The court of Ava probably calculates on being able, during the monsoon, to organize the means for a defensive campaign, to open before the British forces shall be reinforced. There has as yet been no indication that, humiliated by the losses they have undergone, the Burman court inclines to concession ; and therefore it is pretty clear that that extended and costly war, which the Governor-General sought to avert, has yet to be undertaken, and that the King of Ava, not driven to despair by our successes, will be busily engaged in preparing for the struggle which awaits his kingdom and himself. His arrogance and confidence may be based on a very undue estimate of his own power and resources, as measured with those of his enemy ; but neither his arrogance nor his confidence seems shaken, and knowing this, there is now no option but to prosecute the war at the

right season vigorously to a speedy issue. There can be little doubt, that with the means which can be concentrated for such an operation, and with our present knowledge of the countries on the Eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, Amerapoora should be in our hands by the end of January, 1853, or at latest in February.

Then, however, will come the question, how to dispose of the conquest. The Indian Press are, and have been, unanimous in the cry for annexation. From the first the whole weight of the local Press has been unhesitatingly cast into the scales on the side of war, with a view to extension of empire and the appropriation of territory. Judging by his movements, by his repeated endeavours to obtain by negotiation, attention to his demands, and by his clear statements contained in the Blue Book, which it is impossible to read without a conviction of the honesty of their writer,—the only man who seems to have been really desirous of a peaceable arrangement of differences has been Lord Dalhousie. Too far from the scene to check affairs in their commencement, to watch and effectually curb the early progress of events, the initiative was taken, differences took form and mould, affairs were in fact in train, before they could come before him; but as soon as they were brought under his eye, he seems to have comprehended at once the “solemnity” (it is his own expression) of the crisis that had arisen; and while he did all that could be done to avert the horrors of war, he exhibited the greatest energy in arranging for its effective prosecution when it was seen to be inevitable. How far the decision of the question of annexation or non-annexation may be left to him, we do not know; but our earnest hope is that either he, or whoever may have the “solemn” task of making the arrangements consequent on the war, may act in the same spirit which he manifested while yet there was a hope that it might not be necessary to imbue our hands in Burman blood.

We do not enter upon the question whether we have any *right* to annex Burmah; it is enough for us that no *wrong* would be done by our not annexing it, and so the question is left to be argued on the ground of expediency. Now it is well that the British public should understand clearly what the annexation of Burmah presages—nay entails. It may be stated in few words:—the rapid establishment of an empire extending from Arracan to Chusan, including of course Siam, Cochin-China, and the Shan States. The acquisition and completion of our colossal Anglo-Indian Empire has taken just

a century ; the appropriation of the other, the general limits of which we have now stated, will not require so much as half that time, for we already encircle it with outposts, and, thanks to steam and our Indian empire, the means and opportunities of aggression are much facilitated. Allowing for such moderation and circumspection as will satisfy the conscience of the English public, half a century is about the maximum that may be allowed for the agglomeration of an Indo-Chinese empire. During this half century, about a dozen wars will be forced upon us, every one of which we will have to go through with, however sincere be our profession of a non-aggressive policy. Meanwhile there is one small item to be borne in mind. Let any of our readers take a Macculloch's *Geographical Encyclopædia*, or any other decent work of reference, which pretends to statistical information ; and having made a rough approximation to the population of the Anglo-Indo-Chinese empire, which is to gain its "natural limits," say from A. D. 1880 to A. D. 1900, let us have an estimate of the European troops requisite, horse and foot, first for the winning, and then the preservation of these vast regions ; and also let us have a guess at the increase to our navy essential under such circumstances. Assuming the population of India at 140 millions, and that during the last ten years the European troops, Royal and Company's, have averaged 35,000 men, it needs no great amount of sagacity to ascertain the probable increase to the British Army, when at least 300 millions more, (some would say 400 millions), have to be overcome and to be placed under its control. No one acquainted with the emigration returns of the British Empire will doubt the power of the nation to supply the raw material of soldiery for an additional 70,000 men, or even for another 100,000 ; nevertheless many grave considerations are involved in this necessity (which will be inevitable) of having a European Army in Asia of from 100,000 to 130,000 men to maintain at all times in complete efficiency. Unlike India, most of these countries would fail in at all meeting the expenses of conquest ; and therefore, although the analogy may hold good as to the moderate proportion of European troops that might be sufficient to control the vanquished millions, it by no means follows that the ratio as to revenue would be maintained. Not until we held the tea-producing country, as well as its opium feeder, could there be a hope of balancing receipts and expenditure ; and before that condition could be attained, we must have passed through from thirty to fifty years of chronic war expenditure. Now where are the financial means to be found

for such a protracted expenditure? There is no elasticity in Indian taxation, and you cannot with safety swell its territorial debt to a much higher figure. England, therefore, would have to advance the funds for the conquests, the prospects of which the Calcutta Press hails with such unfeigned and unanimous delight. Imagine the feelings with which a Chancellor of the Exchequer would rise in the House of Commons, and explain that, though with great inconvenience to the available defensive means of England, considerable reinforcements had been despatched to the Cape, and a heavy expenditure incurred in that colony; yet as these exertions had failed to bring the Kaffir war to a successful termination, further sacrifices of men and money must be endured, in order, by a vigorous prosecution of hostilities, further to compel the savages of Southern Africa to desist from ravaging and destroying Her Majesty's Colony at the Cape. That at the same time it was imperative for the House of Commons to exercise a wise foresight, and to enable the Government to provide for the exigencies of the public service in another quarter of the globe. That the House was aware that Her Majesty's colossal, but unconsolidated Indian empire employed one-fourth of her standing army, and that,—with reference to the extent of those possessions, the many millions under our sway, the unsettled disposition of some of the late acquisitions, petty hostilities with hill tribes on the North West Frontier, the disordered condition of some of the native states in the heart of our empire,—that fourth of Her Majesty's standing army was not a man in excess of the wants of the public service in India. That the latter country could not therefore safely spare permanently a large portion of Her Majesty's regiments, for the conduct of a war in Burmah, and for the ultimate annexation of that country, and that provision must be made not only for supplying the European troops withdrawn from India, but also for reinforcing the army in Burmah, as further and more extensive operations must be undertaken, the capture of Martaban, Rangoon, and Bassein having failed to compel the court of Ava to make reparation and accept our terms. That the House must be perfectly aware that the conquest and the permanent occupation of Burmah would give us an entirely new frontier, would bring us into contact with China, the Shan States, and the kingdoms of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, and that as our neighbourhood could not fail to excite the utmost apprehension and jealousy, the force in Burmah must be kept on a footing calculated to impose respect on the border nations, and to ensure the security of the new conquest. That properly speaking, the war had not arisen from

any differences between the Government of India and the court of Ava ; there had not, as in the last war, been any invasion of our Anglo-Indian territories, or any refusal to give satisfaction for encroachment. The present hostilities had arisen out of the claim advanced by the commander of an English merchant vessel ; the demand for the indemnification of his losses had been made by a British ship of war, and it was not the Company's flag, but Her Majesty's, which had been insulted and fired upon. The war therefore was not undertaken with reference to the interests of Her Majesty's Anglo-Indian empire, but essentially with respect to the mercantile interests of British subjects, and the protection of trade, and consequently the cost of the war, of the permanent occupation of Burmah, and of securing the new conquest against impending contingencies, could not fairly be made a charge on the territorial debt of India, but must be borne by the British nation. That the House must therefore liberally meet present exigencies, and also provide for future inevitable contingencies !

It has lately been seen in the case of the Militia Bill, with what opposition a very inadequate measure for the defence of Great Britain has been received, and with what difficulty a measure indispensable for national safety was passed. The reception which would be given to such a demand as that we have sketched, a demand for permanent increase to the British Army, with a view to Asiatic conquests, may be easily anticipated ; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be a bold man, who should hazard his position and influence on such a proposal. The visions of a chronic state of Asiatic war, with the certainty of present heavy expenditure, and of a very faint and remote probability of ultimately balancing receipts and outlay after the public debt had been swelled to a large amount, could not, however skilfully coloured, prove gratifying to a British Parliament. That body could not be blinded to the eventualities of the new career of Asiatic conquest on which the Government was embarking, and the drain upon the public purse which it must open.

But then, it is said, that if we do not annex Burmah, the Americans will. We think the consideration of expense of men and money, that we have supposed likely to weigh so powerfully with the British Parliament, will weigh still more powerfully with the American Congress. But should it be otherwise, and the Americans should establish a footing in Burmah, prepared to take advantage of the first outrage that should be committed on their citizens as a ground for a war of annexa-

tion, we cannot see what great inconvenience would arise to us from the proximity of such a power.

Again, it is said, that the annexation would be only postponed, and would require to be carried into effect ere long, unless the necessity were averted by the energy of the Americans. Now to this it is a sufficient answer that we have been at peace with the Burmese for twenty-six years; although we were culpably negligent in abandoning the rights which were conferred on us by the treaty of Yandaboo. And there is no reason to believe that, with a good arrangement, and with the experience we now have in dealing with native powers, a permanent peace might not be secured.

Once more, it is said, that the transference of the Burmese under our sway would be such a blessing to them, and would produce such blessed effects, by introducing civilization and the gospel amongst them. Now this may be all true; but yet we are not to do evil that good may come; and we believe that the annexation of Burmah would be an act of injustice on our part—as well as an act of great impolicy. We yield to none in our anxiety for the extension of civilization, and the spread of the gospel; but not even for such an end, would we employ means inconsistent with that noble precept which embodies at once the concentrated essence of civilization and of the morality of the gospel, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them."

Averse as the present Governor-General was to this war, one most untimely and unpropitious, from every point of view, and which he evidently knew to be such, there can be no doubt that now there is no option left to the Indian Government, but to prosecute the war to a speedy conclusion with the utmost vigour, as soon as the season arrives. When this shall have been accomplished, and the court of Ava sufficiently humiliated, we trust that the British Government will pause, before, in obedience to the cry of the Calcutta Press, the annexation of the Burman dominions is decided upon. All our reasonable objects may be otherwise attained, and though the prospect of another series of rapid and brilliant conquests, ending in the formation of a colossal Anglo-Indo-Chinese empire, may be flattering to the pride and restless ambition of many, the true interests of European England call for caution, ere she embark upon so gigantic a career of further extension of empire and of debt. She is but too vulnerable already almost in every quarter of the globe; and her present possessions, disproportionate to her army, tax her means to an extent

beyond which her Parliaments are evidently violently averse to proceed—to an extent that disinclines her Parliaments from efficiently providing for the security of her own shores from invasion. Both with reference to the advocated annexation of Burmah and its conquest, we close in the words of one of those admirable articles for which the *Times* is famous, applying them, however, in a wider sense than did the writer, to the whole Indo-Chinese Peninsula.—“Although we do not apprehend any effectual resistance to the force of the British arms, it is only reasonable to acknowledge that more may be awaiting us than we contemplate at present.”

THE
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No. XXXVL—DECEMBER, 1852.

CONTENTS.

1. PALESTINE AND LEBANON.
2. CALCUTTA IN THE OLDEN TIME—ITS LOCALITIES.
3. PUBLIC CORRESPONDENCE IN THE N. W. P.
4. POCOCKE'S INDIA IN GREECE.
5. KAFFIRS AND INDIAN HILL TRIBES.
6. CHARTERS AND PATRIOTS.
7. INDIAN SURGERY.
8. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.—
THE LORDS' REPORT.
9. MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

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CONTENTS

OF

No. XXXVI.—VOL. XVIII.

ART. I.—PALESTINE AND LEBANON.

1. Lands of the Bible. By Dr. Wilson 233
2. The Holy City. By the Rev. Mr. Williams *ib.*
3. Journal of a Tour in the Holy Land. By Dr. Robinson *ib.*
4. Eothen *ib.*
5. The Crescent and the Cross. By Eliot Warburton *ib.*

ART. II.—CALCUTTA IN THE OLDEN TIME—ITS LOCALITIES.

Map of Calcutta, 1792-3. By A. Upjohn 275

ART. III.—PUBLIC CORRESPONDENCE IN THE NORTH WESTERN PROVINCES.

Selections from Public Correspondence, North Western Provinces. Published by Authority. Nos. I to XI. Agra. Secundra Orphan Press 321

ART. IV.—POCOCKE'S INDIA IN GREECE.

India in Greece; or truth in Mythology, containing the sources of the Hellenic race; the Colonization of Egypt and Palestine; the Wars of the Grand Lama; and the Budhistic Propaganda in Greece. By E. Pococke, Esq. London and Glasgow. 1852 340

ART. V.—KAFFIRS AND INDIAN HILL TRIBES.

Memoir on the Kaffirs, Hottentots, and Bosjemans of South Africa. By Colonel John Sutherland. Cape Town. 1847 377

ART. VI.—CHARTERS AND PATRIOTS.

1. The Friend of India 403
2. Petition presented to Parliament by the British India Association *ib.*
3. Petition of the Calcutta Missionary Conference. *ib.*
4. Petition of the Bombay Association *ib.*
5. Petition of the Christian Inhabitants of Bengal *ib.*

ART. VII.—INDIAN SURGERY.

Observations on Surgery; by Benjamin Travers, junior.
 Lately Resident Assistant Surgeon at St. Thomas's
 Hospital and Lecturer on Surgery. London. 1852 427

ART. VIII.—THE GOVERNMENT OF THE
EAST INDIA COMPANY.—THE LORDS'
REPORT.

Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords,
 appointed to enquire into the operation of the Act
 III. and IV. William 4, chapter 85, for the better
 Government of Her Majesty's Indian Territories,
 and to report their observations thereon to the
 House; and to whom were referred the petitions of
 G. J. Gordon, respecting education in India, and
 of C. H. Cameron, respecting the establishment of
 universities in India; and to whom were also refer-
 red several papers and documents relative to the
 subject-matter of the enquiry; together with the
 Minutes of Evidence, and an Appendix and Index
 thereto. Ordered to be printed on the 29th of
 June, 1852 439

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

1. Journal of a tour in Ceylon and India, undertaken
 at the request of the Baptist Missionary Society,
 in company with the Rev. J. Leechman, M. A.,
 with observations and remarks. By Joshua Rus-
 sel. London. 1852 *xxix*
2. Report of the Board of Education, from May 1,
 1851, to April 30, 1852. No. X. Bombay. 1852 . *xxxii*

3. Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society.
From September 1850 to June 1852. Edited by
the Secretary. Volume X. Bombay. 1852 xxxv
4. On the Vital and Medical Statistics of Chittagong.
By J. R. Bedford, Civil Assistant Surgeon. (From
the Journal of the Statistical Society of London,
June, 1852) xxxvii
5. A Treatise on Remarkable and Mitigable causes of
death, their modes of origin, and means of preven-
tion; including a sketch of Vital Statistics, and
other leading principles of public Hygiene in Eu-
rope and India. By Norman Chevers, M. D.,
Bengal Medical Service, &c. Vol. I. Calcutta.
1852 xxxviii
6. Christianity opposed to Priestcraft in every form.
A Lecture delivered to educated Native young
men. By the Rev. T. Boaz, L. L. D. Calcutta.
1852 ib.
7. Sermons by the late Rev. John James Weitbrecht,
Missionary of the Church Missionary Society at
Burdwan: with a short Memoir of the Author
prefixed. Calcutta. 1852 xxxix
8. Rough Pencillings of a Rough Trip to Rangoon in
1846. Calcutta. 1853 xl
9. The Cultivation of Cotton—Can India grow Cotton
of a sufficiently good quality to compete with the
produce of the United States? London. 1852 xliii
10. The Deccan Ryots and their Land Tenure. By H.
Green, Professor of Literature at Poona College.
Bombay. 1852 ib.

ERRATA IN No. XXXVI.

- Page 301, Line 8, for "*foot*" read "*fort*."
" 322, " 3, for "*Dewan*" read "*Dewant*."
" 327, " 12, for "*assent*" read "*ascent*."
" 330, " 40, for "*with*" read "*worth*."
" 332, " 23, for "*constitution*" read "*institution*."

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

- ART. I.—1. *Lands of the Bible.* By Dr. Wilson.
2. *The Holy City.* By the Rev. Mr. Williams.
3. *Journal of a Tour in the Holy Land.* By Dr. Robinson.
4. *Eothen.*
5. *The Crescent and the Cross.* By Eliot Warburton.

COUNTLESS are the books, which the press annually sends forth, written by learned and pious men, with the not unwarrantable pride of pilgrims, who have achieved the object of their lives, and who desire to communicate to others, and to rouse up in them, the deep interest which they themselves have experienced. Each year adds new facilities to the performance of what, one short half century ago, was considered a feat to be talked about. Men, who had stood on Mount Olivet, or knelt at the tomb hard by Calvary, were proud to be pointed out during their lives, and to have this fact recorded on their tombs.

It is with no intention to add other and less perfect volumes to the excellent works placed at the head of this article, that the pen is taken up by one who has just realized his heart's desire in visiting the sacred spots of the Nativity and Passion of our Saviour; it is not to enter into the dreary field of polemics as to the correctness or incorrectness of the different localities pointed out. The object is simply to bring before the readers of this Review, the "Holy Land" as it is, to point out the facilities for visiting it, to awaken an interest in those scenes, and perhaps to tempt some few of those, who hurry through Egypt, on their homeward journey, to tarry awhile, and devote two months to a pilgrimage, the memory of which will rest with the Christian to his dying hour. Many of those who are driven to seek health in the mountains of the Himalaya range, and to throw away the precious years of their lives in the dull provinces of the Cape Colony and the Mauritius, may be induced to avail themselves of the undoubted privilege to visit Judea, and seek for health in one of the numerous sanatoria of Lebanon.

There may, and must be, many, to whom distant countries represent a mere blank and void in their ideas; and the narrator

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is obliged to premise a description of the peculiar features of the soil, the ancient history of the inhabitants, their laws, their destiny, and their religion; but who among us has not heard of Palestine? Whose earliest ideas of mountains and trees are not connected with the hills and goodly cedars of Lebanon? Who knows not of the hill country of Judea, to which Mary went in haste to salute Elizabeth, and the plain of Esdraelon, which has been the battle-field of nations from the time of Sisera to that of Napoleon?

It will be unnecessary to say, that it is with feelings of awe, and a kind of mistrust of the natural senses, that the traveller first places his foot on the shore of the Holy Land; that he first connects places of an historical and all but fabulous interest, with the prosaic routine of his daily movements. Is it possible that I am to rest this night at Tyre? That I shall to-morrow stand with Elijah on Mount Carmel? That with my servants and mules I shall tread the sands between Cæsarea and Joppa, once trod by St. Peter, and go up with St. Paul from Lydda to Jerusalem? Such must be the feelings of the scriptural pilgrim; it is good for him to be there. Nor do the fatigues of the journey, or the discomforts necessarily attending travellers in an uncivilized country, diminish aught of his enthusiasm, while he plods his way along

—those holy fields
Over whose acres walked those blessed feet,
Which eighteen hundred years ago were nailed,
For our advantage, on the bitter cross.

It is some advantage to have travelled in oriental countries previous to landing on the shores of Palestine, as there are many features of Asiatic life, which are common all over the Eastern world, but which astonish and perplex travellers on their first arrival from Europe; and in every work from the pen of such a traveller pages are devoted to a minute description, and to scriptural illustrations, of manners and features, which are not peculiar to Palestine, but are the characteristics of Asiatic life elsewhere. There is a tendency also on the part of devout and untravelled men to strain the prophecies of the Bible, to see the hand of God (unquestionably existing everywhere) in the minutest features in this country, and to arrive at very unwarrantable conclusions. A small volume, lately published by some ministers of the Scotch Church, particularly illustrates this. These excellent men had probably never left the jurisdiction of the General Assembly, until they started upon the mission entrusted to them. They saw every thing through a microscope of their own. The Arab woman drawing water at the well to them was Rebecca

when met by Eliezer ; every white-bearded and turbaned old man reminded them of Abraham ; they found a scriptural interest in every object which they saw, and every word which they heard ; their pages teem with scriptural quotations ; the very mountains to them spoke outwardly of the avenging hand of the God of Israel : the stern bare hills of Judah, the wilderness-girt shores of the Sea of Galilee, the harsh and stern look of the valley of Jehoshaphat : * yet these outward features of Nature were the same in ancient days as now. The River of Jordan flowed down the same dreary bed into the Dead Sea, what time the walls of Jericho crumbled at the sound of the trumpet of Joshua ; Jerusalem was encircled by the same hills, stood on the edge of the same natural chasms, when David danced before the Ark, when Solomon in the height of his glory received in the Queen of Sheba, and when Titus razed the temple. The face of Nature does not change. Desolation certainly shows itself conspicuously, and we see reminiscences on all sides of a time, when the inhabitants of the country were numerous, rich and flourishing ; the mountains were once in Judea, as now in Lebanon, terraced with the vines and the mulberry ; gardens once bloomed, where now there is nought but the ruined well ; broken columns mark the site of old cities now desolate ; and the shattered arch shows where once the torrent was spanned by the royal highway ; but the traveller in Greece, in Asia Minor, in Mesopotamia, and all over India, knows that such are the features of all the ancient countries of Asia—ancient, since they saw the first civilization of man, who learnt to be rich, powerful, and ambitious under a tropical sun, while the countries of the West were occupied by savages, and overgrown by forests. Thus to the resident of India all the features of Syria are at once familiar : the hedges of prickly pear, the sandy ill-defined roads, the large groves of pine trees, the walled towns, the bazaars, the flat-roofed houses, the tapering minarets, the peculiar natural products, the people themselves, with sandalled feet, loose garments, flowing beards, and turbans, the trains of mules, and laden camels : all these things stupefy the travellers of England, but to the Indian they excite scarcely a passing remark, and he has leisure for the uninterrupted contemplation of what is remarkable and peculiar

* There is some truth in this statement ; yet, notwithstanding, the book referred to, that by Mr. Bonar and the late Mr. McCheyne is, taken for all in all, one of the best descriptions of Palestine of the multitudes that we have read. And in point of fact, the authors of it say nothing more of the country than is said of it by every traveller ; that it is in a very different state now from that in which it was in the days of its glory. The present state of Tyre is not the less a fulfilment of prophecy because Gour and Palibothra are now in ruins.—Ed.

to the soil: the completion of prophetic denunciations, the mighty events which have there happened, the traces of the different races and peoples which have contended for, possessed, and lost this narrow strip of land, between the Jordan and the Mediterranean; for Egyptians, Syrians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians and Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Tartars, Turks and Christians, have all thrown away time and treasure for the possession of a country, in itself valueless, but ever destined to be the highway of nations.

Let us commence then our pilgrimage, and step by step traverse the length and breadth of the land "from Dan to Beersheba." From whichever direction you come, the most convenient point of disembarkation is Beyrout, at which place all the steamers touch. Within the last year propositions have been made for steamers to touch at Joppa, and at Caiapha, beneath Mount Carmel; and the Holy Land can be approached from Suez and Cairo by the long and short desert routes; but both entail fatigue, loss of time, and a dreary quarantine in an obscure corner of the country. The traveler landed at Beyrout, if from Egypt, has a quarantine in an excellent establishment, and finds in that large and flourishing town the means of providing himself with the materials for his journey. Beyrout can conveniently be made the starting point, and the goal of his pilgrimage, and should he have time for a sojourn in Lebanon, all the sanatoria on the mountain are within twenty miles, and overhang the town of Beyrout, the commercial capital of the country.

Let us imagine ourselves thus prepared to go up to Jerusalem—with our baggage laden upon mules—our Arab servants (including interpreter) accompanying, and ourselves bestriding the strong hacks of the country, in which wheel carriages of any description are utterly unknown. The first stage is Saïda, the ancient Sidon, and the road lies along the shore of the tideless Mediterranean; on the left rises the magnificent range of Lebanon, sparkling with villages, monasteries, and chapels, thickly sprinkled along its declivities: this is the country of the Heathen Druse, and Christian Maronite, who live blended together, resembling each other in little but their character for independence and unmanageableness. Wonderfully picturesque and enchanting is this ride, between the green mountains and the deep blue ocean, which, sweeping in on the coast, forms bays and head-lands fringed with white foam to break the sameness of the landscape. The signs of life on the road are few, the road itself is but a pathway, and the mountain streams have to be waded through, though broken arches

show where once, in better days, bridges had been ; and crossing these streams is sometimes, when the volume of the water is swollen, at the risk of life and property :—at no time is it pleasant to stem a rapid torrent just at the point where it rushes into the ocean, knowing what the consequence of one false step would be. Travellers have been known to have been delayed weeks on the banks. Sidon, when reached, presents little to admire, but much to interest ; we remember that we are now in the land promised to, though never possessed by, the twelve tribes ; that to the tribe of Asher was allotted the coast of Sidon, though, their strength being weakened by disobedience, the children of Israel never fully obtained their promised heritage.* Hence went forth Jezebel to swell the crimes of Samaria : here were planted the first germs of commerce and navigation.

The next day's journey is to Tyre, now called Soor. The road is much the same as that of the preceding day, except that the mountain ranges becoming lower, and the coast more rugged, the River Leontes, which drains the valley of Cœle-Syria, between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, is crossed by an old-fashioned bridge, which is fortunately in repair, or all communication would be cut off. On the road we pass Zarephath, the place of refuge of Elijah, where the barrel of meal and the cruise of oil did not fail, and the man of God raised the son of the widow. The houses of Tyre are seen far out in the sea, and the once famous island is now a narrow peninsula, in the midst of ruins and desolation. Here, for the first time, we come upon the steps of our Redeemer, for it is in these coasts that he miraculously healed the Syro-Phœnician woman ; here St. Paul landed on his return from one of his apostolical voyages, and knelt down on the sands, and took leave of his disciples in prayer ; here, three thousand years ago, Hiram, whose vast sarcophagus is still shown on the neighbouring height, shipped off cedars for the temple at Jerusalem ; and to the men of Tyre was Zerubbabel indebted, under the grant of Cyrus, for materials for the second temple also. There are no cedars now within one hundred miles. Here flourished idolatry in all its abomination ; against this city were uttered some of the direst threats of the prophets,

* There seems good reason to believe, with Michaelis and others, that the original promise did not include Sidon. There is only one text which seems to indicate that it was, in which the Sidonians are mentioned among the natives whom the tribe of Asher did not drive out. But these might be the Sidonian inhabitants of Tyre. All the other texts seem to intimate that the borders of the tribe of Asher, not only as possessed by them, but as promised to them, turned off from the sea near Mount Carmel, and only returned to it at Achzib, leaving out altogether the strip of Phœnicia.—Ed.

and never does prophecy appear more literally fulfilled. Tyre is indeed laid waste, her walls and towers are destroyed and broken down, she is made like the top of a rock, and a place for spreading nets in the midst of the sea. No place was more particularly selected by the inspired writers of the Old Testament, as an object of their prophetic wrath, than this queen of cities: and none is more prostrate. Still there is an interest attached to its very name that cannot fail to attract. Recollections of all time press upon us—of Dido, in the earliest mist of traditional history, lading her vessels to fly from her brother, and to found an empire on the coast of Africa—of the purple of Tyre, famous all over the world—of Alexander. The name seems never forgotten: we find it in the early history of the church, and the romances of the crusades, and it is only when we stand amongst its ruins that we are aware how indeed it has fallen.

From Tyre the sea-coast is followed, until the last and most southern spur of Lebanon obstructs the passage, and it is only by a dangerous, but most picturesque, mountain pathway round the head-land of Cape Bianco, called the Ladder of Tyre, that entrance is actually made into the Palestine of the Israelites. Before us lie the undulating plains of Asher, correctly described in the Book of Judges as on the sea-shore; to the left is the long range of the mountains of Galilee—the prospect being terminated by the heights of Mount Carmel. We pass by the celebrated fortress city of St. Jean d'Acre, the key-stone of Syria, and destined to be three times the glory of England; thence winding round the beautiful bay, the waters of that ancient river, the River Kishon, have to be crossed, and so deep is the bed, and so rapid the current of this bridgeless stream, that the traveller has to urge his unwilling steed into the sea, describing a semi-circle round the estuary of the torrent, which swept away the host of Sisera. Thence we pass through Caiapha, ascend the side of Mount Carmel, and enter the stately Roman Catholic convent, over which the tri-color of France waves proudly. The convent stands on the brow of the rock, and commands an unequalled view of earth, air and sky: on this range Elijah vindicated the power of God over the priests of Baal, but the convent is dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, who is traditionally reputed to have visited the cave of Elijah from the neighbouring Nazareth.

The road still lies due south along the sea-coast, shut in to the east by the mountainous country of Samaria, until we arrive at the deserted town of Cæsarea. Never was ruin so perfect, so solemn in its desolation, telling so distinctly its

history, as these remains of Cæsarea. What was the object of those massive fortifications, those castellated gates, that deep entrenchment? History tells us, that Cæsarea was the military capital of the province under the Roman emperors: and we find on the sea-coast a strongly entrenched military camp, looking for succours beyond the sea, and able to defy all attacks by land. When this power fell, their camp fell with them, and became a ruin without an inhabitant; but time has fallen gently on the work of the Romans; the stones are fastened by cement, as fresh as if placed there yesterday; the towers, the gateways, the trench, and the roads are as clearly defined, as they were, when Claudius Lysias despatched St. Paul by night from Jerusalem to the most excellent Governor Felix. Tradition does not point out the Judgment Hall, where Felix trembled at the apostle's reasonings; but we know that it must have been within this fortified space that St. Paul spoke of righteousness and judgment, and that here the Holy Ghost descended upon the first Gentile converts, in the house of the centurion, Cornelius.

At Cæsarea we pass round another head-land, and enter the plain of Sharon, and look up far eastward at the mountains of Judea: the sea is still on our right hand, until we take a final farewell of it at Joppa. At this place again we are met by a variety of conflicting associations. We are shown where the sheet was three times let down in the vision of St. Peter, where Jonah embarked to start for Tarshish, (the whale disgorged him between Beyrout and Sidon); hard by is the rock from which Andromeda was liberated by Perseus, and the hospital where perished the wounded soldiers under Napoleon. Joppa has always been the sea-port of Jerusalem; the cedars of Lebanon were here landed, and dragged up the intervening space of hill and valley to the foot of Mount Sion; here, in the days of the crusades, the pilgrims used to disembark; and with such natural advantages, we cannot be surprised, that it is a busy and flourishing place, and under the new aspect of the country will daily become larger and more important. From the present year there will be a regular series of steamers, and thus an immediate communication with Beyrout and Alexandria, without a fatiguing land journey; and as the majority of pilgrims come for Jerusalem, and its environs alone, Joppa will be the favourite point of debarkation.

Our seventh day is now arrived, the long line of coast between Joppa and Beyrout has been traversed, our faces are now turned eastward, and we rejoice to think, that this night our feet will rest in Jerusalem; but long and tedious is the

way, footsore is the weary pilgrim, ere he salutes the Tower of David. The eye falls upon Lydda, where Peter healed the palsied Æneas: but we look in vain for the far-famed rose, while traversing the plain of Sharon. Passing though Arimathæa, now Ramleh—the residence of that stout-hearted disciple, who alone was not ashamed to acknowledge his Master even on the cross—we enter the rugged defiles of the hills of Judah, and struggle along a bad road, passing a succession of ranges with weary limbs, and eyes straining to catch the first sight of the hallowed walls; but it is not until he is within half a mile that the anxious pilgrim first sees the long low wall of the southern face of the town, and the heights of Mount Olivet towering immediately above it.

How many a weary frame and fainting heart have stopped, and taken fresh courage at this point! How many a devout spirit has poured itself forth in song and prayer of thankfulness at having arrived thus far on the pilgrimage, the object of a life! Yes! knees, unused to kneel, have been bent at this place, tears have streamed from the eyes of hard and worldly men: toil by land, danger by sea, hunger and thirst, captivity and separation, are all forgotten, and the heart exults at the thought of drinking in the natural features of a landscape, on which fell the dying gaze of the Saviour, and achieving a pious task, the memory of which will live to the latest hour: the joy, which each man would feel at entering his home after long absence—the interest, which each man would feel at treading on the stage of the most illustrious events—the awe, which he would feel at entering the holiest of the holy—such are the sentiments of him, who stands with a right mind in thy gates, O Jerusalem! Fifty generations have passed away, and the spirit of pilgrimage is still young: the hundreds of past times are now swelling to thousands. The passage of Tasso still electrifies, telling us, how the hardy crusader reined steed, and the mail-clad warrior knelt at the sight of these time-honoured walls; but it is more affecting, more striking to see the crowds of peaceful pilgrims, to hear their joyful shout, and mark their exulting eye;—and you, modern pilgrim, whom steam has wafted hither without fatigue, with all the comforts, the luxuries of wealth, do not disdain to kneel!

But do not now enter the city: rather pause, mark well her bulwarks, count the towers thereof, like the watchmen of Solomon, go about the city, and see into how small a space it has shrunk: how its ancient greatness has perished. We are standing at the southern gate, the gate of Joppa, under the Castle of David; turning to the right we come upon Mount Sion, the mount

which the Lord chose for his own possession; part of it is enclosed within the modern walls, but the chief portion is covered with olives, vineyards, and tomb-stones. Into that building on the left no Christian can enter, but within are the tombs of David and Solomon, deeply venerated by Mohammedans. Our path lies still to the right, hard by the burial-ground of the Christians; and surely it were a privilege to sleep the last sleep on Sion. Thence we descend upon Mount Moriah. On that mountain platform stood the temple of Solomon; there, in ages gone by, Abraham offered up Isaac; there the pestilence was stayed at the threshing-floor of Araunah; there the Most High was pleased to dwell in temples made with hands, while the cedar of Lebanon, the gold of Ophir, and the choicest things of the earth, were scattered in profusion. The old men, who had seen the first house, wept with a loud voice, when they saw the foundations of the second. The disciples heard incredulously the denunciation of their Master, that not one stone should be left on another; the Saviour himself wept, when he stood and gazed upon it from the Mount of Olives, on the opposite side of the valley of Jehoshaphat; thither for one thousand years the tribes of Israel went up, exulting in their being the chosen people, the sons of Abraham, confident in the inviolability of their temple, their city, and their nation. How would those old priests of the first temple weep now! Would those incredulous disciples believe their eye-sight now, if they beheld the abomination of desolation in the holy place, the mosque of Omar occupying the site of the temple, to mark the spot, whence Mohammed, the son of Abdallah, started upon his mysterious steed Borak, on his night visit to the Seventh Heaven! No Christian is allowed to enter the confines; the Jew, though privileged, dares not do so unpurified.

We have arrived at the south-eastern corner of the city, where the corner of the temple substructure, remarkable for the vast stones of which it is composed, overhangs the valley of Jehoshaphat, and the brook of Siloam still "flows fast by the oracle of God;" opposite to us is the mountain of offence, where Solomon built a palace for his idolatrous wives; did we continue along under the eastern face of the city, we should pass the golden gate, and find ourselves at St. Stephen's gate; but it is better to descend by the rugged path into the valley of Jehoshaphat, cross the stream of Siloam by the pillar which Absalom built in the king's dale, and which is still execrated by the Jews, climb to the heights of that mountain, which crowns the whole city, and bore in the

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time of David, as it does now, a name derived from the trees, which thickly clothe it even to the top.

It is the practice of all enthusiastic travellers arriving at any place of interest, to seek an eminence in the immediate neighbourhood, whence the whole scene can be commanded, whence the temple and the palace, the works of man, are brought by distance into their proper relative proportion to the surrounding hills, the work of God. There are those, who, in the search over the world for the beautiful, have gazed upon the ruins of Athens and the Parthenon from the heights of Lycobettus, have seen an Italian sunset over the hundred spires of Rome, with the Sabine hills in the distance—who can look on Paris from Mont-Martre, on the romantic capital of Dunedin from the Calton Hill without delight, without unbounded interest: but all earthly views—the golden horn of Istamboul—the net-work tracery of Venice—the bay of Naples—yield to the interest—interest heartfelt and overpowering—the deep feelings of emotion—with which the view from Mount Olivet first seen is accompanied.

Carry your eye across that awful chasm, the valley of Jehoshaphat; and, seated majestically with a curtain of dark hills in the distance, you see all that Time, War, Human malevolence, and Divine vengeance, have allowed to survive of old Jerusalem; look down upon that embattled city, with its walls, its towers, and its gates—so beautifully stern, so romantically desert; the courts of the Lord's house are still exposed to view, as when they were traversed by long procession of Levites, when they sounded to the foot-fall of the rejoicing tribes at the annual festival; those courts echoed to the sounds of the Hosannah; that corner, where still stands the house of the civil governor, gave back the shout of "Crucify him, crucify him." On that platform is now erected the mosque of Omar, of most beautiful and graceful proportions, covering the portion of rock projecting from the surface, on which Abraham offered up Isaac. Those that have looked upon the most beautiful specimens of Mohammedan architecture allow that this mosque of the second Caliph yields to none in elegance and symmetry of structure: round it are smaller buildings, of light and fantastic shapes, interspersed with a few stately eypresses: at the extreme end is the mosque of Al Akse, a Christian church of the crusaders, appropriated by the Mohammedans. So clear is the atmosphere—so immediately does the hill of olives overhang the sacred court, still called "Al Harem," that every action of the faithful can be watched, and the contemplation of the white-robed figures glancing across

the shining floor, or solemnly ranged in the attitude of prayer, adds to the interest of the scene. Outside the walls of the sacred enclosure, the whole of Jerusalem is exposed to the view—each minaret, each dome, the church of the sepulchre, and church of the monasteries, rises up distinctly and separately delineated, and in the extreme back-ground the frowning Castle of David, by the Jaffa gate, on the hill of Sion.

All, all the works of man have undergone repeated and entire changes, since those feet stood on this hill, and those eyes wept at the contemplation of the scene, knowing by Divine perception the miseries which were coming and have come. It is in vain that monkish fiction points out with exactitude spots and buildings consecrated to the ignorant by holy associations. Reason rejects it. History tells us too clearly and distinctly, what was repeatedly the fate of Jerusalem, under Titus, under the Persians, under the Caliphs. Sieges and sackings innumerable, religious persecutions without end, have been the portion of Jerusalem. Prophecy, and divine revelation, remind us that one stone was not to be left on another : we cannot rest with satisfaction on any work of the hands of man, or say with confidence that “this is old Jerusalem.” But different are the feelings with which, seated on Mount Olivet, we can look at the physical features, which surround this mountain city. Man and Time have written no wrinkle on that stern circle of hills, within which our redemption was worked out. Conquering armies have passed no plough-share down the deep precipice of the valley of Hinnom ; the fountain which gushes forth at Siloah, is still blended with the perennial sources of Kedron : though the descendants of Abraham have been uprooted, and severed from the land of their forefathers, we know that the olive, which decks the slope of the mountain, is of the stock of those trees, which furnished branches to spread in the way of Him, who came in the name of the Lord. Fancy carries us further back : we people the scene with forms and figures, long since slumbering in the adjacent burial-grounds. That footpath, which, like a slender line, leads down from the corner of the temple, and the pool of Bethesda to Gethsemane, and crossing the brook Kedron climbs up the side of Olivet, and across its shoulder conducts to Bethany and Jericho,—in the days of Melchizedek, in the days of David, in the days when the High Priest went out with the Urim and Thummim to meet Alexander, in the days when Cæsar Augustus commanded the world to be taxed, that footpath must have followed the same line, as now, down the natural declivity. We see in imagination the aged king flying before his rebellious Absa-

lom, walking with his head covered, and bare-footed, up the ascent of Olivet, and the people weeping as they went up with him. We see him return in triumph, encircled by the tribe of Judah: how many a time has the valley rung with the shouts of the exulting tribes, as the shining pinnacle of the first and latter house first caught their sight? In all times, seasons of war or of peace, how many a solemn procession of elders and relatives have filed out to accompany some deceased son of Abraham to his last home in the Hebrew cemetery over against the beautiful gate of the temple, to be in readiness for the sound of the trumpet in the last day, bidding him enter his heavenly Jerusalem! How often, oh! how often, did our Saviour in his short ministry traverse that valley, on his road from the city to the house of Martha and Mary at Bethany? We see him standing to weep over the fate of the devoted city, and now descending the hill side, over a path strewn with olive branches, amidst the hosannahs of his disciples. Tears obscure our sight, but the whole scene is before our eyes, winding up the narrow pathway betwixt Gethsemane and the gate of St. Stephen. We see the menials of the High Priest, with swords and staves, dragging the Saviour of the world like a thief, to ignominy and death, betrayed by his disciples and deserted by his followers. Darker visions press themselves forward, and these quiet hills resound with the martial clamour of a beleaguering army, and the smoke of the captured and burning city goes up in the dark cloud, which has enveloped the temple and people of the Jews. Re-built, re-destroyed, a place of pilgrimage, a place of martyrdom, a new city springs up on Sion, but no peace within the walls, no plenty within the palaces: the Jew armed against the Christian, the Christian against the Jew, the Heathen against both. In vain the piety of Constantine, and St. Helena, erected temples on Mount Calvary, and lined the tomb with marble. With the Empire of Greece fell Christianity; and the abomination of desolation again stood in the holy place, when the Caliph Omar took possession of Jerusalem, and placed his signet on Mount Moriah: then followed persecution, till the wrath of outraged Christendom was roused, and Jerusalem was again beleaguered: her streets ran again with blood: for a few years the symbol of the Cross floated on the temple and on Mount Olivet; a few short years and the reign of Anti-Christ is again restored, and the Crescent again triumphs over the Cross. And it adds no little to the solemnity of the scene to bear in mind, that great things are yet to be transacted in these scenes;—that, interpret prophecy as we may, it is clearly indicated that the land of

Palestine and the city of Jerusalem, and the Mount of Olives, are to be the theatre in which are to be exhibited the most illustrious displays of Divine power, and the most splendid demonstrations of the Divine origin of our holy faith.

If such can be the feelings of the Christian, what must be those suggested to the sincere, thinking and devout Hebrew, as he drinks in the landscape, as he looks wistfully and mournfully on his lost heritage, on the courts of the ruined temple, which he may not enter, on the streets of the city of his ancestors, in which he finds himself insulted and scouted? Anguish inexpressible, burning shame, and a stiff-necked rebellion and murmuring against the inscrutable decrees of Providence, a doubting of the justness of the dispensation of so long and lasting a punishment against a race once so favored. Still, though they are judicially blind to the whole series of prophecies, extending from Genesis to Malachi, against their nation and their religion, though they cannot open their eyes upon the curse which fell upon them, they cherish a fervent conviction, that God has not entirely deserted them, that the time will come, and even now is at hand, when they will be restored from this their second captivity, that the promised Messiah will still come, and in the form of an earthly potentate gather them from the isles and restore them to Jerusalem: to Judah from the river of Egypt to the River Euphrates, to the land of the promise, which God promised to Abraham and his seed *for an everlasting possession*. Despised and contemned by the Christian, excluded by the most free of nations from a share in their councils, persecuted, robbed and murdered by the Mohammedan, as avarice or fanaticism tempts him, they still proudly feel, that to the Hebrew the religions of both their persecutors are indebted for their doctrine, and much of their ritual; they still look on Sion as their own loved and lost possession; willingly they pay large sums to be permitted weekly to approach the walls of the temple basement, so as to touch with their hands the desecrated stones, and to wail over their disinheritance: and, as age creeps over them, they leave country, comfort and kindred, to sojourn awhile in the holy city, to bear persecution in sight of Sion, and leave their mouldering bones to rot in the valley of Jehoshaphat.

And here the awful question suggests itself, will they be restored, when and how? That they will be restored, can there be doubt? The time and manner rest with that infinite Wisdom, with whom a thousand years are but as one day; but the inference to be drawn from the whole series of the prophetic books is, that the punishment of the ancient people of

God is but temporary—that the land was promised to the seed of Abraham for ever and ever; that he who scattered Israel, will in due time gather them, for the seed of Jacob will not be cast off, until the heavens are measured, and the foundations of the earth searched out.

Well may the Hebrew recollect the past, and bewail his beautiful Zion. We read the history, we reflect upon the overpowering interest concentrated in the erection of the temple, the costly structure, the national pride. We look down with unmitigated, unrestrained surprise, and passing by, we ask, why has the Lord done this unto this land, and unto His house, which was high? All is answered, the people are a bye-word and a proverb among all nations, and the house an astonishment.

And what is the present state of this celebrated, this holy city, which lies stretched at our feet, no corner of which can escape our gaze, as our eyes travel round the walls that enclose it? Who are the people, who inhabit this sacred spot? Surely the very air must be purifying of the evil affections of the human heart; this, at least, is not a place for pride, or for enmity, for religious rancour, where the hand of God has been felt so visibly, where men have suffered so heavily. Alas! it is a city divided against itself; within this small space are gathered together, are fondly nourished to a degree of intensity unknown elsewhere, the worst passions of mankind: envy, hatred and malice, religious pride and intolerance, slanderous imputations and corrupt intrigues. One quarter of the city is inhabited by the Mohammedans, who are masters of the country, and whose religion is therefore dominant; but their power and prestige have perished utterly, their buildings are tottering and out of repair; the spirit of intolerance is as strong and willing as ever, but the fleshly arm of persecution is weak; they are inferior in number, wealth, and influence, to their Christian fellow-citizens; and it is with difficulty that they can preserve the inviolability of their sanctuaries from the profane step of the Giaour. This city is almost as sacred to them as to the Christians: it contains the tomb of David, and his son Solomon: the throne of the latter, that subject of a hundred legends, was once established there. Within that city is the rock of Al Sakrah, where Abraham offered up Isaac, and whence Mohammed, according to the legends of the faithful, started on his celestial journey. The city is called by them Al Kudsh, or Shuhr al Mucaddas. As the pilgrims enter the city, they cry out "Allah Akbar!" It is not uncommon to meet Indian pilgrims, who have wandered so far—they have their

own hospice, and by a very singular coincidence, the trade of pedlars of small goods, including Christian reliques, at the very door of the holy sepulchre, has fallen into the hands of the natives of Eastern India, who claim, and are admitted, as subjects of the British Empire.

Another quarter of the city is occupied by the Jews, who have two great divisions, the Sephardim or Spanish, and Iskana-zim or German Jews. In their own city they are despised and insulted. As an instance of petty annoyance, it may be mentioned, that the shambles of the city are forcibly located in the midst of these houses, in the same spirit which had led to a house immediately adjoining the sepulchre being converted into a tanner's yard, merely to annoy the Christians. But few of the Jews are settled or born there: the majority are those who come on the pilgrimage, or who come to die, and leave their bones in the valley of Jehoshaphat. Much of the former persecution, which assailed them, has been stayed, and to England they are indebted for political protection. Missionaries labour for their conversion, schools are opened for their education, hospitals under an English surgeon for the many, who arrive on their long and last pilgrimage, sick and in beggary. Every means is taken to conciliate them; those who minister to their wants are chiefly Jewish converts; the male wards of the hospital are named after the Patriarch, the female wards after the wives of Jacob. Still they generally spurn the hand which wishes to minister to their wants, they dread the spirit of conversion, a proof of which may be found in their late address to the head of their faith, Sir Moses Montefiore, praying him to found schools and hospitals to counteract the baneful effects of the Anglo-Protestant establishment.

Another quarter of the city is occupied by the Armenians, who, though Christians, are distinguished as being Asiatics from their fellow-religionists, who are generally known as Franks, and occupy the fourth quarter, divided among themselves into Greeks, Roman Catholics, and Protestants, as Religion here usurps the place of nationality elsewhere. Each denomination has its churches or convents, hospices, hospitals, schools, its priests, and its pilgrims, and in late days, its consuls to protect it against the civil power, and its printing press to wage polemical war against religious antagonists. So bitter is the feeling, that parties live for years within a few paces of each other without acquaintance, without even mutual acknowledgment, who elsewhere would have, in a few days, ripened from acquaintance into intimacy. Travellers, who are welcomed by all, and who flutter like butterflies from patriarch

to bishop, from the monastery to the synagogue, from the shrine of the Blessed Virgin to the seraglio of the Pasha, are surprised to find that at each door they enter a distinct world, that the few yards of the Via Dolorosa, down which they have thoughtlessly paced, is indeed a wide gulph of worldly and spiritual ideas between fellow-men. It is not the language only that is changed, but the social and moral sentiments, the rooted ideas of right and wrong, the prejudices and dogmas of centuries. You are now sitting smoking the pipe of a kind and hearty Christian, discussing the locality of a sacred spot; but you know that his views of the Trinity are such, that without doubt *he must perish everlastingly*, according to the rooted and proclaimed creed of the equally amiable and obliging fellow-religionist, whose hand you have just clasped: he is openly alluded to as an idolator, as the Anti-Christ, as a deceiver of men's souls, by the next preacher of the words of peace, whom you may chance to call upon: the Mohammedan, with a smile on his face, and cringing civility in his manner, curses the Nazarene dog in his heart: the Hebrew, in the bitterness of his spirit, prays earnestly and deeply for the time, when he may wreak his cherished vengeance on all whom the city contains, for to him they are all, persecutors as well as insidious benefactors, unclean Gentiles, and an abomination.

Turn back, ere you leave the mount, and survey the country in your rear, and ask yourself, if your eyes have ever fallen upon a scene more desolate: the most striking objects are the blue waters of the Dead Sea, and the awe-inspiring hills of Moab and Ammon, as if the dark features of the history of the inhabitants of the plain, and the unnatural origin of the inhabitants of the hills, were written and indelibly engraved on the natural features of the country as a lesson to mankind. To the north is the deep valley of the River Jordan, which winds the length of two hundred miles through a wild and uninhabited country, from the lake of Tiberias to the Dead Sea, into which it pours a perennial stream, without any visible increase to the body of collected waters. All the hills have a desolate and solemn appearance, no forest verdure, no trace of the habitation of man, but all lifting up their bare heads in a sad and melancholy appeal to the spectator to ponder upon the works of the chastening hand of God in ancient time. We turn away oppressed by the sight, and we again feed our vision upon the beautiful outline of tower, minaret, and dome, and ask whether the old inhabitants of Jerusalem, ere the chastening hand of God fell upon them, ever stood to look on the signal memorial of the vengeance of the Almighty on the inhabitants of the cities

of the plain, before the race of Abraham began, while Sarah was yet childless;—whether they ever reflected upon the possibility of the threats conveyed by the voice of Moses and the prophets being fulfilled? Why should they? Are Christians held back by the example of the punishment of Jerusalem, added to that of Gomorrah?

But it is time to descend, to enter the gates of the holy city, and to kneel at the sepulchre, to pass from the contemplation of Jewish misfortune to the scene of Jewish crime. But ere we descend, let us remember that we stand near the spot, where the mission of the Son of God was completed, where, for the past, prophecy having been completed, for the future, a new dispensation announced, the stone being cut out of the mountain without hand, Jesus, son of Mary, parted from his apostles, and was taken up into heaven. The place is not fixed by any passage of the evangelists, but we have universal and uninterrupted tradition, strong probability,—and the place therefore is worthy of the event. Look therefore once more on the physical landscape, on the union of mountain and valley, on the green terraces of Sion, on the platform of Moriah, on the solemn circuit of undulating and olive-crowned hills: picture to yourself the glorious edifice of the second temple, the fortress of the Romans, the palace of old Jerusalem, as they presented themselves to the Saviour when the cloud received him out of the sight of his apostles; then descend, and following the path, which leads down the hill, remark without scorn, if without belief, the different spots between the mount and the sepulchre, which pious tradition has sanctified. It is the peculiarity, perhaps the defect, of enthusiastic piety, to desire to give to every act, every discourse of the object of veneration, a local habitation and a name; and thus it happens, that the short space to be traversed, presents a succession of traditional mementos for the edification of Christians. We are shown the spot, where the Lord's prayer was first pronounced, though it would be inferred from the Gospel of St. Matthew, that it was in the neighbourhood of the Sea of Galilee that Christians were first taught after what manner to pray; further down the hill side we are shown, with no confirmatory proofs, the ruin, in which the apostles assembled to compose the creed which still bears their name. Lower down we come on the spot, whence Jesus looked and wept over Jerusalem, and where, a few years after, the tent of Titus, the delight of the human race, was pitched, when he came and cast a trench, and compassed the devoted city on every side, leaving not one stone on the other; an awful coincidence, supported so far by probability,

as well as tradition, inasmuch as it commands a view of the whole city, on the turn of the road from Bethany, and history tells us, that it was the place of encampment of one of the Roman legions.

We are now on the edge of the Jewish burial-ground—which contains the ashes of the multitudes and multitudes, who are awaiting the sound of the last trump in the valley of Jehoshaphat, over against the temple, where, according to Mohammedan legend, at the last day Mohammed is to stand: opposite to us, but separated by the deep ravine, is the golden gate, leading to the temple, but kept jealously closed; as tradition has it, that by that gate the Christian will enter and take final possession of the city. Below us the eye falls upon the pillar in the king's dale, built by childless Absalom, to keep his name in remembrance, and which every devout Hebrew still curses, on account of his rebellion against David. And now we are at the bottom of the valley, on the brink of the brook Kedron, standing amidst eight time-honoured and venerable olive trees, which compose the garden of Gethsemane; we look up on both sides in awe; the Mount of Olives, and the walls of the temple, the whole scene comes visibly before us, the holy calm, the prayer in agony, the sleeping disciples, then the confusion of the capture, the glare of torches, the clamour of rude voices, the treacherous salutation of the Apostate, worse than the maledictions of the priests, and the vulgar sneers of the rabble, exulting in their triumph. This is, indeed, the spot on which was committed the most grievous of human crimes. The crucifixion, the scourging, the insults, were the acts of foreigners, of hirelings, in a moment of excitement, on the person of a supposed criminal; they emphatically knew not what they did; but for the apostle to betray the Master, to whom he had spontaneously attached himself, who had been witness of His acts of benevolence,—for the priests to capture, and on no just cause make over to slaughter one of their own kindred, religion, and royal race, one who had done such mighty works, would surpass belief, as being beyond human baseness; but it was written, and it must needs be fulfilled. Standing here, we feel the agony of the moment, we cannot wish that the cup had passed away, for upon it hangs our salvation; we see the blow of the enthusiastic Peter, giving birth to the last of a long course of miracles, an act of kindness to an enemy; we see the shepherd stricken, and the sheep scattered! The venerable olive trees in the garden are, by some, supposed to be the very trees of Gethsemane: they are certainly anterior to the Mohammedan conquest.

A few paces on, we enter upon a spot hallowed by tradition, as sanctified by miracles not recorded in the Bible, and from some circumstances unique in the world. The tomb of Abraham at Hebron, the tomb of David and Solomon at Sion, and the temple of Jerusalem, are spots, at which Jew, Mohammedan, and Christian would kneel side by side; but the latter are prevented by religious fanaticism, and the first named are debarred, by ceremonial impurity, from entering the precincts. Close to the garden of Gethsemane, is the supposed tomb of the blessed Virgin, the mother of Christ: not that her body rests there, for those, who believe in the tomb, believe also, that on the day of her death, she was miraculously taken up into heaven. Her cenotaph is one of the most holy spots to the Greek, Roman Catholic, Syrian, Copt, and Armenian Christians, and strange to say, the same roof covers a Mohammedan altar to "Sitee Miriam am i Nabi Esa," the Lady Mary, the mother of the Prophet Jesus; and pilgrims from distant Hindostan do not think the pilgrimage of Mecca completed, without their visiting the rock of Moriah and the tomb of the Virgin. There is, perhaps, no parallel in the world. Who would imagine that a place existed, where the worshippers in St. Peter's at Rome, and St. Sophia at Constantinople, could kneel together?

We now ascend the steep side of Moriah, and passing by the grave-yard of the Mohammedans, arrive at the spot, where was shed the blood of the earliest martyr of Christianity. The entrance of the city is on the edge of the precipice, in a line with the straight wall of the temple, and must be identical with the eastern gate, at any period since the time of Solomon. This gate is still known as that of St. Stephen, and here standing, he saw the heavens open; here they stoned him, while calling upon his Master, and praying for their pardon: here, from the ashes of his devotion and holiness, rose up, like a phoenix, the great Apostle of the Gentiles.

Bow your head, and enter the sacred precincts, and you stand on the edge of the pool of Bethesda: no angel now troubles the pool, no sick are healed. The angel of ruin and desolation has passed over it; the sheep market and the porches have perished. Pass along the road in silence, —even to look to the right, exposes the Christian to insult; to attempt to pass down the three narrow ways through which a peep is gained of the court-yard of the Temple, would bring down a shower of stones, and outrage from the guardians of the enclosure, and the loiterers among the faithful: but these days will soon pass away. At the furthest extremity of the temple you arrive at the house of the Pasha of Jerusalem, occupying,

unquestionably, the site of the *Turris Antonia*, erected in order to overlook and command the temple, the official residence of Pontius Pilate, the Civil Governor of Judea. Here commenced the series of outrage and insult, which terminated in the cross: it was but an affair of a few hours, though the consequences were to be the condemnation of one nation for centuries, and the redemption of the world unto eternity. It was not till the evening of Thursday, that the feast of Passover was eaten, (the room is supposed to have been on Mount Sion, and is still shown :) after which comes the scene in Gethsemane. The capture was at night, and until morning, when the cock crew, counsel was held in the house of the High Priest on Sion, which ended in the Prisoner's being conveyed to the Civil Governor, at the house where we now stand: here took place the scourging, (marked by a small chapel) the indignity of the crown of thorns, and the purple robe. Tradition even points out the spot, where he was shown to the people, where Barabbas was preferred to him, where Pilate washed his hands of the blood of the Just, which remains, as invoked, on the head of his persecutors and their children. This occupied but a short space of time. It is sad to think how soon the innocent are condemned: when the account of the rapid condemnation, the absence of charges, of witnesses, the brutality of the Roman guards, and the recklessness of the Civil Governor, are thought of on the spot where these outrages took place, the blood boils with indignation and sorrow at the iniquity of human rulers, in the case of any man—any innocent man: and how much more so in this case?

It was still early in the morning, when the order to crucify was given, and the melancholy procession commenced from the palace of the Governor, to the place called *Golgotha*, outside the walls of the town: so artfully had the priests arranged, that between sunset on Thursday and nine o'clock on Friday, their atrocious plans were carried out, and completed, before even the news of the capture had reached the hundreds of Galilee, and of the villages of Judea, who had known and seen His works. The street between this point and *Calvary*, is called the *Via Dolorosa*, and a superstitious piety has marked out as many as twelve stations, at which the cortege stopped, and at which some action took place. Many a town in Europe still exhibits specimens of the piety of the middle ages in commemoration of this mournful procession. The pilgrim is shown the spot, where, at the meeting of the *Damascus* road, Simon the Cyrenian, coming out of the country, was laid hold of to carry the cross; further on, where the Saviour stumbled,

where He met and accosted the daughters of Jerusalem, for be it recorded, even then He was followed by a great crowd of people and women, who also lamented Him: at length He approached Calvary, and on that spot He was crucified, and buried in a garden near unto the place.

It is mournful to think, that learned and good men should have waged such bitter war on the identity of this spot. Eighteen hundred years have elapsed, since, on a mound outside the gate of Jerusalem, a then obscure religious enthusiast, as he was deemed, accompanied by two malefactors, suffered the extreme penalty of the law. His followers, undismayed, formed themselves into a society, increased and multiplied in spite of opposition, and were found scattered over distant parts of the Roman Empire, when a storm burst upon the city of their persecutors, which ended in the utter destruction of their temple and city, and violent uprooting and dispersion of their nation. But singularly enough, the Romans saw no distinction between the Jew and the Christian, and, when the city was re-built, under the name of *Ælia Capitolina*, a statue of Venus was erected over the tomb of the Saviour, and some other mark of insult on the site of the temple of the Jews. But the stone that was cut out without hands, became a great mountain; and the lapse of three centuries saw stately edifices rise to cover the Calvary, and the tomb was lined with marble; how much more edifying, could we stoop down and look in, as the disciples did, and that no gorgeous ornament had violated the quiet beauty of the garden! Since then Jerusalem has been sacked, plundered, and burnt, by Heathen, Mohammedan, and Christian armies; not, perhaps, one stone stands on another of the building erected by the sainted mother of Constantine; but are we to set aside, on the casuistry of modern travellers, who cannot reconcile the contour of ancient cities to suit their notions, the uninterrupted tradition of fifteen hundred years, based upon careful investigation made by the Ruler of the time into the history of the past three hundred, with regard to the identity of a spot, the most cherished, most honored by a sect of increasing power, number and importance? Yet there are those, who wish to uproot the history of the past—to remove the tomb anywhere or nowhere, by a capricious fancy, in spite of the tradition of centuries: but with them we have nought to do. Entering Jerusalem as pilgrims, we stand before the door of the building, which contains under one roof the Mount of Calvary, and the tomb hewn out of the rock. On these let our attention be fixed, in pity, not in ridicule: let us pass by the numerous spots, which enthusiastic piety has marked out for observation upon little or no authority,

without any physical peculiarity. So entirely transformed is the whole scene from what could have been expected, that it is some time ere we recognize Calvary in the elevated chapel to which we rise by wooden stairs, and the tomb in the narrow stone chamber hard by, into which we enter with difficulty, amidst crowds of weeping Christians. Of all churches and chapels in the world, this is the one the most interesting, but suggesting the most painful reflections, both as to its past history and present position. The style is barbaric, but magnificent; a circular opening in the dome, like the Colosseum of Rome, allows the sun and the rain to descend upon the tomb; but our eyes are pained by seeing that the church is in the possession of Mohammedans—that the gorgeous processions of Christians, which sweep with banners, and pictures, and trappings round the tomb of the prince of peace (how unlike their principles), are guarded by infidel attendants to protect them from the attacks of sectaries of the same faith: the whole building is portioned into fragments, possessed and guarded jealously by priests of the Greek, Syrian, Roman Catholic, Abyssinian, Armenian, and Coptic sectarians, some members of whom are locked in every night by the Mohammedan guards, to prevent surprise or outrage upon the shrines in their possession. The Protestant church, in all its various sects, may be proud in not being mentioned in this category, in having no visible portion in this partitioning. Like the absence of the images of Brutus and Cassius, in the funeral procession of Junia, real Christianity is more thought of in its absence. Having no square feet of pavement to protect, or altars to lament, as torn away from them, or to guard jealously as having been lately surreptitiously taken possession of, Protestants can give themselves up to the “*religio loci*,” and kneel without reserve on Calvary, and in the tomb, mindful of the sufferings undergone on the former, and the triumphs won in the latter.

Yes, let them not hesitate to kneel: all around are kneeling, all in prayer, save those two Anglican, or Trans-Atlantic, Franks, who, like the Pharisee, are too proud to confess themselves sinners, and like the impenitent thief, can be sarcastic, and splenetic on Calvary: they stalk round and about, but they excite no attention, for the humble-minded crowd are kneeling and in prayer: look around, as perhaps your eyes never fell upon Christian pilgrims in such guise before—in a more holy place you will never see them again: whence come they?—Many a far distant shore, many a mountain, unknown to fame, the sunny climes of Italy, the blest islands of Ionia, the vast steppes of Russia, and the snowy mountains of Caucasus, have sent forth their hundreds to undergo

perils by land and by sea, hunger and fatigue, to obtain the privilege of kneeling at the tomb of the Saviour: look around, tender women, fair-haired children, old men built after the mould of Abraham, young men such as were the sons of Jacob, maidens such as Ruth and Rebecca, differing in language, in dress, in country, and in creed, they kneel side by side, actuated by the one common feeling of veneration for the scene of the Passion and Resurrection of their Redeemer. And will not each of that numerous crowd return to their distant hamlet and humble home, and to their latest hour talk with fervour and pride of their successful pilgrimage? And though we cannot sympathise with the spiritual advantage, which they are supposed to gain, we can in sincerity believe, that none return without a strengthening of their religious impressions, and a firmer faith in the Christian dispensation.

And what is the state of Christ's church, catholic and undivided, as represented in the Metropolitan church of the earliest bishopric of Christendom? Each church, orthodox or sectarian, has its representative in the city, and, with the exception of the Protestants, its peculiar shrine beneath the dome of the church of the sepulchre; there they keep their high days and holidays; there, according to their means, and the number of their communicants, they lead forth their processions, and follow out their heterodox rituals, to the scandal of Christendom, and to the delight of the followers of Islam. Unless seen weekly, and admitted by all, the fact would appear incredible, that the different sectarians should perform their rituals in the same circumscribed building, in hearing and sight, and to the manifest disturbance of each other. As the stately Armenian bishops, and venerable clergy in their magnificent trappings, are sailing round and round the tomb, they have, escorted by the Mohammedan guards, to manœuvre and file off at the sides to prevent collision with the rabble procession of the Greek church, issuing suddenly with tapers, censers, banners and pictures from the chancel, which is their private possession, to go through some prescribed ceremony in the tomb of our Lord, which is common to all. The organs and musical instruments of the rival religionists clamour in irreverent confusion in competition with each other—a "Nunc dimittas" of the Latin church, perhaps rudely interrupting the "Kyrie Eleëson" in the responsive litanies of the Greek; while again at the next solemn moment of the elevation of the Host in the Roman ritual, while all are silent to the tinkling bell, a dense crowd are driven violently over the kneeling Catholics by the passage of a Greek column sweeping triumphantly by with pipes and

cymbals. And such to be the state of things in the church of St. James the Apostle, who was the first to inculcate the mild precepts of mutual forbearance and concession in religious differences !

It may be not uninteresting to detail the separate churches, which are represented in Jerusalem. First, in rank, and in antiquity, is the ancient Greek church, the mother of churches—the patriarch of which still, in spite of the claims of Rome, sits with an uninterrupted spiritual succession on the throne of St. James. The members of this church are numerous, and scattered over Greece and its islands, the Empire of Turkey and Russia, to which last it looks for political support; but now to what a pitch of degradation and ignorance have the professors of this ancient religion fallen!—a low, ignorant and stubborn priesthood—the great mass of the worshippers uneducated, and superstitious—the services are in Greek—all spirituality has long since given way to empty and vain ceremony—to chanting of litanies, lighting of tapers, kissing of pictures: it is true, that owing to the fervour of the iconoclasts of former times, nothing approaching in shape to the conformations of the human body is allowed, no statue, or even alto-relievo is seen in their churches; but the redundancy in number, and the degradation of the worship of pictures, appears to have been inflicted as a special punishment upon the followers of this church, especially encouraged by the priesthood: it is, indeed, the outward and visible sign of their worship.

And here, in sorrow, shame and sinking of heart, a statement must be made with regard to this and the other Syrian churches;—it must be allowed that the purest and most elevated of faiths become degraded and distorted in proportion to the ignorance and social degradation of the worshippers. Let those who have been accustomed to witness the Christian religion, as practised by an educated and civilized people, with all the prestige, that wealth, station, and learning can bestow, seek an obscure village in the Syrian mountains, inhabited by Christians of a degraded church, in extreme social depression under a heathen government: let him converse with the minister of that religion, enter the spot dedicated to the service, and witness the ritual and worship of the crowd: the hideous and unsightly paintings or images of the Blessed Virgin, and of the Saviour—the grovelling prostrations of the ignorant worshippers—the kissing of the ground, of the hand of the priest—the superstitious and senseless adoration of the idol—are paralleled, but not surpassed, by any thing seen in a Hindu temple. Take those

worshippers apart, and inquire of them searchingly concerning their feelings with regard to the past, their faith, their hopes or fears for the future, and he will be astonished to find how the purest faith can be corrupted into a resemblance to the degraded superstitions of heathenism. Nor is Jerusalem itself free from this reflection, when we see the mitred archbishop in state lie down prostrate to salute the supposed stone of the unction, and pilgrims blindly led round to kiss each spot in methodical routine, and lay down their copper coins, according to the usages established by a rapacious priesthood.

Next to the Greek is the Armenian church: the hierarchy and ritual of a people, who have been swept from the list of nations, and whose existence, like that of the Jews, is only perpetuated by the peculiarity of their tenets, and who, like the above-mentioned people, are scattered among all nations, but are universally wealthy, thriving, and respected. Their original country is now included in the Empire of Russia, under whose protection the church flourishes at Erivan in Armenia, and at Jerusalem: they seceded, in early days, from the Greek orthodox church on some question of ritual, or tenet, and are now a distinct and acknowledged, but heretical church. As wealth pours in, they have become more enlightened, their worship is less degraded, their priesthood more respectable: without seeking for converts, they encourage education, and have a printing press at Jerusalem, to distribute the Scriptures and religious tales to the pilgrims of their faith, who crowd in thousands to their spacious and magnificent hospice and convent on Mount Sion.

In communion with the Armenian church, as being opposed to the orthodox Greek church on the same heretical grounds, are the three national churches of the Syrians, the Copts, and the Abyssinians—all poor, degraded, and ignorant; but they are ancient, and numerous churches. The head-quarters of the Syrian are at Martund in Diarbukr, in the Turkish provinces of Central Asia; of the Coptish at Alexandria, and of the Abyssinian in the higher Nilotic provinces. Under the dome of the Holy Sepulchre, shrines are shown, served by the dusky priests of each ritual, and they have their convents, their chapels, and their reliques outside. Two other Eastern churches, though not represented at the tomb of the Saviour, must be mentioned to complete the category of the ancient and degraded churches, the Maronites and Nestorians.

These are the Asiatic churches; it is among the followers of these churches, that the Anglican and American missions have, within the last twenty years, commenced a crusade, being

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restricted by the law of the land, which makes death the punishment of the renegade Mohammedan. But for the last three hundred years these churches have had to resist the attacks, more or less vigorous—in late years, systematically and ardently prosecuted—of the catholic church of the holy Roman see. At the time when the crusades first gave the Latins an ascendancy in Syria, the dissent of the Protestants had not come into existence; the religious hold obtained by the see of Rome, through the agency of the arms of Europe, has never been waived, and has always been under the special protection of the kingdom of France, and has of late years been converted into a ground of political antagonism against Russia, the patron of the Greeks. In no place is the attitude of the Romish hierarchy more dignified than at Jerusalem. Represented by a patriarch, a man of European rank and learning, of stately dignity, and commanding intellect, supported by a chosen cohort of learned, devout, and devoted missionaries, furnished by the Propaganda, there under the dome of the sepulchre sits in pride, the unchanged, unchangeable church of Rome—smiling at the divisions, the doubts, and differences of the sects which have seceded from her.

Against the array of learning and zeal, the struggle of ignorance and degradation was not long; and the consequence has been that one-half of the Nestorians have seceded from their church, and acknowledging the see of Rome, are known as the Chaldeans. A large portion of the Syrian church have seceded in the same manner, forming a Syro-Roman establishment. The Maronite church was from the commencement under the guidance of Rome; and the ancient Greek orthodox church has been more than decimated by a seceding Greek-Catholic church in every town, and nearly every hamlet. All over Syria, and in many parts of Asia, are scattered Roman Catholic monasteries, at which trained missionaries are stationed for certain periods of years, each the centre of educational measures. The printing press of the Franciscan convent at Jerusalem throws off selections from the bible, tracts, treatises, and catechisms in the Vernacular, Arabic, and in Italian; and the large girls' schools at Bethlehem, Nazareth and Jerusalem, show that the importance of female education is rightly estimated. But much as we wonder at the steady and silent determination of these arrangements, we find greater cause for wonder in the adaptation of the religion to all degrees of civilization: unto the Jews they become Jews, to them that are without the law as without the law. In these Eastern churches we find no celibacy enjoined for the priesthood, no denial of the cup to the laity; they are allowed their

own liturgy in their own language, their own ministers and forms of worship; the only indispensable necessary is the acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Pope, as head of the church catholic, and the rejection of the errors of the Greek church as to the procession of the Holy Ghost. But a formidable rival has sprung up to the Papal power, and is now wrestling with it for the remainder of the old churches, and even for its own flock, in the evangelical missions of England and the United States, who in late years have begun to develop themselves in Syria and Central Asia, and have thrown down the gauntlet deliberately against Rome.

This renders necessary a short mention of the different Protestant denominations, which are represented in Syria. First in order stands the Anglican bishop. The anomalous position of this episcopate is scarcely sufficiently understood: here we have a bishop without a clergy, a flock, or a diocese, in the usually received meaning of those words. The late bishop was a converted Jew, and many imagined, that this ought to be a necessary qualification for the office. However, the present incumbent is a Gentile, a native of Calvinist Switzerland. Employed many years as a missionary in Abyssinia, he was appointed to the see by the Lutheran King of Prussia, the joint patron of the episcopate; to enable the archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate him to this so-called Anglican bishopric, he was naturalized as an Englishman. His cathedral church is considered a portion of the British Consulate, and is only tolerated in that light by the Turkish authorities; the building was erected at the expense of the Society for the Conversion of the Jews; the subordinate missionary is by birth a Dane, ordained of the English establishment; but as a great portion of the Protestants connected with the mission are Lutheran Germans, there is also a Lutheran clergyman, under the nominal orders of the bishop, but not under his ecclesiastical controul, as the minister in question does not seem to belong to an episcopal church. Services are performed daily in Hebrew, once on Sunday in English, according to the Anglican ritual, also in German, according to the Lutheran ritual: at Nazareth is a house of the Church Missionary Society, the minister of which is a Frenchman, assisted by a Jewish convert. An idea can thus be formed of the nationality and orthodoxy of the Anglican establishment.

We next come to the missions of the United States. The American Board of Missions has long been established, and has been prosecuting the labours of education and proselytism from the corrupt churches with success. Since the establishment

of the Anglican bishopric, they have retired from Jerusalem, and their stations are at Beyrout, Sidon, Tripoli, Aleppo, and Mosul. They are labouring consistently and well, and are extending their operations; they have normal schools to supply pastors and teachers, boys' and girls' schools, churches, and are preparing to found local ministers and churches, as the number of their congregations increases. It is an interesting and edifying reflection, that the pious Christians of the distant United States are labouring to repay the debt of gratitude they owe to the land of the Gospel. These missions are of the Presbyterian denomination, and are in close connection with the mission of the Irish Presbyterian church established at Damascus.

Connected only by ties of nationality, but nothing further, with the above-mentioned mission, are the two latest arrived representatives of Christian churches. During the past year has appeared at Jerusalem an amiable and accomplished member of the medical profession, deputed by a new sect in the United States, who approach in a great measure to the Baptist denomination, but who wish to be considered Bible Christians. The church is in its infancy, but already Jerusalem has been troubled by the occasional ceremonies of immersion of adult converts in the pool of Siloam, at the foot of Mount Moriah; and early this year have arrived, to the number of many families, a sect of Christians, who open up questions long set at rest by the consent of all churches, and are known as Sabbatarians, from their keeping the Levitical day of rest. There are also, as may be imagined, congregated in this holy city, (and the number will, doubtless, now be increased), individuals of both sexes, with intellects to a certain degree deranged, who have taken up their residence on Mount Sion, to await, like the old Simeon, the consolation of Israel.

Jerusalem is so small, that in one short hour, you can walk leisurely round its walls; from any one point you can survey the whole city; yet it is emphatically a city divided against itself: let us pray for the peace of the holy city, that no religious fury may pollute the streets with the blood of Christians, that the Saviour be not crucified again on Calvary; but it cannot be doubted, that the withdrawal of the Mohammedan rule would be followed by outrage; that in proportion as the privileges and immunities of the Christian sects have increased, and the fear of the Heathen has been removed, so have the bitter rivalries, the smothered hatred of centuries, begun to burst out; the chosen battle-field, the tomb of the Saviour; the chosen season, the anniversary of Easter. Pray then for the peace of

Christian Jerusalem, and let us leave the sacred walls and proceed on our journey.

Every spot round Jerusalem has its story and its associations, and days would be consumed in visiting them. The history of former days is written on the face of the country; and on entering Syria, you are at once aware that you are upon the theatre of great actions—the rocks gape with tombs, the heights are crowned with stone sarcophagi—the roads are tessellated with pavement—ruins of ancient cities: solitary arches of long disused aqueducts, broken bridges, fields teeming with columns of granite, standing amidst the waving corn, old reservoirs of magnificent proportions, harbours choked with sand, walls covered with seaweed—all tell the same tale, and hold up their silent hands in confirmation of the truth of history. At one narrow pass, where the Dog River flows into the ocean, we have memorials carved on the rock, recording some of the numerous conquerors: there is the vaunting inscription of the Latin Proconsul, as fresh as when Antonine widened the road; the confused Arabic inscriptions to record forgotten victories, or heroes unknown to fame: and far above, dimly delineated, the figures of the Assyrian monarchs, with their robes of state and their emblems, familiar now in Europe from the pages of Layard and Cotta. Round Jerusalem the interest becomes more intense. We visit the tree under which Isaiah was sawn asunder, the cave of Jeremiah, the tombs of the kings, the field of blood, still so called, *حقل دما* (Hukul dama), and used within a few years for the purpose of burying strangers. The tombs in the gardens round about have a melancholy interest—there no superstition or piety interrupts the chain of your pre-conceived notions. You run with Peter and the other disciple—you stoop down—you look in—there is the stone shelf where the body but just now was lying, here is the outer chamber where the angels announced that “He is not here, He is risen:”—do you not turn round in awe? do you not expect to meet the women on their mournful mission, or to be confronted with your newly risen Master?

Visit the convent of St. John in the Wilderness, where Mary saluted Elizabeth, and the babe leapt in the womb at the voice of the mother of its Lord. Here was transacted the first scene of the new dispensation. Pass on to the south, through the mountainous country, and carry yourself back fifteen hundred years, for you are at Rama, but a little way from Ephrath, which is Bethlehem; here Rachel travailed; here, as her soul was departing, she named her second-born Benoni; here she was buried, and her tomb is here unto this day. A few steps onward you enter Bethlehem, and you know why Rachel wept for her

children, and would not be comforted, for the servants of Herod must have passed by her grave on their inhuman mission.

Softly beautiful is the scenery of the environs of Bethlehem: pleasantly situated is the village on the slope of the hills. You look with delight on the fields in which Ruth was gleaned, when she was chosen to carry on the line of Judah—you imagine where her ruddy and beautiful grandson was keeping his sheep, when he was called to be anointed by the aged Samuel: in those fields, one thousand years after, shepherds were still watching their flocks, perhaps beguiling their night watch with the legends of that boy of Bethlehem, who had exchanged the crook for the sceptre, perhaps murmuring at the fall of his dynasty, when a new wonder was announced to them, that in the village of Bethlehem, of the line of their hero, was born the child, the good Shepherd of the world, whose kingdom should know no end. Go with the rejoicing and wondering shepherds, go in haste, and gaze reverently, not doubtingly, on the spot, where the Saviour was born. Marble and precious stones, and the wealth of this world, now decorate it—golden lamps hang from the ceiling, incense overpowers you. Think of the manger as the shepherds saw the babe lying in it—think of the meek and lowly-minded mother, as she heard their tale, and pondered upon what was going to happen;—scarce are the shepherds departed to spread the joyful news, when the star-directed Magi approach the same lowly abode, and fall down and worship the King of the Jews.

A few miles on, the traveller enters Kirjath Arba, which is Hebron, the fountain-head of the Jewish race. Here settled the wanderer from Chaldæa, on the plain of Mamre—here was conveyed to him the first promise that the land should be given to him and to his seed for ever—here the faithful patriarch built the first altar to the Lord—here he and his son, and his son's son, and their wives, sleep in the cave of Machpelah. At this point the three rival religions, for which the civilized world is indebted to the Semitic race, converge: here David was crowned king, and reigned seven years over his own tribe of Judah, ere he took the hill of Zion from the Jebusites. It is still a large and flourishing city, and one of the especial residence of the Jews. Though debarred by Mussalman jealousy from visiting the field of Ephron, we can follow the simple-minded pilgrims to the ancient oak tree, under which Abraham is said to have made the purchase of the children of Heth; we can with much greater satisfaction climb up the heights overhanging the place, and look down on one side upon Gaza and Askalon, the country of the Philistines, and the blue dancing

Mediterranean, or eastward towards the dreary mountains, for here Abraham strove with his angel visitants on behalf of the ten righteous in the midst of a wicked city ;—here, on the following morning, he saw the smoke of the cities of the plain go up like the smoke of a furnace.

Our faces must be turned, like the angel guests of the patriarch, towards Sodom ; we leave the land of Canaan, and follow the herdsmen of Lot towards the well-watered plain of Jordan. As we proceed eastward, crossing the intervening valleys and ridges at one point, the embattled walls of Jerusalem come into sight ; another moment they are lost, like a fairy vision ; soon we enter the stern Wadi al Nar, or valley of fire, the continuation of the same valley of Jehoshaphat, which opens under Moriah, down which Kedron and Siloam pour their tribute to the Dead Sea. In the early ages of Christianity, hundreds of pious men, having sold all and given to the poor, retired hither to devote their lives to prayer and ascetic privations ; the most distinguished was St. Sabha, whose name is still recorded by the convent, which is conspicuous in the valley. The privations of these worthy religionists must have been very great, as the holes which they occupied, and, with which the side of the rock is still pierced, are indeed receptacles only for foxes or wild beasts ; hundreds of them perished on the occasion of the invasion and capture of Jerusalem by the Persians, and the practice expired under the Mohammedan rule. The great bell of the convent is almost the only sound heard, floating morning and evening over the dull dead waves of the accursed sea. It is a pleasing and yet a melancholy sight to attend service in the chapel of St. Sabha ; old and white-bearded men carrying out day after day, night after night, the unbroken chant of Kyrie Eleëson in the wilderness, where St. John preached the coming of the Saviour, in the valley where hundreds lived and died devoted to his service, hard by the most ancient visible testimony of the wrath of an avenging God.

The due signs of this wrath are written in the bare verdureless mountain, in the riven chasms, in the desolate features of the landscape, in the motionless dreary expanse of water, which now opens upon us. No bird flies across that space, no fish people those depths, no boats skim the surface, there is no habitation of man or beast on its borders, no signs of the bounteous gifts of nature, no tokens of the laborious hand of man ; yet it once was a pleasant and well-watered plain, when Lot turned his steps thither, when as yet brimstone and hailstones had not rained from heaven. At the head of the lake are the supposed sites of Sodom and Gomorrah ; over against us are

Zoar and the land of the Ammonites, and the Moabites, the incestuous offspring of Lot. We turn away, for the prospect falls heavy on our sight, and we gladly descend upon Jericho and the Jordan. This sacred stream has of late years been surveyed by an adventurous party from the United States, and to them we are indebted for the unravelling of the secret of the Dead Sea. There was the first boat, that successfully ploughed these waves—they were the first who traced the waters of the Jordan from their fountain-heads in Lebanon, until they lose themselves in this inland reservoir. Hard by the debouchement of the water is the spot, visited by pilgrims and travellers, and which is pronounced by the voice of tradition to be the place where the Israelites crossed, and St. John baptized; indeed, it is the only locality, where the banks slope down to the waters; and how many incidents of interest happened here! Here was the end of the long wanderings in the desert, of the longer captivity in Egypt; here, by a miracle, the waters were held up to enable the people to pass over into their heritage—hard by, at the sound of the trumpets of Joshua, crumbled the walls of Jericho; here David passed over in grief in his flight from rebellious Absalom, and again returned in triumph; here Elijah was taken up into heaven, and Elisha smote the waters, which separated to allow him to pass over; here Naaman the Syrian washed, and was clean. Pass over the interval of centuries, and the voice of one crying in the wilderness is heard, proclaiming the baptism of repentance and remission of sins. A cleansing of the ills of the soul is here commenced—here the Son of Mary was acknowledged from heaven to be the Son of God, and announced by his precursor as the Redeemer, that was predicted from the beginning of the world. Where the romance of the muddy Tiber, where the interest attached to the classic Ilissus, that can compete with the solemnity—the sanctity of the Jordan?—All has been changed, the destiny of the Jewish people has been worked out and accomplished, the city of the Jebusites has been captured, the temple has been built—has been restored—one religion has succeeded to the other—one dynasty has subverted its predecessor, but the Jordan still pours down its volume from Genesareth to the Dead Sea, as rapid, as muddy, as when the now deserted valley rang to the shouts of the tribes, or re-echoed the solemn warnings of the Baptist.

Of Jericho little remains, but a ruined tower, and a few huts of the Arab cultivators; but the fountain of Elijah still gushes forth with sweetened waters, and as yet no marble has violated the verdant turf. In such a spot we look with jealousy on the hand of man, for above us is the range of the “quaran-

taine ;" the wilderness, into which the newly baptized Saviour was led up to be tempted :—in the early days of Christendom the spot was a resort of the Anchorites, but it is now a solitary waste, uninviting, untrodden by the steps of man. Thence we retrace our steps to Jerusalem, by a wild and mountainous road, over which life and property are, as in the days of the good Samaritan, insecure without the payment of the prescribed black mail to the Bedouins, who feed their cattle in the environs. Stop and glance at the circle of their black tents—the fine manly figures of these sons of Ishmael,—the women ill-clothed, the children not clothed at all, but all busy in their encampment,—the she-camels with their young, the cattle, the sheep, and goats, scattered far over the hill-side amidst the flowery verdure ;—and some hitherto unappreciated charms of this kind of life suggest themselves,—the life of Abraham, when he emigrated from the country of the Chaldees—the life which was predicted for, and is realized by, the roaming descendants of Hagar. As we again approach Jerusalem, we pass by Bethany, which contains the residence of Martha and Mary; and we descend into the deep and ancient cave-tomb, where Lazarus was laid: thence passing over the Mount of Olives, and coasting the Holy City, we take the road to Samaria. One elevated knoll, about five miles on the road, enables the pilgrim to take his last view of the dome of the sepulchre, and utter the deep heart-felt exclamation—"If I forget thee, O Jerusalem! may my 'right hand forget its cunning; yea, if I prefer not Jerusalem 'in my mirth!" and he then plods along the great road to Damascus. Jealous tradition, or topographical zeal, have not failed to note the villages, where Joseph and Mary missed their son on the return from the Passover, Bethel, or "Beit-alluh," where Jacob saw in his dream the angels descending and ascending, and received the promise of the land,—and Shiloh, where the ark of the covenant and the tabernacle abode previous to the building of the temple. We have now crossed the boundary of Judea, and entering Samaria, find ourselves in the village of Shechem, betwixt Ebal and Gerizim—a beautiful valley, rich with the olive, the vine, and the pomegranate, as when Jotham spoke the parable of the trees—as sweet to be dwelt upon in recollection as when Joseph bequeathed his bones to be buried there in the parcel of land acquired by his father, Jacob—the eyes fall upon yellow lines of as abundant harvest, as when Jesus discoursed with the woman of Samaria, at the well of the Patriarch. We seem to hear in imagination the solemn voice of Joshua, the blessings and the curses floating in the air over

the assembled Israelites in Ebal and Gerizim. Here were the altars erected to Al Elohe Israel, ere Sion was chosen for his habitation, while Jerusalem was still in the hands of the Jebusites; that temple on Mount Gerizim, in which the Samaritans worshipped, has utterly perished—a heavier fate has befallen the rival Jerusalem—the time has come, when in neither place is the Father worshipped; still round the threshold of their fallen faith and greatness have clung, with a pertinacity and a good fortune which was denied to the Jews, some portions of the Samaritan people. Unchanged in their hatred to their rival sect, asserting to themselves the name of the “Sons of Israel,” they unfold with reverent hands the volume of the Pentateuch, said to be written by the grandson of Aaron; for them the history of the last three thousand years has been enacted in vain. The restoration from the captivity in Egypt to them is the realization of the promises of God. With them scripture history ends with the Pentateuch. Joshua, the son of Num, of the tribe of Ephraim, is the prophet to be raised up like unto Moses, who completed the restoration, and, like his ancestor Joseph, protected and saved the line of Abraham. They know, they expect no other Messiah; no mention is made of captivity in Assyria; but as regards Jerusalem and its far-famed temple, they are spoken of contemptuously as the result of the machinations and groundless claims of the tribe of Judah, and rebellious Benjamin, against the lawful rights of Ephraim, representing Joseph, the eldest son of Rachel, and inheritor of the birth-right of Jacob, forfeited by the incestuous Reuben. As to the dying prediction of Jacob, with reference to the greatness of Judah, they read Shiloh or Shelah to mean Solomon, and declare that on the death of that monarch, the sceptre was rent from Judah by Jeroboam, the Ephrathite, for they have no portion in David, or inheritance in the son of Jesse. To such arguments, meekly and deliberately delivered, no answer, can be made, for hearing such things in such a place, we exclaim—“Verily, it is the land of miracle.”

Passing along this beautiful valley, we exclaim that it is indeed a land flowing with milk and honey. Sebaste, the Ancient Samaria, though striking in position, and still reminding us of its ancient greatness, has little to arrest the traveller. Not so the grand view of the Mediterranean, the plain of Sharon, and the coast betwixt Joppa and Cæsarea, which burst upon the enchanted eye, when the highest ridge of Samaria is surmounted. A few hours, and we have turned the lofty spur of Carmel, have emerged from the mountains of Samaria, and stand at the edge of the great plain of Esdraelon or

Megiddo, in Galilee of the Gentiles. In those distant hills is Nazareth; and we are on the path so often trodden by the Saviour on the occasions of his going up to the feasts at Jerusalem: on our right is Carmel, and in the centre of the plains is Esdraelon, the ancient Jezreel: the palace of Ahab and the garden of Naboth have both perished, but are not forgotten. Over this plain Elijah ran before the chariot of Ahab. Our horses stop to quench their thirst at a stream—we learn that it is the ancient river, the River Kishon. Here then was the triumph of Deborah and Barak, here the tent of Jael; but it appears that these plains were destined to be renowned in all ages, and in all times, for here was fought one of the fiercest fights of the crusaders, and one of the earliest leaves of the victorious garland of Napoleon was plucked. If this plain is traversed upon a bright sunny day, the effect of the light and shade falling on the side of the mountains—the clouds reflected on the plain, or shrouding the height of Mount Tabor—the varying and rich colour of the crops—the distant snows of Lebanon and Hermon, present such a combination of interest and of the picturesque, as will not easily be effaced. But the beauties of Nature are forgotten, the memory ceases to ponder upon battles and victories, the transitory triumphs and unstable pride of men, as we enter the quiet and peaceful dell, and are told that yonder village is Nazareth. Can any good come out of Nazareth? Rather ask, as you look round, could anything evil ever have approached this quiet and retired spot, nestled in the hills? We look with interest at the sweet faces of the Nazarene damsels, if haply one could realize the ideal features of the most blessed among women; yet here, where Peace should have vindicated her undisturbed reign, where at least Christians might have followed the principles of their Master—here evil passions, fanned by religious fanaticism, have disgraced the church catholic in the eyes of the heathen and infidel: within the last year have the Protestant and Roman congregations been led into outrage towards each other, and, to their greater shame, have had recourse to Mohammedan tribunals: the painful sight might have been witnessed this year of ministers of Christ's religion pleading against, perhaps calumniating each other, before a follower of Mohammed, who drove them from the judgment seat, refusing, like the Proconsul Gallio, to be a judge of words, and names, and such matters.

At Nazareth a Protestant church has been planted, the youngest member of the Catholic body. It is an affecting exercise in such a place to share the prayers of these simple-minded

Christians: with their children and women they assemble in a large upper room, and read the Gospel in the language of their country with devoutness. It has been at no slight sacrifice of worldly comfort and reputation, that these worthy men, resembling the Apostles and early Christians in their act, as well as character and appearance, have come out from what they have conscientiously determined to be errors in the churches to which they belonged: they have heard themselves formally excommunicated at the altar, where they had previously knelt—their names have been written up as cast-aways and reprobates on the gates of that church, which they must never again visit—they have been debarred from those services which their religion and that of their persecutors alike prescribe—their dead are not allowed to rest in the consecrated spot, where their forefathers have gone before them. Until the interposition of the English representative at the Porte, they were subject to civil disqualifications and heavy oppression. Let a portion of that sympathy, which is felt for the early followers of the Saviour, be extended to those poor and lonely, but brave-hearted men, who have conscientiously taken up the Cross: and may the blessing of God be with them!

And it will surely be!—for the hills around have known the feet of those that bring good tidings—here angel messengers have saluted the most blessed among women, revealing mighty mysteries, and accomplishing things foretold from the beginning of the world—the spot is still shown, where the Word was made flesh. Over it is the Roman Catholic church, but the Greek church, with a perversity scarcely intelligible, maintains, that Gabriel met the blessed Virgin, as she was drawing water from the well outside the town, and conducts her pilgrims thither. This is the last of a long series of shrines and places sanctified by the greatness of the acts, traditionally stated to have been performed there. Many of them are painful instances of unprofitable credulity, or impious mendacity, which nothing but the degraded ignorance of the oriental churches could tolerate; but there are in Judea some few spots, where events happened, such as have never happened elsewhere, over which the tradition of centuries, and the piety and faith of millions, have uninterruptedly watched,—in favour of which probability speaks loudly, and which the simple-minded Christian would wish to believe as true. There may not be such legal evidence as would convict a prisoner on his trial, or such mathematical accuracy as could deduce thence a geometrical problem, but there is sufficient for a faithful and humble believer to warrant him to kneel at Bethlehem, Nazareth, and on

Mount Calvary, to look with pious enthusiasm on Mount Sion and the Mount of Olives, and with wonderment, not unmixed with awe, at the ruin of cities once flourishing, and the desolation of plains once teeming with abundance.

Galilee is now before us, and Mount Tabor is in the centre of the plain, and from its verdant summit we can survey the kingdom of Israel. We are seated upon the throne, as it were, of Palestine, and the country is spread like a map at our feet, from the blue Mediterranean to the stern valley of the Jordan. The eye catches with rapture each object—now resting on the snowy front of the greater Hermon—now on the quiet waters of the lake of Genesareth. There is the plain of Jezreel—hard by Endor recalls to our recollection the offences of Saul, and the dewless mountains of Gilboa, his punishment. Tradition, but unsupported by Scripture writ, assigns this spot as the scene of the transfiguration—it were a fit scene for so wondrous a drama, for Carmel on the right speaks of Elijah; and distant Nebo, on the left, of Moses; all around, of the Beloved Son, His ministry and His power—at our feet is Nazareth, and Cana, the scene of His first, the Sea of Tiberias, of His last miracle: crouching under the sides of little Hermon is Nain, where the son of the widow was raised, and hard by is Solam, where many centuries before the son of the Shunamite was raised by the hand of the Tishbite: along that plain, where the Arab and his oxen are faintly visible, like beetles on the face of the earth, how often, in his journeyings to and fro from ungrateful Nazareth to his own city of Capernaum, the Saviour must have passed with his disciples: further on there are thousands seated in the wilderness to be fed with food from heaven, or listening with strained eyes and fixed attention to the words, such as never man spake, on the Mount of the Beatitudes.

But the whole Bible history explains itself, and is rendered clear, as we are here seated. Tabor and Hermon attest the wonderful history of this hapless and devoted land. Its whole breadth, from the sea to the Jordan, is laid open to us, and we watch with awe the solemn procession of nations, which have uninterruptedly poured themselves down this narrow strip of beauty, the scene of one eternal struggle in all times and ages between Syria and Egypt, the inhabitants of the delta of the Nile, and the powers cradled in Central Asia. We hear of different races and names—of Assyria—of Babylon and Damascus—of Greeks, Persians, and Romans, at one time the phalanx of Alexander, at another the serried legions of Titus. As the battles of nations were to be fought here in the ancient world, so in later days were to be fought the battles of religions—

if on one side we could have seen from Mount Tabor the triumph of Bonaparte, on the other the heights of Huttin, the scene of the sermon of the mount, tell a sad tale of the last and final defeat of the crusaders. In late years the struggle betwixt Egypt and Asia has again commenced, and this devoted country has, but a few years back, been relieved of the miseries of foreign occupation and civil confusion. When and where will it end?

Our pilgrimage is now drawing to a close, and we stand on the banks of the Lake of Gennesareth—and looking into its smooth mirror, and upon the stern mountains which surround it, we rejoice to take our farewell of the Holy Land at this place, where all our remembrances are of a soothing nature, all our recollections are of peace. The thoughts naturally fly back to the many miracles that took place there—the destruction of the swine on the opposite headland—the stilling of the tempest—the Saviour walking on the waters—Peter sinking and upheld—the miraculous draught of fishes, as depicted in the cartoons of the greatest of painters. Divine Raphael, you seem to be with us every where, whether at the beautiful gate of the temple, or at the transfiguration on Mount Tabor—with the Roman Proctor at Cyprus, with the fishermen on the Sea of Galilee—kneeling with St. Peter to receive the keys at Cæsarea, or standing boldly with St. Paul on the Areopagus at Athens! Bethsaida and Chorazin have utterly perished—it has already been more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon, for though stricken, they still exist, the feet of men tread their streets, the voices of men pronounce their names, but Bethsaida and Chorazin, which saw the mighty works and believed them not, are forgotten—they are as Sodom and Gomorrah—the cities of the lower lake of the Jordan; and where are thou, Capernaum? Thy fishermen have indeed caught men—words spoken in thy houses, acts performed in thy streets, have echoed through the wide world; in a hundred languages, the wondrous works are told which thou sawest; but thou art not! The scenery of the lake is stern, and but for its associations, we should not find pleasure in it; but a poetry surrounds it far exceeding Loch Katrine, and a beauty which makes us forget Como. In one view, from the roof of the Roman Catholic chapel, we take in the whole scene, we people the shores with towns and villages, we see the fishermen toiling in their boats, the crowds are collected on the banks to hear his words, and derive advantage from His miracles, but He cometh not, for He is gone up to the Passover, and the heavy news is brought back from the feast, that He who spake as no man spake, to whose powers the devils

had been witness, has been crucified, and they shall see His face no more.

We turn away mournfully, and ascending the hill to Saphet, the city that is built on a hill, we take our farewell look of the Lake of Tiberias and the plains of Galilee: every mountain now raises a familiar head, we seem to know each village and trace the path of yesterday, and think with regret of the friends parted from at Nazareth: yes, friends, for with the gentle and sociable people of this country, kind words soon ripen friendship and their unpretending hospitality is open to all: with a simple dignity not unworthy of the patriarchs, the old man receives you as an angel, after the manner of Abraham; his knowledge of the surface of the globe is perhaps confined to Galilee, and the history of his country is contained in his Bible. No more shall we hereafter be received in this unpretending way—the Arab tent or the terraced roof will be our resting place no more—never again perhaps in our evening circle shall we recognize sweet winning faces, with manners free from the reserve of the West, or the social degradation of the further East, or hear little voices read in lisping accents from the sacred book how Jesus came walking on the waters of the lake that flow beneath our windows—no more tiny Miriams or Rachels to conduct us to some spot sanctified by tradition, and known to us by name from infancy, now for the first time seen in its reality. We seem waking from a pleasing dream—we begin to wonder at the blessing to us conceded, to have stood where we were but yester-even standing, and we take our last look of the mountains and the plains, as they fade away in the distance, with the feeling of one who watches a dying friend—we have much to inquire of those faithful testimonies of what they have seen done, since the days that their foundations were established—each dweller of those blessed fields seems one whom we might envy: but the road descends into a deep valley, and the last height of Palestine is lost, our pilgrimage is over; and perhaps in many an after day will the memory of it come back; as often as we open the sacred book, we shall be thankful for the opportunity granted to us, and gratefully admit, that it was good for us to be there.

The pilgrimage is indeed over—from Beersheba to Dan we have traversed the Land of the Promise—we have stood at the point where the Jordan flows into the Dead Sea—here is its source, on one of the green slopes of Lebanon, and through those double ranges and along the beauteous valley which they enclose, must be our course to the sea. We find ourselves amidst a hardy mountain people, confident in

themselves and their mountain recesses, differing in religion, but generally united against the stranger :—the line of hills, the villages, the soil, even the dress of the inhabitants, show but small distinctive signs ; but in these mountains we have specimens of every variety of religion which has agitated and disturbed the world. The Ansairee is said to worship the Devil, that primeval religion ; the Druse is an idolator, who worships he knows not what in high places, the remnant of the idolatrous tribe, who troubled Israel ; the Metawalee is a Mohammedan of the Shea sect ; the Maronite, an oriental church, subject to the Pope of Rome—these are the great sections, but interspersed are Jews, Mohammedans of the Súní persuasion, Greeks, Greek Catholics, and Protestants ; and on our road we shall pass the encampment of the Gipsies or Dooms, and in these Syrian mountains will be surprised at being greeted in the vocabulary of India. The mountains are studded with churches and convents. It is pleasant in a Mohammedan country to hear at sunset the Ave Maria bell sounding in each hamlet, to see the picturesque crowd of women mixed with men entering their village places of worship : but follow them not, for the ritual is degraded, and the manner of it renders Christianity doubtful. The highest ridge of mountains is covered with snow, and in the adjoining villages are springing up modest houses, in which the merchant and missionary from Beyrout, and the invalid from India, take refuge in the summer. The mountains of Himalaya are more grand—the scale of nature is more exalted—the mountains of Switzerland are more romantic, and art has done more to render habitation agreeable, but neither have the blue Mediterranean washing their base, with such a breeze as would seem fit to bring back life to the dead, nor such a sky. On the Indian hills you would look in vain for the green rows of mulberries, and the luxuriance of the vine ; but it is sad to think that Lebanon has been robbed of the Cedar, once its glory. In one only spot, in the neighbourhood of Tripoli, are these patriarchs of the forest to be found, and a visit to them is one of the many delightful excursions of the Lebanon summer. It requires a certain degree of activity to reach the highest pass of Gebal Suneen, the loftiest point in Lebanon, but, when reached, it amply repays you. You have all the lower ranges at your feet, the quiet and sequestered valley lies exposed to your view, the mulberry-crowned hills, sloping gently from the clouds and the snow to the blue sea, crowned with sparkling villages and convents—here and there a deep gorge betrays the hidden course of a snow-fed torrent dashing down. As the eye becomes more accustomed to the scene, it follows the mountain paths along

the declivities—now up to some rude headland where Fancy sits gazing on the magnificent prospect, now down to some slender bridge spanning the foaming flood, which tears away to the sea, discolouring the waves for many a league with its purple waters, for the stream is the yearly wounded Thammuz. In these valleys, Venus wept her lost Adonis. On the eastern side of the range we delight again to see the glittering Hermon, and the range of Anti-Lebanon overhanging Damascus, but separated from us by the fertile valley of the Bekaa, along which we trace the River Leontes, like a silver line, until the eye rests with astonishment on the grandest of existing ruins, the temple of the Sun at Balbek. Time, earthquakes, and religious rage, have failed to destroy this wonderful and stupendous work. Christian churches have been erected from its materials—they have perished. Mosques and the tomb of the great Saladeen have been constructed in the same way, and have shared the same fate, but these ruins still raise their solemn front to heaven with much of their original grandeur. The granite uncouth columns must have been brought from Upper Egypt, across pathless Lebanon. The mechanical means for moving the vast stones, which form the platform, can only be guessed at, but a visit to the neighbouring quarries proves that, wonderful as was the performance, the genius of the builder was planning greater things, and stones were being hewed out, destined to surpass any of the existing wonders of Balbek.

We turn with awe from these memorials of the power, wealth, and genius of men in ancient days, and our sight falls upon a few green specks or shrubs far down below us on the side of the mountain. As we approach them through the snow, we find that they are the giant cedars—the last remnants of that family, which furnished timbers to the temple—the glory of the forest. Twelve venerable patriarch trees have stood the blasts of centuries, and we would willingly lend ourselves to the belief, that they are contemporary with those which were felled by Hiram. Some of them are forty feet in circumference, and they are surrounded by hundreds of their race, younger and more beautiful. Whatever be their age, the sight of these venerable trees is calculated to arouse the deepest emotions, and we forget the ruin of Balbek, the triumph of human skill, in contemplation of these, the work of God.

We have accompanied our reader on his pilgrimage—we have faintly described to him the charms of a sojourn of a few months in this enchanting land. Other countries may have raised their heads higher in the history of war and empire, more favoured climes have left us the legacy of breathing brass and living

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marble—it is not here, that we must look for the triumphs of the orator, or track the starry mazes with the divining rod of the astronomer ; but to this soil, we are indebted tangibly and visibly for higher and better things, for the germs, and for the triumphs of poetry, legislature, and history. What poems are lisped in earliest childhood, and murmured by failing lips, but the Psalms of the sweet songster of Israel ? What law forms the basis of every code of guidance for human conduct ? What history is entwined by a golden cord with our most secret thoughts and our earliest ideas ? Reflecting upon this, let the pilgrim start with a devout and subdued spirit,—the Bible his best companion, and hand-book of the way,—let him remember that he is on the soil of miracles, and that it is an envied privilege for him to be *there*, if he believes any thing at all. On his road he will meet with men of all religions, nations, and kindred, and will derive instruction from all ; he will hear subjects discussed calmly and clearly, which, in his own country, have been obscured by ignorance and bigotry—he will hear of ancient cities, known to him only in childhood's tales or dreaming fancy, spoken of as household words by those who have there lived, and there hope to die. Chance may throw him for days in company with some unknown yet eloquent stranger, whose words, pregnant with truth, and rich in associations, will have charmed away the mountain route in Judea, or lent a new zest to the beauties of Galilee.

Thus let him wander, and surely some blessing will be upon his track, some strengthening of faith by treading the very scenes of the great mysteries of our salvation, some enlarging of charity, by seeing how degraded poor human nature, whatever be the creed, can become. Thoughts will be suggested by the place, which might never have risen in the mind—thoughts of holiness : convictions may be strengthened, and attention drawn to subjects which the world had before shrouded from the view : the enthusiasm, the inspiration of the moment, will invest the doctrines of Christianity with a halo, which will last many a year : such recollections will, in after life, soothe the hour of grief. Such associations will ward off the fiends of despair and doubt, and bring peace at the last : and, if one link be added to the chain of his faith, one particle to the drachm of his charity, he will not have gone in vain ; for a simple faith is better than riches, wealth and rank, and charity never faileth. Thus let him go, and if a single slumbering spark of kindred enthusiasm is ignited, not in vain have been worn the sandal shoon and scallop shell :—these pages have not been written in vain.

ART. II.—*Map of Calcutta, 1792-3. By A. Upjohn.*

THE rapid changes that are taking place in Calcutta, owing to the increasing European population, and to the facilities of intercourse afforded by steam,—the spread of English education and of English habits among natives,—together with the more extensive changes that are likely to occur, when railways may make Chaurangi as the city of London is now, a residence for *keránis*, and mere offices for merchants,—suggest to us, that for the information of future residents, as well as for the pleasure derived from contrast,—it may be useful to jot down here, in a cursory way, the glimpses of the past that we have obtained, through old and rare books, as well as from conversation with the few that still remember the “days of auld lang syne.” There yet survive two residents in Calcutta, who remember Sir W. Jones and Warren Hastings, who have heard the tiger roar adjacent to the spot where now a noble cathedral and episcopal residence rear their heads, who remember the period when Chaurangi was out of town, when shots were fired off in the evening to frighten away the dakaites, and when servants attending their masters at dinner parties in Chaurangi left all their good clothes behind them, lest they should be plundered in crossing the maidan—the Hounslow Heath of those days; and when the purlieus of China Bazar formed the aristocratic residences of the “big-wigs” of Calcutta—but these things have been.

Let not the City of Palaces, like another Babylon, be too proud, basking in the sunshine of prosperity: she may be hereafter as Delhi and Kanauj are now. Macaulay vividly depicts to us the supposed meditations of a New Zealander gazing, in some after ages, from a broken arch of London-bridge, on the ruins of the once mighty English metropolis. A similar fate may await Calcutta.

Calcutta is the sixth capital in succession which Bengal has had within the last six centuries. The shifting of the course of the river, which some apprehend will be the case in Calcutta, contributed to reduce *Gaur* to ruins, though it had flourished for 2,000 years, though its population exceeded a million, and its buildings surpassed in size and grandeur any which Calcutta can now boast of. *Rajmahal*, “the city of one hundred kings,” favourably located at the apex of the Gangetic Delta—*Dháká*, famed from Roman times—*Nuddea*, the Oxford of Bengal for five centuries—*Murshidabad*, the abode of Moslem pride and seat of Moslem revelry, (for a vivid painting of which, consult the pages of the *Seir Mutakherim*.)—These were in their days the transient

metropolitan cities of the Lower Provinces; but they have ceased to be the seats of Government and centres of wealth.

There have been other leading towns. *Malcondi*, on the west bank of the Hugli, is mentioned by one writer as the capital of Bengal, in 1632, and Rennel refers to the city of Bengala at the eastern mouth of the Ganges. Calcutta, "the commercial capital of Bengal," is *now* in the ascendant, though its political influence on India, happily for the welfare of the peasantry, is on the wane, and late events in the Panjab have given more of their due influence to the North West and to Mofussilite interests. A hundred and fifty years ago, Calcutta was like St. Petersburg, when Peter the Great laid his master-hand on it—the New Orleans of the East—a place of mists, alligators and wild boars, though now it has a population of 500,000, of which 100,000 come in and pass out daily. Were Job Charnock to rise from his lofty tomb in St. John's Churchyard, and survey the spot where once he smoked his huka, and had "the black fellows" flogged during dinner to serve as his music, he would probably not be more surprised than would a denizen of Chauringi, who has never seen the rice grow, and is as much surprised at the sight of an Indian pig as at a shark, should he a century hence wake from the tomb and find Bombay the commercial port of India, Calcutta a town of the size of Patna, a residence only for those who are not able to enjoy the comfort of villas in the neighbourhood of Hugli, Pandua, &c. &c.

Opinions differ as to the etymology of the name Calcutta,—called Galgotha by an old Dutch traveller, (and not amiss in the days when one-fourth of its European inhabitants were cut off by the diseases arising in the rainy season.) We find that in Europe various cities received their names from the circumstance of monasteries and castles having been first erected on a spot which formed the nucleus of a town, as English words ending in *chester* (castra) show: in the middle ages this occurred very frequently. Now as tradition, existing rites, Puranic authority, &c., indicate that the Ganges formerly flowed over the site of Tolley's Nala, and as Káli Ghat, one of the holiest shrines in Bengal, has, from ancient times, been a place celebrated as one of the *pútha sthans*, why may not the name Calcutta be a corruption of Káli Ghaut? Holwell writes, in 1766:—"Káli Ghaut, an *ancient* pagoda, dedicated to Káli, stands close to a small brook, which is, by the Bramins, deemed to be the original course of the Ganges." When Job Charnock landed, on the 24th of August, 1690, fifty years after the first settlement of the English at Hugli, and smoked his pipe

probably under the shade of the famous old tree that stood at Baitakhana, Chauringi plain was a dense forest, the abode of bears and tigers : a few weavers' sheds stood where Chandpal Ghat is now : there was, consequently, no object of interest nearer than Káli Ghat. Is it not likely then that the old patriarch called the locality after the most conspicuous object—the same as the field of Waterloo is named from the *largest* village near it, and not from St. Jean, which is still nearer ? We throw this out merely as a conjecture—*quantum valeat*.* However, the author of *Sketches of Bengal* sides with us : he states “ Calicotta takes its name from a temple dedicated to Caly.” Another derivation has been given from the Mahratta ditch or *Khál Khattá*, which served as its boundary ; before 1742, when this ditch was dug, we have not seen the name given.

The Dutch, French and Danes chose the right bank of the river, fully exposed to the river breezes, but the English selected the left : three reasons have been assigned, the deep water ran at the left side—numbers of weavers lived there, members of the patriarchal family of the Sets, who dealt with the Company,—and the Mahrattas never crossed the river. Job Charnock left Ulubaria on account of its unhealthiness, but he did not gain much by the change.

We shall, in the present article, limit our researches to one branch of the subject—the localities of Calcutta. Our remarks will be simply gleanings. Many causes render it very difficult to pierce into the darkness of the past. Natives themselves give little aid : they show no lively interest in antiquarian or historical research, as the *Records of the Asiatic* and other Societies evince ; but the maxim of Cicero holds good now as when penned—“ *Nescire quid antequam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum.*”

We call our article “ Calcutta in the *olden* time ;” some may say how can you call a city of a century and a half, old ? We have only to say,—Reader, such is the state of the British in India, so crowded has been the succession of important and stirring events, and so shifting have been the actors on the scene, that what would appear in England quite modern, bears here, as in the United States of America, the air of the antique, and we look back on our predecessors in Calcutta of last century with a similar interest to that with which a Bostonian reads the

* Though allowed by the Mogul the choice of any site below Hugli, he selected, perhaps, the most unhealthy spot on the whole river : the Salt-water Lake to the east left masses of putrid fish in the dry season, while a dense jangal ran up to where Government House stands now.

Wanderings of the Pilgrim Fathers, or a Scotchman, *The Tales of Border Life*, and *The Adventures of Prince Charles*. Our descriptions are only *Fragments* drifted from the *Wreck of Time*.

A few books have survived the destruction which so certainly awaits old works in India, from apathy, frequent removals, or the climate: as of some of these, only one or two copies exist, and as they are not accessible to the generality of our readers, we shall occasionally make some extracts to illustrate various points in connection with Calcutta as it was in the last century. Though the books be *old*, the information may be *new* to many of our readers, and even to others may be useful in recalling their thoughts, in a busy and bustling age, to the dim visions of the past, the twilight of Calcutta history.

One of the earliest works that presents itself to our notice, is *The Genuine Memoirs of Asiaticus*. The author was Philip Stanhope, an officer in the 1st regiment of dragoon guards; his pamphlet, containing 174 pages, was published in London in 1785; he came to India in 1774, the victim of disappointed love, the lady to whom he was attached not being allowed by her father to go to India. He touched at Madras, dined with the Governor, and mentions p. 38—"We retired 'soon after dinner, according to the custom of the country, to 'take our afternoon's nap, which the heat of the climate renders 'absolutely necessary for the refreshment of our bodies, which 'must necessarily be weakened by a continual perspiration."

In October of that year he arrived at Calcutta. It was the time when the *huka*, with its long pipe and rose-water, was in vogue:—

Even the writers, whose salary and perquisites scarce amount to two hundred pounds a year, contrive to be attended, wherever they go, by their *huka-burdaar*, or servant, whose duty it is to replenish the *huka* with the necessary ingredients, and to keep up the fire with his breath. But extravagant as the English are in their *huka*, their equipage, and their tables, yet all this is absolute parsimony, when compared to the expences of a *seraglio*: a luxury which only those can enjoy, whose rank in the service entitles them to a princely income, and whose *Haram*, like the state horses of a monarch, is considered as a necessary appendage to Eastern grandeur.

He had been promised a situation by Warren Hastings, but failed, from the opposition given to all Hastings's recommendations by the new members of council:—

The numerous dependants, which have arrived in the train of the Judges, and of the new Commander-in-Chief of the forces, will of course be appointed to all the posts of any emolument; and I must do those gentlemen the justice to observe, that, both in number and rapacity, they exactly resemble an army of locusts sent to devour the fruits of the earth.

He left Calcutta, after a few months' stay, for Madras, where

he spent three years in the service of the Nawab of Arcot. In 1778 he visited Bombay, where "the settlement not being divided by factions, there is more society than at Madras, and the sources of wealth being fewer, there is less of luxury and parade than at Calcutta." The same year he arrived in London.

In 1780 Mrs. Fay, the authoress of *Original Letters from India*, presented herself on the stage. She was one of the first who tried the overland route; she was made prisoner at Calicut by Hyder Ali, and was imprisoned there; she arrived in Calcutta, and mentions her visiting Mrs. Hastings at Belvidere House, "a great distance from Calcutta." Her husband was a barrister, but joining himself to the party of Francis against Hastings, and uniting with others in resisting a proposed house-tax, he was obliged, through want of briefs, to leave Calcutta in debt, his wife being deprived by the creditors of every thing except her clothes. She separated from her husband, and found refuge in the house of Sir R. Chambers, noted for his "immense library." After twelve months' residence, she left Calcutta for England in May, 1782, and arrived in England in February, 1783, experiencing the discomfort of hard-drinking gentlemen on board, with a "large gun" in the port-hole of her cabin. She returned, however, to Calcutta, in 1784, and engaged in the millinery line—she failed, returned to England, but made another voyage to Calcutta.

We have lately met with a work called *Hartley House, Calcutta*, printed in London, 1789, which, under the guise of fiction, paints the manners and customs of Calcutta as they existed in Warren Hastings's days, when Calcutta was "the grave of thousands, but a mine of inexhaustible wealth." The general *vraisemblance* of them is confirmed by an Octogenarian still living. We shall quote occasionally from this book.

A book called the *East Indian Chronologist*, published in 1801, by a Mr. Hawksworth, throws much light on various occurrences: it is a compilation of facts relating to British connection with India, gathered from sources which are now destroyed by white-ants and damp: the facts are arranged in chronological order, and present, in 100 pages quarto, an assemblage of many rare subjects.

A work was published in Calcutta called *Historical and Ecclesiastical Sketches of Bengal*, which gives the fullest notice we have seen of the early establishment of the English in India, a particular account of the Black Hole, the re-taking of Calcutta, the history of St. John's Church, the Old Church, Kiernander's mission, the Portuguese of Calcutta, the Armenians of Calcutta.

Old Zaphania Holwell, who rose, from being an apothecary, to the governorship of Calcutta, published, in 1784, the third edition of a curious and interesting work, *India Tracts*, which, besides giving various details respecting our progress to power after the battle of Plassey, presents us with a minute account of the sufferings in the Black Hole. He was zemindar of Calcutta for some time, and in this work gives a graphic picture of the cheating and over-reaching of the native servants of Government of that day. Holwell was born in Dublin, 1711, and like other survivors of the Black Hole, he lived to a green old age : he died in 1798.

Upjohn, an ingenious artist, published a *map of Calcutta* in 1793 : he died in 1800—this map is very valuable, as affording a contrast with Calcutta at the present time, and thus indicating the immense additions since made in buildings and streets.

Mrs. Kindersley's letters throw light on different points in Calcutta life about 1770. Grose wrote his *Travels to the East Indies* about 1750—4. *Grandpre*, a French officer, visited Calcutta towards the close of last century, and has written an interesting account of his travels.

The Surveyor General's office possesses the original survey made by *General Martin* in 1760 : no road to Budge-Budge is marked off. Akra is not mentioned, nor Diamond Harbour ; there was no road to Diamond Harbour,—the Rupnarayan is called the old Ganges,—the Salt Lake was marked off as frequented by wild buffaloes.

Stavorinus, a Dutch admiral, visited India in 1768. An account is given of his travels in the East, in a work of three volumes. We have some lively sketches of the times in Calcutta. He and the Dutch Governor of Hugli went to a formal dinner to Government-house at half past 12 P. M.—Visits of ceremony were then paid at 9 A. M. Seventy covers were laid, and the service was entirely of plate ; after dinner, the *huka* was served to each person, and after smoking half an hour, they retired to their respective dwellings. At six in the evening they rode to Governor Cartier's country-seat at Belvidere, where they supped. The next morning, at *nine* o'clock, the English Governor paid a ceremonial visit to the Dutch Governor—that seems to have been a fashionable hour for calls, probably, to avoid the mid-day heats ; on the installation at that period of a new Dutch Governor of Chinsura, there was a public breakfast given at *seven*, and the ceremony took place at 9 : it was in the month of March.

The principle of the association of ideas has a strong hold over the mind : man wishes to connect the present with the past :—

it is pleasing for a stranger, when traversing the streets of a city, to be able to observe the places identified with various events in the days of yore. We have *The Traditions of Edinburgh*, *The Recollections of London*, why should we not have a pamphlet to put into the hands of strangers, to be called "*An Antiquarian Ramble through Calcutta?*" Some of our pleasantest hours have been spent in this pursuit in Calcutta, in endeavouring to "conjure up the ghosts of departed days." We shall now jot down some of our gleanings collected from books and conversation; some of these facts, though apparently trivial, have cost us considerable search—but all bear, more or less, on the point of Calcutta, as it *was* in respect of its *localities*.

We shall begin with Kidderpur, then proceed to Chauringi, thence to Tank Square and its neighbourhood, then to Chitpur, and conclude with the Circular Road; noticing, as we go along, those places which call up associations of the past, the dim vision of the years that are no more, which remind us of the thoughts and actions of the buried generations of English who figured on the stage of events in Calcutta during last century.

Kidderpur is approached from the plain, by Hastings' bridge. Not far from Hastings' bridge was another of brick, called Surman's, after a Mr. Surman, a member of council—he was a member of the embassy to Delhi in 1717—his residence was, probably, to the south of it, in a place called Surman's Gardens, which will be ever memorable as the spot where the Governor and his party stopped, when they cowardly and treacherously deserted the Fort in 1757: this led to the catastrophe of the Black Hole. Immediately to the south of these gardens, was the boundary of Govindpur, the limit of the Company's colony of Calcutta, marked by a pyramid. Close by were situated *Watson's Docks*, so called from a Colonel Watson, the chief engineer, who built the *first* ships in Calcutta in 1781: an enterprising man, he obtained a grant from Government of the land for the purpose of making docks, on which he spent ten lakhs. Near those docks the Colonel erected a wind-mill; but as it commanded a view of a native's zenanah, the native went to law and obtained a decree that the wind-mill should be pulled down! This was a suit of wind-mill *versus* nuisances. Previous to this, two vessels were launched, in 1769 and 1770, but Calcutta had, heretofore, been dependant on Surat, Bombay and Pegu for its ships. However, famine gave an impulse to ship-building! Good out of evil—the ravages caused by Hydar in the Carnatic, in 1780, roused the Government to a sense of the importance of the shipping interest: they could not supply ships in sufficient numbers to convey food to the famished population of the South. Bombay had docks in 1735, but *Kidderpur*,

not for sixty years later, which Waddel made in 1795. Trade advanced: between 1781 and 1800, thirty-five vessels, measuring 17,020 tons, were built: from 1781 to 1821, the total was 237, which cost more than two millions sterling: this trade of ship-building is not, however, so brisk now. It was not, however, confined to Calcutta, as at Fort Gloucester, between 1811 and 1828, twenty-seven vessels, measuring 9,322 tons, were built, and as early as 1801, a vessel of 1,445 tons, the *Countess of Sutherland*, was built at Titighur, near Barrakpur: the river has so shallowed since, that, probably, the experiment could not be tried now.

To the North of Hastings' bridge lies *Kuli (Coolie) bazar*, once occupied, like many other places, by a handsome Mussalman burial-ground, but which was pulled down to erect the present buildings. On a platform erected to the south-west of it, Nandakumar, once Dewan to the Nawab of Murshidabad, was executed, August 5th, 1775—the first brahman hanged by the English in India: his death excited as great a revulsion of feeling among natives as did the execution of Louis XVI. among the French royalists. The foremost among the Mahapatak, crimes of the highest degree, or mortal sins of the Hindus, is killing a brahman—the other four are stealing gold from a priest, adultery with the wife of a guru, drinking spirits, and associating with persons who have committed any of those offences. Immediately after the execution, the Hindus rushed to the river to wash away the offence committed in seeing it, by bathing in Ganges water. During three days they ate nothing; and, subsequently, the excitement was very great; menaces were held out to the judges that if they proceeded to court, their lives would be sacrificed as victims to popular fury; but regardless of menaces, they marched in procession to the Supreme Court, attended by all the paraphernalia of justice, and the threats of the Hindus were as effective as those of the Calcutta Babus, on the passing of the *Lex Loci Act*. There is a native still living in Calcutta, whose father told him, that on that day the Hindus went to the other side of the river to eat, considering Calcutta to have been polluted by the execution of a brahman.*

The *Diamond Harbour Road* terminates at Kidderpur: from Kidderpur to Bursea it was lined with trees: this road extends thirty-nine miles, to Diamond Harbour, while the river route is fifty-six miles: it must have been an immense convenience in former days for speedy traffic, when cargo boats, from March to September, occupied from five to seven days in taking goods

* In the *Memorial of Sir E. Impey*, by his son, a different statement is given; but parties on the spot can give a more correct opinion.

from Calcutta to Diamond Harbour, or when a ship has been three weeks beating up to Calcutta from Diamond Harbour: the splendid old tanks near Diamond Harbour show the traffic that existed. Stavorinus, in 1768, gives the name of the village of Dover to Diamond Harbour, "where the English have 'built some ware-houses, and a factory much frequented by 'ships: close to it is a channel called the Shrimp Channel." There is no mention of the Diamond Harbour road in Upjohn's map of 1794, though there existed the Budge-Budge high road to Calcutta in 1757. Two miles south of Kidderpur is *Manikchand's Bhagan*. Holwell writes of it—"The family of the Rajah 'of Burdwan farmed lands to the amount of four lakhs, contiguous 'to the bounds of Calcutta, and had a palace at Byala: the fort 'of Budge-Budge, on the Ganges, was 'also their property." This *Bhagan* was once the residence of Manikchand, a Hindu, who was appointed Governor of Calcutta, when the English were expelled from it. During his incumbency he was noted for his rapacity, for though 50,000 of the Hindus returned to their dwellings in Calcutta after Suraj Daula left, yet no man of property would trust himself under Manikchand. Bengali like, he did not present an example of much courage; he ran away from Budge-Budge, when the English attacked it, a ball striking his turban having put him to flight, and he never stopped till he reached Murshidabad. Ali Verdy Khan, who appointed him to this office, found him so treacherous and cowardly, that he trusted the Patans chiefly on active service. The Musalman promoted the Bengalis to high office, but on the principle that they became excellent sponges which he could squeeze when he liked. On Ali Verdy's memorable retreat from Burdwan, 18,000 Bengali troops ran away.

Kidderpur was called after Colonel Kyd, an enterprising European, the Chief Engineer on the Company's Military establishment; his two East Indian sons were the famous ship-builders, and in 1818, launched from the dock there the *Hastings*, a seventy-four gun ship, which lately anchored at Sagar. He, with Bowley, Skinner and others, has shown what genius could effect in spite of the depressing influence of European caste, and the feeling which in Calcutta formerly regarded East Indians as a kind of *pariahs*.*

* *East Indians*, alias Eurasians, alias country-borns, were a class that excited great alarm in the last century, some writers conjecturing that they would, like the Americans, combine with the natives and drive the English from Calcutta. Hence various projects were entertained for neutralising their influence. There was only one Boarding School in Calcutta, chiefly for East Indians, in 1780, and the females of their class were fonder of the huka than of letters: they loved the theatre, dressing magnificently, and "affording by their sparkling eyes a marked contrast with the paleness and languor of the European ladies."

To the East of Kidderpur lie the *Calcutta militia lines*; the soldiers are all natives, certainly not on the original plan of the militia; for in the earlier days, every European was expected to be a militia man, the same as every passenger in an India-man was trained to take part in the defence of the ship. In 1759 the Europeans of Calcutta were all enrolled in the militia to garrison Calcutta, which enabled the Company to send the soldiers into the field against the Dutch, who came up the Hugli with a strong force; again, in 1763, all the regulars were sent away from Calcutta, the militia garrisoning it: however, a body of free merchants and free mariners, not content with standing on the defensive, took the field and marched to Patna. In 1801 there was a European as well as a Portuguese and Armenian militia.

The road from Kidderpur to Bursea, in last century, presented a picturesque appearance, being planted with shady trees on both sides—a fine old practice.

The *Kidderpur Military Orphan School* was established in 1783, by Major Kilpatrick, and was located at first at Haura, but about 1790, the present premises were taken. The front room of this building, the ball room, calls to mind the state of society in former days, when European ladies were afraid to face the climate of India—even Lord Teignmouth's lady refused to go out to India with her husband: in consequence, Kidderpur was a harbour of refuge, where men in want of wives made their selection in an evening, at balls given expressly for that purpose, travelling often a distance of 500 miles down the country to attain that object. But *tempora mutantur*.

Garden Reach is one of the oldest places of residence "out of town," and is mentioned in a map drawn up by General Martine, in 1760, as containing fifteen residences: but these were only fine bungalows. Previous to the battle of Plassey, the English were cooped up in the neighbourhood of the old Fort, enjoying the evening air in the Respondentia walk, lying beyond Chandpal Ghat, or in the fish-pond near Laldigi—beyond, there was too wholesome a dread of thieves and tigers, to induce them to wander into the grounds of the neighbouring zemindars, who were the Robin Hoods of those days. But when peace and security dawned, it is to the taste of the Ditchers, they preferred garden-houses, ornamented occasionally with statuary, which were their favourite abodes during the hot weather. Mrs. Fay writes in November—"My time has passed very stupidly (in Calcutta) for some months, but the town is now beginning to fill—people are returning for the cold season"—doubtless, from their country villas. We find that Warren Hastings had a place of this description at Sukh Sagar; and

another Governor, Cartier, one in 1763 at Baraset. The retirement of the garden, and the boating parties on the river, “the oars beating time to the notes of the clarionet,” formed more the objects of relaxation then than now. “Kittysol-boys, in the act of suspending their kittesans, which were finely ornamented, over their heads—which boys were dressed in white muslin jackets, tied round the waist with green sashes, and gartered at the knees in like manner with the puckered sleeves in England, with white turbans bound by the same colored ribband—the rowers, resting on their oars in a similar uniform—made a most picturesque appearance.”

Sir W. Jones lived in a bungalow in Garden Reach, nearly opposite to the Bishop's College—we have not been able to ascertain the site: here, shunning Calcutta and its general society, he indulged in his oriental studies; and in the morning, as the first streak of dawn appeared on the horizon, he walked up to his lodgings in the Court House, where he occupied the middle and upper rooms. He must have travelled via Kidderpur, as there was then no direct road from Garden Reach to Calcutta.

At the bottom of Garden Reach is *Akra*, marked off in Martine's map of 1760, with salt moulds; after that it was used as a powder depôt, and subsequently as a race-course. A little south of Kidderpur bridge, near the old Garden Beech, is *Bhu Khailâs*, founded by the late Joy Narayan Ghosal: two of the largest *lingas* in India are to be seen in two Sivite temples here, which were erected in the last century.

Alipur seems to be a Musalman name, and of the same signification as *Alinagur* (the city of Ali), which Suraj Daula, after the Moslem fashion of altering native names, gave to Calcutta, on its conquest in 1757.

Nearly opposite Alipur bridge stood *two trees*, called “the trees of destruction,” notorious for the duels fought under their shade: here Hastings and Francis exchanged shots, in the days when European women were few. Had Hastings fallen in that duel, the stability of British power in India might have been shaken, with such a Phæton as Francis guiding the chariot of the state. Jealousy often gave rise to these “affairs of honour.”

Facing Alipur bridge is *Belvidere*, once the favorite residence of Warren Hastings, but latterly he erected another house further south—he is said to have hunted tigers in its neighbourhood, and we think it probable, considering the state of other places at that time: as late as 1769, Stavorinus writes of the country in the vicinity of Chagda:—“Having many woods, in which there are tigers, we soon met with their traces in

‘ plenty.’ Lord Valentia states, that the Company gave in premiums for killing tigers and leopards, in Kasimbazar island, up to 1801, Rs. 150,000. Mrs. Fay describes Belvidere in 1780 :

The house is a perfect *bijou* ; most superbly fitted up with all that unbounded affluence can display ; but still deficient in that simple elegance which the wealthy so seldom attain, from the circumstance of not being obliged to search for effect without much cost, which those but moderately rich find to be indispensable. The grounds are said to be very tastefully laid out.

Stavorinus mentions visiting Belvidere in 1768, when the then Governor of Bengal resided there ; it may have probably served as Barrackpore does now, as the country residence of the Governors for the time being.

The *General Hospital* reared its head, as early as 1768, over the then solitary Chauringi, “ far from the city ;” previous to 1768, it was the garden-house of an individual, and was purchased by Government.*

To the north of Alipur flows *Tolly’s Nala*, called after Colonel Tolly, who also gave his name to *Tollyganj* ; he excavated a portion of it in 1775—the old name given to it was the Govindpur-creek, being the southern boundary of Govindpur, which was formerly the chief residence of the natives, the *Sets*, who, along with the Baysaks, constituted the oldest Hindu families of Calcutta ; they lived in the neighbourhood of the old pagoda and on the site of Fort William, the whole district being called Govindpur—a name derived from a deity called Govinda. Colonel Tolly made the *nala* at his own expense, in the bed of what was called *Surman’s Nala*. Government granted him the tolls on it, exclusively, for twelve years, and it soon yielded a net profit of 4,300 Rs. monthly. The Colonel died soon after its completion. This canal, in the course of thirty years, up to 1820, had silted up six feet—its native name

* Hamilton, in 1708, mentions a pretty good hospital at Calcutta, which “ many go into and undergo the penance of physic, but few come out to give an account of its operation.” In these days doctors were not well qualified or well paid. *Ex uno omnes diæ* : an anecdote is mentioned of one of the Governors of Bombay, who, wishing to gain the favour of his Honorable Masters in England, by retrenchment, found the Surgeon’s pay to be forty-two rupees monthly, on which he said there must be some mistake, that the figures were transposed, and so saying, with one stroke of his pen he wrote twenty-four instead of forty-two ! However, in Calcutta, there was a difference. Thus in 1780—“ Physic, as well as law, is a gold mine to its professors, to work it at will.—The medical gentlemen at Calcutta make their visits in palanquins, and receive a gold-mohur from each patient, for every common attendance—extras are enormous.”

A disease called “ *a pucha fever* ” was prevalent in Calcutta last century, probably owing to the mass of jungle which extended in every direction, and the fetid jils. Mrs. Kindersley writes of it as “ the illness of which most persons die in Calcutta ; it frequently carries off persons in a few hours—the doctors esteem it the highest degree of putridity.”

is *Burhi Gungá*.* On its banks is Káli Ghat Temple, built about sixty years ago by one of the Sabarna Chaudaris of Barsi Byealá.

We next proceed to *Chauringi*. Mrs. Kindersley, in 1768, describes the European houses "as built so irregular, that it 'looks as if the houses had been thrown up in the air, and fallen 'down again by accident as they now stand.'" The people of Calcutta in fact preferred, like the Madras people, garden-houses, where they could enjoy some privacy. The town was considered unhealthy and hot, and Chauringi was chosen for a garden retreat, as people now select Kasipur and Titighur, and as they will, ere long, on the opening of the rail-road, choose the neighbourhood of Bandel. How times change ! The Sunderbunds were healthy and populous places, eighty years before Charnock founded Calcutta, were then the site of flourishing cities, but are now the abodes of the rhinoceros and the tiger.

Chauringi (Chowringee) is a place of quite modern erection. Be not surprised, reader, it originated from "the rage for *country* houses," with their shade and flowers, which prevailed equally at Bombay and Madras, at the beginning of this century—but how *country* houses ? Why, Chauringi was then out of town, and even palki bearers charged double fare for going to it; while at night, servants returned from it in parties, having left their good clothes behind through fear of *dakait*s, which infested the outskirts of Chauringi ! There is a lady still living, who recollects when there were only two houses in Chauringi—one Sir E. Impey's, the very house now occupied as the nunnery, a third story only being added. On the site of the nunnery church was a tank, called the *Gol talao* ; the surrounding quarter was Sir E. Impey's park, which stretched to Chauringi-road on the west and to Park-street on the north, an avenue of trees leading through what is now Middleton-street into Park-street from his house ; it was surrounded by a fine wall, a large tank was in front, and plenty of room for a deer park, a guard of sipahis was allowed to patrol about the house and grounds at night, occasionally firing off their

* Our readers may deem it incredible, but we have a firm conviction, that the Ganges itself, which now flows by Bishop's College, once took its course on the site of Tolly's Nala. With the natives, to the south of Calcutta, Tollygunj is a sacred place for cremation, and so is Baripur, where there is now not a drop of water, because they believe the stream of the Ganges rolled there once : the traveller never sees any funeral pyres smoking near the Hugli south of Calcutta, as the natives have a notion that this is a *Kháid Gungá*, or a modern channel—the ancient channel, and not merely the water, is accounted sacred by them. Geological observations confirm this. In the borings made at Kidderpur in 1822, it was found, there were *no vegetable remains or trees*, hence there must have been a river or large body of water there.

muskets to keep off the *dahaits*. The other house was the present St. Paul's school. Chauringi houses increased towards the close of the last century. Upjohn, in 1794, places twenty-four houses in Chauringi, between Dharamatala and Brijitalao, the Circular-road and the plain. Lord Cornwallis in his day remarked that one-third of the Company's territories was a jungle, inhabited only by wild beasts, and in Chauringi the few houses were scattered over a great extent of ground. Let those who are warm friends to the centralising system of Calcutta, and who look on the Chauringi palaces as ever enduring, reflect a little on the past—to conjecture what the future *may* be. Surat, three centuries ago, had a population of half a million, now its grass-grown streets and tomb-covered squares show the desolating hand of time. Sagar island, now the abode of the tiger and the snake, contained two years previous to the foundation of Calcutta a population of 200,000, which, in one night, in 1688, was swept away by an inundation.

Park-street, so called because it led to Sir E. Impey's park, is mentioned in Upjohn's map of Calcutta, 1794, by the name of Burial-ground road. Being *out of town* last century, it was the route for burials from town (*i. e.*, the part north of Tank Square) to the Circular-road burial ground; hence it was dreaded as a residence. "All funeral processions are concealed as much 'as possible from the sight of the ladies, that the vivacity of their 'tempers may not be wounded,"—death and dancing did not harmonise together. We find in the *India Gazette* of 1788 a notice from T. Maudesely, undertaker, advertising for work, "having regularly followed that profession in England." He states, that on account of the great distance of the burial-ground, he has built a hearse, and is fitting up a mourning-coach;—previous to that, what a gloomy scene in *Park-street*; a funeral procession continuing one hour or more. The coffins, covered with a rich black velvet Pall, were carried on men's shoulders, and the European Pall Bearers arranged a little before they came to the ground.

Chauringi-road is spoken of by Holwell in 1752, as "the 'road leading to Collegot (Kali Ghat) and Dee Calcutta,"—a market was held in it at that time.

In a house in *Wood-street*, occupied lately by the eye infirm, Colonel Stewart lived, surnamed Hindu Stewart, from his conformity to idolatrous customs, &c.,—he was one of that class, now almost passed away, who looked with equal regard on the worship of Christ and Krishna.

At the corner of *Park-street* is the *Asiatic Society's house*,

built on a piece of ground granted by Government; it had been previously occupied as a *manége*, and was favourably located for that purpose. The Society was founded January 15, 1784—the same year which gave Calcutta the first church erected by the public since the battle of Plassey : religion and literature thus went together.

The *Course*, so called, as being a coss or two-miles in length, is described in 1768, as being “out of town in a sort of angle, ‘made to take the air in,” though an old song states that those who frequented it, “swallowed ten mouthfuls of dust for one ‘of fresh air.” Hamilton makes no mention of it in 1709 : the recreation then was “in chaises or by palankins, in the ‘fields or to gardens.” Boating and fishing seem to have been favourite amusements. Certainly those who took their evening sail in a pinnace enjoyed more exercise than the modern lollers in a carriage in the *Course*.

Of the *Race Course* mention is made in 1780, though the present one was commenced in 1819. There was formerly an old Race Course at Akra, but “Lord Wellesley, during his administration, set his face decidedly against horse-racing and every ‘other species of gambling :” his influence threw a damp on it for many years, though last century a high value was attached to English jockeys, and the races were favourite subjects of expectation with the ladies. With the amusement of the turf came the spirit of betting.

Dharmatala was formerly called the *avenue*, as it led from town to the Salt-water Lake and the adjacent country. Last century it was a “well-raised causeway, raised by deepening the ‘ditch on either side,” with wretched huts on the south side ; while on the north a creek ran through a street, still called Creek-Row, through the Wellington Square Tank, down to Chandpal Ghat. Large boats could come up it—if it had been kept clear and had been widened, it might have been very useful for the drainage, as Colonel Forbes, in his memoranda to the Municipal Commissioners in 1835, recommended the digging a similar creek in that direction. The road was, according to an old useful Hindu practice, shaded with trees on both sides, as we find was the practice in other parts at that period. *Dharmatala* is so called from a great mosque, since pulled down, which was on the site of Cook’s stables ; the ground belonged, with all the neighbouring land, to Jáfir, the jamadar of Warren Hastings, a zealous Musalman. The *Karbelá*, a famous Musalman assemblage of tens of thousands of people, which now meets in the Circular-road, used then to congregate there, and by its local sanctity, gave the name to the street of the *Dharmatala* or *Holy street*.

The *bazar*, about half way between Wellington Square and Government House, occupies the site of the residence of Colonel De Glass, superintendent of the gun manufactory, which has since been removed to Kasipur. David Brown, the eminent minister of the Mission Church, subsequently occupied the building, which had a large compound. He kept a Boarding School, and had among his pupils Sir R. Grant, late Governor of Bombay, and Lord Glenelg.

Wellington Square Tank was excavated in 1822, it was one of the good works of the Lottery Committee; its site was formerly occupied by wretched huts inhabited by lascars, who made the place a mass of filth and dirt. The banks have several times fallen in, owing to the old creek called Channel Creek having formerly run through it.

The *Native Hospital* owes its origin to the suggestion of the Rev. John Owen, a chaplain; the plan was proposed in 1793, when the Marquis Cornwallis granted it 600 Rs. per month; the private subscriptions amounted to 54,000 Rs. Lord Cornwallis gave 3,000 Rs., each Member of Council 4,500 Rs., the Nawab Vizier gave 3,000 Rs. It was established at first in the Chitpur-road, and opened September the 1st, 1794; but in 1798 the managers purchased ground in "the open and airy road of Dharmatala". At that time there were only three or four houses in the street.* During the last century disease must have made fearful ravages among the natives. Small Pox was a dreadful scourge; "inoculation is much practised by the natives, but they convert the contagious matter into powder, which they give internally, mixed with someliquid." Adjoining the Dharmatala is the *Free School*, on the site of a house which was occupied by Mr. Justice Le Maitre, one of the judges in Impey's time. The Free School was engrafted on the Old Charity School, founded in 1742, and settled "at the garden-house near the Jaun Bazar, 1795." The purchase and repair of the premises cost 56,800 Rs.

* Calcutta, in former days, had justly an ill name for its insalubrity, "the grave-yard of Europeans"—but the Doctors also were in fault, as Dr. Goodeve, in his able paper "On the Progress of European Medicine in the East" shows, when all agreed that "as the strength must be supported in dysentery, wine and solid animal food were the most appropriate diet." Patients were ordered in these cases, "pillaos, curries, grilled fowls and peppered chicken broth *ad libitum*, with a glass or two of medicine, or a little brandy and water, and a dessert of ripe fruits." Native doctors had their hot and cold remedies for hot and cold diseases, their mantras and philtres, while Lind states that the Portuguese doctors prescribed as the grand cure, "the changing all the European blood in their patients' bodies into native's." This they endeavoured to accomplish by repeated venesections, till they conceived that the whole mass of this circulating fluid had been abstracted. And then, by a diet consisting exclusively of the productions of the country, they hoped to substitute a liquid entirely Indian, which would render their patients proof against the maladies under which they had previously laboured."

On the proposal for forming the Free School, the public at once subscribed 26,082 Rs. and Earl Cornwallis gave 2,000 Rs. It is the oldest educational institution in Calcutta, it is said that its funds arose chiefly from the interest of the restitution money granted by the Musalmans for pulling down the Old Church near the Writers' Buildings in 1756.

Cossitala, leading from Dharmatala into Old Calcutta, was named after the *Kasái* or butchers, dealers in goats' and cows' flesh, who formerly occupied it as their quarter. It must therefore have been formerly a hateful street for Hindus to pass on their way from Chitpur to Kali Ghat, as seventy years ago Hindus would not sell an ox when they knew it was designed for slaughter. Like Government House, it was then "in the suburbs of Calcutta;" this may account for the late C. Grant, father of Lord Glenelg, having taken up his residence in Grant's Lane, which received its name from this circumstance. He afterwards built a handsome house, opposite Lord Clive's, where he resided several years before he left India. In 1757 Cossitala was a mass of jangal, and even as late as 1780, it was almost impassable from mud in the rains. In Upjohn's map only two or three houses are marked in it, so that Mr. Grant might enjoy his *rus in urbe* in the neighbourhood of his favorite *Lal Grija*. In 1788 a Mr. Mackinnon advertises for a school to be opened to contain 140 pupils.

Lal Bazar is mentioned by Holwell, in 1738, as a famous bazar. Mrs. Kindersley, in 1768, states it to be the best street in Calcutta, "full of little shabby looking shops called *Boutiques* kept by black people," it then stretched from the Custom House to Baitakhana. Bolst mentions a case of a Governor-General, about 1770, who, finding that Europeans there retailed "paria arrack to the great debauchery of the soldiers," sent a guard of sipahis and gave them lodgings for several days in the dungeon of the new fort. Sir W. Jones, in 1788, refers to the nuisance there of low taverns, kept by Italians, Spanish, and Portuguese. In the house west of the Police Office, were formerly placed *hamam* or warm-baths. It is singular that in the metropolis of an oriental country, no encouragement has been given to these speculations, while every Overland traveller can testify to the beneficial effects of the Cairo hot-baths, and even the mechanics of London now avail themselves of tepid baths. Facing this, on the opposite side of the street, stood an old play-house. The *Police Office* formed the residence of John Palmer, one of the "merchant princes" of Calcutta. His father was secretary to Warren Hastings; when a youth he was a prisoner of war in France, where he

was treated most kindly by La Fitte, the famous banker, who instructed him in commercial subjects. He came in 1789 to Calcutta, where he established himself in business, which he conducted on a most extensive scale : he had for his first partner Henry St. George Tucker, who was afterward in the Civil Service, and subsequently Chairman of the Court of Directors. Palmer was called the prince of British merchants, and was equally renowned for his princely generosity. He died in 1836. On the opposite side of the street, stood the *Old Jail* of Calcutta, which also served as the Tyburn of Calcutta, all the executions taking place in the cross road near it ; the pillory was erected also on that spot. There is a man still living in Calcutta who underwent the punishment of the pillory there. The Calcutta papers of 1800 give us an account of one Brajamohun Dut, a watch-maker, having been hanged there for *stealing a watch privately from a dwelling-house*. The same period has witnessed five Europeans hanged there together. At the siege of Calcutta, in 1757, it served like another Hougomont, as a point of defence.

Calcutta, in early days, in 1780, had French and English confectioners. Opposite the Old Jail in Lal Bazar, was the famous *Harmonicon Tavern*, now the Sailor's Home ; it was the handsomest house then in Calcutta and proved a great comfort to the poor people in Jail, to whom supplies of food were frequently sent from thence. It was founded in the days when strangers considered that " every house was a paradise and every 'host an angel,' where young men stayed as long as they liked ; but this system began to give way to that of hotels about 1823. Mrs. Fay writes of it in 1780 :—

I felt far more gratified some time ago, when Mrs. Jackson procured me a ticket for the Harmonic, which was supported by a select number of gentlemen, who each in alphabetical rotation gave a concert, ball, and supper, during the cold season ; I believe once a fortnight.

We had a great deal of delightful music, and Lady C —, who is a capital performer on the harpsichord, played, amongst other pieces, a Sonata of Nicolai's in a most brilliant style.

Mr. Hastings attended this party. The Harmonicon Society, previous to 1780, had a house in Lal Bazar, so that punch-houses were, probably, its successors. Hawksworth mentions—" I was also shown, *en passant*, a tavern called the London Hotel, where entertainments are furnished at the moderate price of a gold-mohur a head, exclusive of the dessert and wines. At the coffee-houses your single dish of coffee costs you a rupee (half-a-crown) ; which half-crown, however, franks you to the perusal of the English news-papers, which are regularly arranged on a file, as in London ; together with the

‘ *Calcutta Advertiser*, the *Calcutta Chronicle*, &c., &c.—and, for the honour of Calcutta, be it recorded, that the two last-named publications *are*, what the English prints formerly *were*, ‘ moral, amusing, and intelligent.’ The chief strangers that came to Calcutta were the Captains of the Indiamen, great personages in their day, the lords of those splendid ships, the Old Indiamen, and whose position was often a stepping stone to a seat in the Direction. In fact one of the Charters provided that six members of the Court of Directors should always have been commanders of their ships, but the Company rented accommodation for those magnates by hiring houses during their stay at 500 Rs. per month.

A little to the north of this, in the Chitpur road, is the *Tiretta Bazar*, so called from a Frenchman named Tiretta, who established it about 1788; he was superintendant of streets and buildings. It yielded a monthly rent of 3,800 Rs. It was valued then at two lakhs, and Tiretta having become bankrupt, his creditors offered it at that sum as a prize in a lottery.

Opposite the Tiretta bazar stood the house of C. Weston (after whom Weston’s lane was named); when he lived there in 1740, the house was in the midst of a large garden, which could have borne witness to many benevolent deeds. C. Weston here gave away 1,600 Rs. monthly to the poor with his own hand, and at his death he left one lakh of rupees as a legacy.

The road from Lal Bazar to the Old Church, called Mission Row, was formerly named the Rope Walk, and was the scene of hard fighting at the time of the siege of Calcutta, in 1757. The *Old or Mission Church* was so called, because it is the oldest church in Calcutta, having been built in 1768, eleven years after the demolition of the first church by the Musalmans. Kiernander, the first Protestant missionary to Bengal, erected it, at a cost to himself of half a lakh. He not only did this, but gave the proceeds of the sale of his deceased wife’s jewels to the building; in 1774, a large school-room was added to the east of the present church. During his life-time Kiernander gave away of his own property in charity at least £12,000 sterling. This school and the church were built in a way then unusual in Calcutta, without any Sunday work! Kiernander died in 1799, in his eighty-seventh year, forty-eight of which he spent in India; with him died all very active efforts for the benefit of the Portuguese. The subsequent exertions were merely desultory.

David Brown, the first chaplain of this church, was the man for the middle classes. His congregation was chiefly composed of “Europeans, East Indians and Portuguese,”—the

only recompense he would consent to receive from the Christian Knowledge Society, was "some valuable packages of books." The church is still known among the natives by the name of the Lal Gria, from the red-painted bricks of which it was made; but *Lal Bazar* was a name in existence long before this church—perhaps it may have been called *lal* from its vicinity to the Lal Bazar? The premises now occupied by the senior chaplain were once the abode of Obeck, a well-remembered name. The residence of the junior chaplain is adjacent to the site of the first mission school begun in Calcutta, by Kiernander, in 1759. It contained 135 boys, Armenian, Bengali, English and Portuguese. English and Portuguese were taught in it. Kiernander entertained sanguine hopes of the conversion of the brahmans in the school; but his prospects were doomed, as many subsequently have experienced in similar cases, to vanish into air. The minister of the Mission Church paid more attention to the spiritual and intellectual condition of that much neglected class, the Portuguese, than any other persons in Calcutta, and some of the best members of the church were Portuguese: even as late as 1789, the Rev. T. Clarke, who came out as a Missionary, but who afterwards renounced his profession and became a chaplain "under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief," began to study Portuguese, as "a fundamental principle of the 'Mission was to have the native population everywhere 'addressed in their own language.'" This church is inseparably connected with the name of Charles Grant, who paid 10,000 Rs. to have it redeemed from the Sheriff's gripe. He contributed liberally to the missionary objects of it, and afterwards, as Chairman of the Court of Directors, selected the chaplains to be there.* In the last century, the Old Church was in a state of feud with the New (St. John's) Church, the chaplains of the former were evangelicals, of the latter, high church; the middle class and the East Indians attended the former, the fashionables and "big wigs," the latter,—so far did the spirit of *odium theologicum* reach, that the chaplain of the New Church requested the Government to close the Old Church!

Tank Square, last century, "in the middle of the city," covers upwards of twenty-five acres of ground. Stavorinus states: "It was dug by order of Government, to provide the 'inhabitants of Calcutta with water, which is very sweet and 'pleasant. The number of springs which it contains makes the 'water in it nearly always on the same level. It is railed 'round, no one may wash in it." When this tank was dug,

* For full details respecting Kiernander, see an article in this *Review*, No. XIII.—
"The first Protestant Missionary to Bengal."

we have never been able to ascertain. Hamilton wrote in 1702, that the Governor had a handsome house in the Fort, "the Company has also a pretty good garden, that furnishes the Governors with herbage and fruits at table, and some fish-ponds to serve his kitchen with good carps, callops and mullet." Perhaps the tank was dug to serve as the fish-ponds, and the garden may have formed the Park, *Lal Bág*, or in modern times, Tank Square. The tank was formerly more extensive, but was cleansed and embanked completely in Warren Hastings' time. Its first name was "the Green before the Fort." No doubt, it was the place of recreation and shooting wild game for the Company's factors, and in the middle of last century it was the scene of many a moonlight gambol of young people, and elderly ones, who, rigged out in stockings of different colours, yellow coat, green waistcoat, &c., &c., amused themselves on the banks of the "fish-pond in the park," inhaling the evening breezes, and thinking of the friends of whom they had heard nine months before!

Old Court House Street, parallel with Mission Row, is so called from the Old Court House, or Town Hall, which stood at the northern extremity of the street, on the site of St. Andrew's Church. The charity boys were lodged and fed here previous to the battle of Plassey—this was the first charity school,—feeding and educating twenty children for 2,400 Rs. annually. It was erected about 1727, by Mr. Bouchier, a merchant, who was afterwards appointed Governor of Bombay. In 1734 he gave it to Government, on condition of their paying 4,000 Rs. annually to support a charity school, this money goes to the Free School, and is still paid by Government. In 1765, it was considerably enlarged by private subscription, in consideration of this Government agreed to give 800 Rs. monthly to the school. Omichand, a native merchant, gave 20,000 Rs. towards this subscription. Lectures were occasionally given in it; we find that Dr. Bell in 1788 read a course of twelve lectures on experimental philosophy there. Stavorinus writes of it, in 1770: "Over the Court House are two handsome assembly rooms. In one of these are hung up the portraits of the King of France, and of the late queen, as large as life, which were brought by the English from Chandernagore, when they took that place." These assembly rooms were used, as the Town Hall is now, for holding balls, meetings, &c. We have an account of a grand ball given here in 1769, in honor of the Dutch Governor, by the English Governor Cartier. The party assembled at seven and remained till the next morning, "the ladies were decorated with an immense quantity of jewels."

Sir W. Jones occupied rooms in the present Court House, where he had to attend to Police cases twice a week, to issue warrants to pick up the drunken sailors, as all the Judges in those days took it by turns to do. In the Court only four attorneys were allowed to practise; an appeal was permitted to the Governor and Council. Another Court, founded in 1753, called the Court of Requests, existed, composed of twenty-four Commissioners, selected originally by the Government from among the principal inhabitants of Calcutta, but who, subsequently, elected their own members. They sat every Thursday, to determine matters of forty shillings value—three forming a *quorum*. Daniel gives a drawing of this Court House—with elephants walking in Tank-Square,—for in the last century elephants were freely permitted to perambulate the town. As early as 1727 a corporation, consisting of a Mayor and nine Aldermen, and a Mayor's Court, was established, of which the famous Zaphania Holwell was once President; but it was considered to be too much under the influence of Government, cases having occurred where trials were suspended at the dictum of the Governor, who, by his patronage, greatly influenced the Members. Owing to this and the want of an enlarged jurisdiction to control the gigantic abuses which had grown up among the servants of Government, the Supreme Court was constituted in its stead in October, 1774. The Mayor's Court had jurisdiction in civil causes between Europeans. The judges were the Aldermen, mercantile men, who had a liberal allowance of twenty-two rupees monthly for their services! Holwell sat in this Court, and states, he heard natives confess to the most atrocious crimes, pleading they should be acquitted, since it was the *Káli Yug*, and therefore it was in the nature of things to commit sin. *Asiaticus* states, that the abolition of the Mayor's Court, in 1774, was not a very popular measure:—

The attorneys, who have followed the judges in search of prey, as the carrion crows do an Indian army on its march, are extremely successful in supporting the spirit of litigation among the natives, who, like children, delighted with a new play-thing, are highly pleased with the opportunity of harassing one another by vexatious suits; and those pests of society, called bailiffs, a set of miscreants hitherto little known in India, are now to be seen in every street, watching for the unhappy victims devoted to legal persecution. Even the menial servants are now tutored to breathe that insolent spirit of English licentiousness, which teaches the slave to insult his master, and then bring his action of damages at Westminster, if deservedly chastised for his impudence. Arbitrary fines are daily imposed on gentlemen who presume to correct their slaves; and the house of the Chief Justice of Bengal resembles the office of a trading magistrate in Westminster, who decides the squabbles of oyster women, and picks up a livelihood by the sale of shilling warrants.

As an illustration of the state of justice in the Mayor's Court, we give an anecdote with which the name of *Tagore* is mixed up. The party referred to was a relative of the late Dwarkanath Tagore:—

A gentleman of the Council of Calcutta became indebted to one Wm. Wilson, a sail-maker, for work done in the way of his profession, amounting to Co.'s Rs. 75-9-7; for payment of which the sail-maker sent in his bill, with a receipt annexed. The Councillor, who happened at the same time to be zemindar, alleged the charges in the bill were exorbitant and unreasonable, and would neither discharge nor give up the bill; threatening the sail-maker, that he would get him turned out of the Company's service, or sent to Bencoolen, if he persisted in his demand. The sail-maker, not intimidated, filed his bill in the Mayor's Court against the Councillor, who, rather than expose the affair to a public discussion, more prudently agreed to pay the bill and the expenses of suit, by which it was, consequently, swelled. The complainant's solicitor or attorney at law (as they are called in Bengal) sent his banyan, Radhoo Tagoor, a black merchant of Calcutta, to receive the amount of the bill. This was repeated several times without success; till at last the said Radhoo Tagoor desired the Councillor's banyan to inform his master, that the amount of the bill was wanted, and if it was not paid, some bad consequences might ensue from the cause going on in the regular course of law, and the charges being consequently enhanced; which being told to the Councillor and zemindar, he grew angry and ordered the merchant, Radhoo Tagoor, to be immediately seized by his peons, and carried to the cutchery, where he was without any examination, inquiry, or form whatever, tied up, severely flogged, and beat on the head with his own slippers, by order of the said zemindar, who wrote a letter to the attorney at law upon the occasion, of which the following is an exact copy:—

SIR,—I have ordered your demand to be complied with. It is so extravagant, that I intend laying it before the court. Your banyan was so insolent as to tell me that, unless I discharge it directly, you would increase your demand, for which insolence in him I have sent him to the cutchery, where he will meet his deserts.

Your most humble servant,

Calcutta, the 22nd February, 1765.

Near the Old Court House, in the north-west corner of Lyon's Range, stood the *theatre*, which, in the siege of 1757, was turned into a battery by the Moors, and annoyed the fort very much. The theatre was generally served by amateur performers, and was frequented by the authorities; a ball room was attached; respecting the dancing there, *Asiaticus* gives us a lively description:—

For my own part, I already begin to think the dazzling brightness of a copper-coloured face infinitely preferable to the pallid and sickly hue, which banishes the roses from the cheeks of the European fair, and reminds me of the death-struck countenance of Lazarus risen from the grave. The English ladies are immoderately fond of dancing, an exercise ill calculated for the burning climate of Bengal; and in my opinion, however admissible in cooler latitudes, not a little indelicate in a country, where the inhabitants are covered with no more clothes than what decency absolutely requires. Imagine to yourself the lovely object of your affections ready to expire with heat, every limb trembling, and every feature distorted with fatigue, and

P P

her partner with a muslin handkerchief in each hand employed in the delightful office of wiping down her face, while the big drops stand impearled upon her forehead.

Fort William College or Writers' Buildings was appropriated for the residence of writers, or Young Civilians. Originally civilians, during their first years in India, were employed in copying. Sir C. Metcalfe "wrote section" himself, a work now done by keranis at the rate of 1,400 words for a rupee—they at first lived in the fort, but, subsequently, in the present buildings, which were rented by Government from the Barwell family. Mr. G. Barwell himself retired to England on a fortune of eighty lakhs, he was member of Council in 1780, these eighty lakhs melted away in a manner no one could account for. Old Barwell was Governor of Calcutta in 1750, and for a century the family has commanded the first appointments in the Civil Service. The location of it in Calcutta was most unfavourable for the young men,—could the past unfold its tale, what a picture would be presented of young men fresh from school, lavishing large sums on horse-racing, dinner parties, contracting large loans with *Banians*, who clung to them for life like leeches, and quartered their relations on them throughout their Indian career. Mention is made of the Writers' Buildings in 1780, as being "a monument of commercial prosperity,"—could the walls tell of the past, how many scenes would be unfolded—lamp shades used as champagne glasses, &c., &c. In the houses now occupied by the Exchange and the *Hurkaru* office, *Fort William College* was first located on its establishment in 1800, by the Marquis of Wellesley. Dr. Buchanan, the Vice-Provost, and Dr. Carey occupied rooms in what is now the Exchange, but it was then a part of the Old College of Fort William, and was connected with the other portion of the building, now the *Hurkaru* office, by a gallery that ran across the street. This building reminds us of a few points about the former status of civilians. Orders came from the Court in 1675, that civilians should serve five years as apprentices, receiving, however, ten pounds per annum for the last two years, and then to rise to the respective grades of writer, factor, merchant, and senior merchant; they were also directed to learn the military exercise, so that, if found better qualified for the military than the civil line, they might receive a commission and have military pay. Their honourable masters had strange ideas of a civilian's duties, for, in 1686, on ten ships of war being sent to Bengal, to fortify Chittagang and establish a mint there, there were six companies of soldiers sent in the ships, without captains, as the Members of Council were designed to act as such! Charnock, a civilian, was appointed

Admiral and Commander-in-Chief. But as early as 1600, the India Company requested in their petition for a Charter, "that 'no gentlemen might be employed in their charge!'"

To the west of Writers' Buildings, thirty yards east of the fort, stood the *first church* of Calcutta, called St. John's, at the suggestion of the Free Masons, who were liberal contributors to it.* It was built in 1716, days when "gold was plenty and labour cheap" by the piety of sea-faring men. The Christian Knowledge Society took an active part in its establishment, and the Gospel Propagation Society sent a handsome silver cup in commemoration of its opening. As they were sometimes without a chaplain, owing to death, the service was performed by merchants, who were allowed 600 Rs. annually, for reading the prayers and a sermon on Sunday,—the oldest chaplain we have notice of, is Samuel Brereton, in 1709. The steeple of this church, "the chief public ornament of the settlement," fell, or sunk down in the earthquake of 1737, and the church itself, which commanded the fort, was demolished by the Moors in 1756. Calcutta then remained without a church, until the Missionary Kiernander erected one at his own expense in 1768, service in the interval being performed in a temporary room fitted up on a ground floor in the old fort, though little respect was paid to Sunday, except by hoisting the flag at Fort William. Even in church no great decorum was observed.

Where *all* ladies are approached, by sanction of ancient custom, by *all* gentlemen indiscriminately, known or unknown, with offers of their hand to conduct them to their seat; accordingly, those gentlemen who wish to change their condition, (which are chiefly old fellows, for the young ones either choose country-born ladies for wealth, or, having left their hearts behind them, enrich themselves, in order to be united to their favourite dulcineas in their native land) on hearing of a ship's arrival, make a point of repairing to this holy dome, and eagerly tender their services to the fair strangers; who, if this stolen view happens to captivate, often, without undergoing the ceremony of a formal introduction, receive matrimonial overtures, and becoming brides in the utmost possible splendor, have their rank instantaneously established, and are visited and paid every honour to which the consequence of their husbands entitles them.

In *Hartley House* mention is made of the foundation of a new church laid about 1780, in the new fort. Could any of our readers throw light on this subject?

In the north-west corner of Tank Square, stood the *Black Hole*, its site was commemorated by an obelisk, fifty feet high, inscribed with the names of thirty victims who perished in the

* We have accounts of a Free Mason's Lodge in Calcutta in 1744; in 1789, they gave at the Old Court House a ball and supper to the members of the Company's service in Calcutta; and they seem to have had a local habitation and a name there from the days of Charnock—their institution tended to mitigate the exclusiveness of European caste in former times.

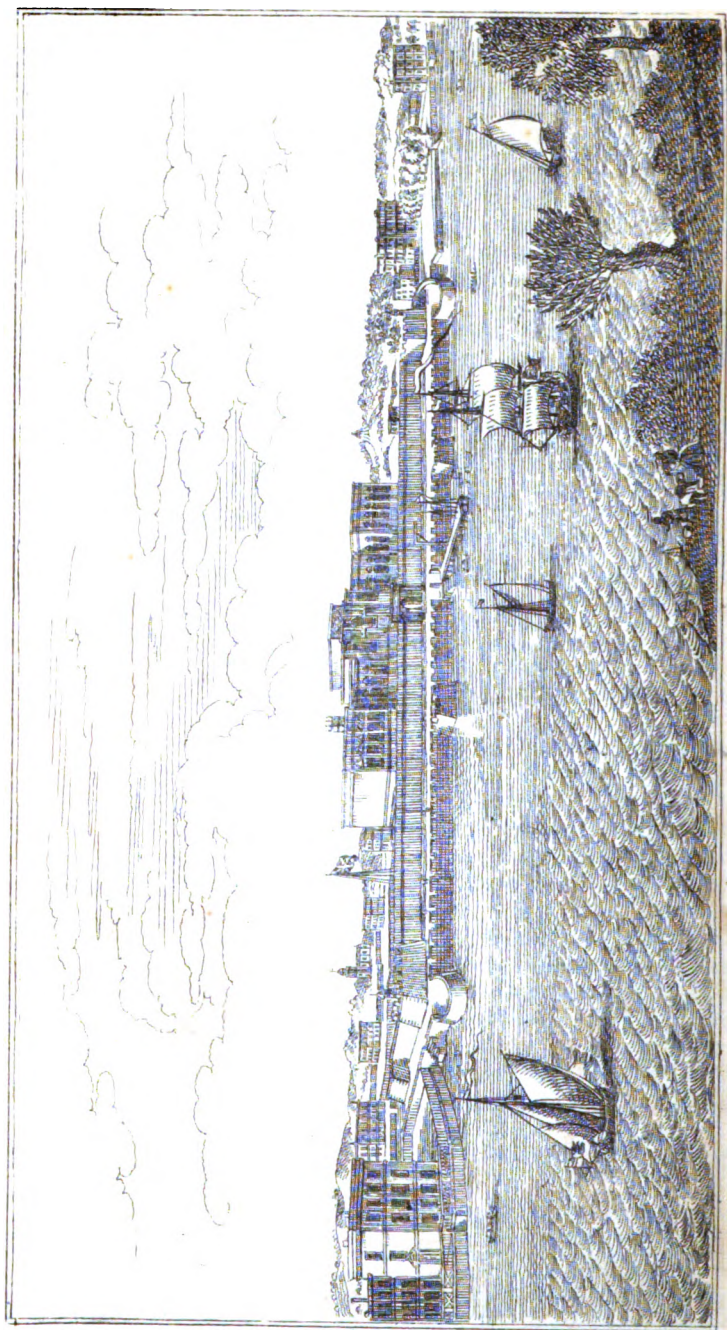
Black Hole, on the 20th of June, 1757. It was erected at the expense of Mr. Holwell and the survivors, "the bodies of the 'victims were thrown into the ditch of the fort.'"* This monument, though erected at the expense of individuals, was pulled down by the order of the Marquis of Hastings, on the ground, that it served to remind the natives of our former humiliation.† As the remark has often been made, that Indian patronage has been a family one, and that the same names occur year after year, we append here the names of those as inscribed on the monument, which was erected to them, who perished one century ago in the Black Hole; but few persons are in the Company's service now, of the same name, which seems to indicate that patronage has taken another channel:—

Edwd. Eyre, and Wm. Baillie, Esqrs.; The Revd. Jervas Bellamy; Messrs. Jenks, Reevely, Law, Coats, Nallicourt, Jebb, Torriano, E. Page, S. Page, Grub, Street, Harod, P. Johnstone, Ballard, N. Drake, Carse, Knapton, Gosling, Dod, and Dalrymple; Captains Clayton, Buchanan, and Witherington; Lieuts. Bishop, Hays, Blagg, Simpson, and J Bellamy; Ensigns Peccard, Scott, Hastings, C Wedderburn, and Dumbleton; Sea Captains Hunt, Osburn, and Purnel; Messrs. Carey, Leech, Stevenson, Guy, Porter, Parker, Caulker, and Bendol, and Atkinson, who, with sundry other inhabitants, military and militia, to the number of 123 persons, were, by the tyrannic violence of Surajud Daula, Suba of Bengal, suffocated in the Black Hole Prison of Fort William, in the night of the 20th day of June, 1756, and promiscuously thrown the succeeding morning into the ditch of the Ravalin of this place. This monument is erected by their surviving fellow-sufferer, J. Z. HOLWELL.

The *Old Fort* was called *Fort William*, because built A. D. 1692, in the reign of William the Third, the year in which the French at Chandernagore, and the Dutch at Chinsurah, built theirs. Two years previously the Governor and Members of Council at Bombay were made to walk through the streets of that city with irons round their necks. The Burdwan insurrection of 1696 originated it. The walls were very strong, being made of brick, with a mortar composed of brick-dust, lime, molasses, and hemp, a cement as strong as stone. In 1819, when the fort was pulled down to make way for the Custom House, the pick-axe or crow-bar was of no avail, gun-powder was obliged to be resorted to, so strong were the buildings. In early days it was garrisoned by 200 soldiers, chiefly employed in escorting merchandise, or in attending

* 150 were crowded into a room 18 feet by 14; 22 of these came out alive—for a full account of the Black Hole see Holwell's *Tracts* or Broome's *History of the Bengal Army*, a work of sterling value.

† Suraj-a-Daula has, we think, been too severely blamed for the catastrophe of the Black Hole, the incarceration was the work of his underlings; his orders were simply to keep the prisoners secure, and when they complained, no man ventured to break the sleep of an Eastern despot. After all, Calcutta suffered far less injury from its capture by the Moors, than Madras did in 1746, when taken by Lally, and the French, who totally demolished all the public buildings.



Prospective View of Fort William in the Kingdom of Bengal, belonging to the East India Company of England.

on Rajahs, who, like the chieftains in the castled crags of the Rhine, levied tolls on all boats ferrying up or down the river ! The Old Fort extended from the middle of Clive-street to the northern edge of the tank. About 1770 it was used as a church and a jail, and as the depôt for the Company's medicines. There is a sketch of it in an old Number of the *Universal Magazine*, which we have had re-produced in outline. Doubtless the foot itself is correctly delineated, although the artist must have drawn upon his imagination for the hills in the back-ground.

The Old Fort served like the feudal castles, to form the nucleus of the town (as in England all these towns, whose names end in *caster*, were originally Roman camps,) the natives meeting with protection, and enjoying privileges in trade, soon settled down in Suttenuddy and Govindpur.

St. John's Church, alias the old Cathedral, was opened on Easter Sunday, 1787. Previous to Bishop Middleton's arrival, it was called the New Church, to distinguish it from the Old Church, which is the oldest Anglo-episcopal church in Calcutta. With this building may be dated the commencement of the era of church-building. Calcutta was rising to its title of a City of Palaces ; the Supreme Council had called for plans of a church, and Warren Hastings felt, that the metropolis ought to have a suitable place for religious worship. As in 1774 Calcutta had "a noble play-house—but no church," service was held in a room next to the Black Hole. A Church Building Committee was organised in 1783 ; its first Committee Meeting was attended by its zealous patron, Warren Hastings, and his Council ; they found 35,950 Rs. had been subscribed, 25,592 Rs. additional were given by a resource then popular in Calcutta—by lottery. A Hindu, Nabakissen, presented, in addition to assigning over the burying ground, a piece of ground, valued at 30,000 rupees ; the Company gave 3 per cent. from their revenues ; the rest was raised by voluntary contributions. We have never had in India such an inauguration of a church. On the day when the foundation stone was laid, the acting Governor gave a public breakfast, and then, along with the chief Government servants, went in procession to the scene of the ceremonial.* Charles Grant despoiled Gaur of some of

* This church called out the voluntary principle very rapidly—Mr. Davis undertook the ornamenting the church ; a barrister, Mr. Hall, drew up the contracts gratuitously. Wilkins, the orientalist, superintended the moulding of the stones prepared at Benares,—the East India Company gave 12,000 Rs. for providing communion plate, velvet, bells ; and besides 14,394 Rs. subsequently from the Government of Bengal, Earl Cornwallis gave 3,000 Rs. Zoffani painted the altar piece for it gratis. All the Apostles were taken from life, and represented persons then living in Calcutta. Old Tulloh, the Auctioneer, who came out in 1784, sat for Judas without knowing it.

its finest marble and freestone, the new church took three years in building, and Earl Cornwallis opened it on the 24th of June, 1787, thus wiping away the reproach. The Mussalmans, during the short period they held Calcutta, in 1757, showed a different zeal, for they erected a mosque within the Old Fort, having pulled down other buildings to make room for it. Previous to 1787, divine service was performed in a small room of the Old Fort, "a great disgrace to the settlement; the site was occupied by the old burial ground which had existed there for a century previously; when the bones were rooted out of the graves to make a site for this church, it created a strong indignation among the Mussalmans, who would not do it to their bitterest enemy." The bones were, we believe, removed to the new burial ground; the "house of prayer was not the house of sepulture," and the tombs of the following persons were preserved—Hamilton, Charnock and Watson. The oldest burial recorded is that of Captain Barton, 1693. Charnock's widow was interred in the tomb built by himself, before which he used to sacrifice a cock on the anniversary of her death.

This burial ground was once "in the environs of Calcutta, as the new burial ground is now without the boundaries of the town." In 1802 the old tottering tombs were removed. Most of the old tablets were cut from stone procured at St. Thome, near Madras.

The vestry meeting of St. John's was long looked upon as a scene, where the laity gave their opinion and votes on church matters. The Governor-General, Earl Cornwallis, attended the first vestry meeting, in 1786. This vestry has charitable funds at its disposal, arising from legacies left by General Martine, Baretto and Weston, yielding in interest 15,000 Rs. annually.

We seldom see in the compound the train of carriages, palki-gharis and palankins, without thinking on the revolution that has taken place in manners. When the foundation stone was laid in 1784, the Governor and the principal inhabitants of Calcutta *walked* from the old Court House to take part in the solemnity; at the consecration they contributed 3,943 Rs. to a charitable object, that of a Free School; and previous to this period, the Governor and heads of Government, used to walk in solemn procession every Sunday to the first church, erected at the west end of the Writers' Buildings, which was demolished in 1756. While we are adopting the absurd custom of dressing in black in hot weather, we have almost renounced the good old English habit of walking. Certainly, the *exercise* of lolling in a carriage, benefits the doctor and

the coachmaker, but whom else? And yet people complain of the climate! We know the case of ladies in Chauringi who, through indolence, *are carried* up-stairs; no doubt they loudly exclaim what a dreadful place is India, where they must sit still so long!

West of St. John's, in the premises now occupied by the Stamp and Stationery Committee, was formerly the *Old Mint*, where the Company coined its rupees from 1791 to 1832. In the latter year the New Mint was established; previous to 1791, the coinage was executed by contract; the copper coin, chiefly by Mr. Prinsep, the father of the late James Prinsep, who conducted an establishment for that purpose at Fulta. The coining their own names, (though with the Mogul's head and a Persian inscription,) was an object of early ambition with the English and other European powers; hence even the Dutch had a mint of their own, at Murshidabad, in 1757. On the site of this Old Mint stood, in 1790, the flourishing ship-building establishment of Gilletta. As late as 1770, no copper coin was to be seen in Bengal, no pice were in use, change under a rupee had to be given in cowries. This is strange. As early as 1680, a Mr. Smith was sent out from England as an assay master, on a salary of sixty pounds *per annum*, but it was the time when the commandant of Bombay had six shillings daily as his pay: in 1762 the first money was coined in Calcutta.

The site of the *Old Government House*, in 1780, was covered with squalid native huts "out of town;" but in Upjohn's map, the Government House and Council House occupy the spot covered by the present Government House. The building of this latter was commenced in February 5, 1799, and the first brick was laid by Timothy Hickey. Its projector, the Marquis of Wellesley, may be called the Augustus of Calcutta,—a man fond of Oriental pomp,—the ground cost 80,000, the building itself thirteen lakhs, the furniture half a lakh. Previous to that period the Governor lived in a small house now forming part of the Treasury. His views were, that "India should be governed from a palace, 'not from a counting-house, with the ideas of a prince, not 'with those of a retail-dealer in muslins and indigo." While the French Governor lived in the stately palace of Ghyretti, with its spacious lawn, in which 120 carriages have been at times drawn up, and the Dutch Governor resided in the beautiful terraced gardens of Fort Gustavus, in Calcutta there was no place to receive visitors in. The Dutch Governor of Chinsura, on his visit to the Governor, in 1769, was accommodated in a house belonging to a native. Opinions differ as to the precise locality of the old Government House, some say it

was where the Treasury is now, and others, at the south east corner of Government Place. Warren Hastings's town-house was a very small one, on the site of the present Government House, but Mrs. Hastings lived in one in Hastings'-street, now occupied by Messrs. Burn and Co.* In the house at the corner of Waterloo-street, now occupied by Messrs. Winser and Co., General Clavering lived, while General Monson resided in an adjacent house, now belonging to Messrs. Freer, Smith and Co., near Mango-lane.

The *Treasury* included the building first erected by Sir E. Coote, as a residence, in *Council House Street*. We have heard that the Council was formerly held in the house which still stands between Mackenzie's and Holling's offices, the scene of many stormy discussions between Hastings and Francis.

In *Old Post Office-street* was the Post Office, in a house opposite to Sir J. Colville's residence.

The *Town Hall* occupies the site of a house in which Justice Hyde lived, and for which he paid 1,200 Rs. rent. per mensem. In 1792 the Old Court House being in a ruinous condition, was pulled down by order of Government, and as it was used as a Town Hall, a meeting was held in 1792, at which Sir W. Jones presided, in order to raise subscriptions to erect another Town Hall. Sir W. Jones subscribed 500 rupees to the object.

The *Supreme Court*† sittings were first held in the Old Court

* The following account is given by Grose, vol. 11, p. 249, of the sufferings in 1757 of the then Governor of Bengal and his suite. What a contrast it presents to the present regal style of magnificence with which the Governor General is received :—

They embarked in a wollock, or large boat, on the 24th, and were thirteen days in their passage to Muxadabad, which is about two hundred miles up the river from Calcutta. The provision was only rice and water; and they had bambus to lie on: but as their fever was come to a crisis, their bodies were covered with boils, which became running sores, exposed to excessive heats and violent rains, without any covering, or scarce any clothes, and the irons on their legs consumed the flesh almost to the bone.

Mr. Holwell, as a prisoner of state, was estimated and valued to Bundo Siag Hazary, who commanded the guard, at four lakhs of rupees, or 50,000 £ sterling.

They arrived at the French factory on the 7th of July, in the morning, and were waited on by Mr. Law, the French chief, who generously supplied them with clothes, linen, provisions, liquors, and money. About four in the afternoon, they landed at Muxadabad, and were confined in an open stable, not far from the Soubah's palace. This March drew tears of despair and anguish of heart from them, thus to be led like felons, a spectacle to the inhabitants of this populous city. They had a guard of Moors placed on one side, and a guard of Gentus on the other. The immense crowd of spectators, who came from all quarters of the city to satisfy their curiosity, so blocked them up, from morning until night, that they narrowly escaped a second suffocation, the weather being excessively sultry.

† The Supreme Court calls up many associations. Here the sentence of Nankar was pronounced, here Impey bravely maintained the independence of the power of justice against the E. I. C. then supreme over every other power.

Enormous fortunes were made by its lawyers in early days when the attorneys were limited to twelve in number, to share the spoils gathered from fostering the

House, and as the Old Court House was pulled down in 1792, the present building must have been erected about that time: for particulars respecting the early history of the Supreme Court, consult *the Life of Sir E. Impey by his Son*. Mrs. Fay gives an anecdote which throws light on the state of things in her day:—

On Mr. Fay's expressing some apprehensions lest his having come out without leave of the E. I. Company, might throw obstacles in the way of his admission to the Bar here, Sir E. Impey indignantly exclaimed, "No, Sir, had you dropped from the clouds with such documents, we would admit you. The Supreme Court is independent, and will never endure to be dictated to, by any body of men whose claims are not enforced by superior authority. It is nothing to us whether you *had or had not* permission from the Court of Directors, to proceed to this settlement; you come to us as an authenticated English Barrister, and as such, we shall, on the first day of the next Term, admit you to *our Bar*." There exists a strong jealousy between the Government and the Supreme Court, lest either should encroach on the prerogatives of the other. The latter not long since committed Mr. Naylor, the Company's Attorney, for some breach of privilege, who being in a weak state of health at the time, died in confinement.

The *Esplanade* formed a favourite promenade "of elegant walking parties," in moonlight evenings. The five chief streets of Calcutta abutted on it—to the south of it was the *maidan* covered with paddy fields, while the course led the ladies down to see an occasional launch at Watson's works.

Facing Government and Council House, stands *Fort William*, commenced shortly after the battle of Plassey, in 1757. The works were planned by an engineer named Boyer. It was evidently designed to hold the inhabitants of Calcutta, in case of another siege, as permission was originally given to every inhabitant of "the settlement,"—the name by which Calcutta was designated during last century,—to build a house in the fort. But entertaining views of domestic comfort, different from those held at Bombay, the people did not avail themselves of this *privilege*. They preferred the plan of living in garden-houses. In 1756 the site of it and the plain were occupied by native huts, the property chiefly of the Mittre family, and by salt marshes, which afforded fine sport to buffalo

litigious propensities of the natives. "A man of abilities and good address in this line, if he has the firmness to resist the fashionable contagion, gambling, need only pass one seven years of his life at Calcutta, to return home in affluent circumstances; but the very nature of their profession leads them into gay connections, and having for a time complied with the humour of their company from prudential motives, they become tainted, and prosecute their bane from the impulses of inclination."

We have an account of a Portuguese who, in 1789, carried on a law-suit with an American, which cost him 40,000 Rupees.

hunters. The borings made in the fort, in 1836—40, under the superintendence of Dr. Strong and James Prinsep, have shown that the ocean rolled its waves 500 feet beneath the surface of the present fort, and in 1682 an ancient forest existed in that locality.

During the building of the fort, the great famine of 1770 occurred, which caused great difficulty in obtaining food for the workmen—a sad time—children died at their mothers' breast—the Ganges' stream became corrupt from the corpses—and even its fish were poisonous from feeding on corpses,—76,000 natives perished in the streets of Calcutta, between July 15th and September 4th. 2,000 Europeans perished in Bengal. Two millions of people died in Bengal, and some natives in the neighbourhood of Patna fed on human flesh.

This fort cost two millions of money, of which five lakhs were for piling, to keep off the encroachments of the river; but the Company was cheated in their accounts, both by Europeans and natives. The amount may be estimated by the fact, that when Holwell, Governor of Calcutta, was about to prosecute certain defrauders, some party unknown sent a *lakh of rupees* to his house on the eve of the trial, to induce him to drop the prosecution; but he, as an honest man, handed it all over to the Company's treasury. Unhappily, in these days, he had few imitators, John Company was viewed as a lawful subject of spoliation, Dutch and English ran a race in making what money they could *quocumque modo*. The Company designed that only a fort, capable of being garrisoned by 1,000 men, should be erected, as if it required a much larger garrison they could keep the field. Much interesting and curious information respecting the building of the fort may be obtained in the *Reports of the House of Commons on India Affairs for 1770—2*.

It is only in recent years we have had any road outside the fort; the *Respondentia* walk extended a little below Chandpal Ghat, the resort of those fond of moonlight rambles, and of children with their train of servants—as no horses were allowed to go on it. Of the Strand road we shall state little, as such an ample account has been given of it in this *Review*, No. X., pp. 430-55.

The *Respondentia* walk joins on with what is now the Strand road, the creation of the Lottery Committee in 1824, along with Cornwallis and Amherst-streets. The *Strand road* was formerly a low sedgy bank, and the river near it was shallow, as the deep channel was formerly on the Haura side; but owing to the formation of the Sumatra sand (so called from a ship of that name sunk there, whose wreck formed the

nucleus of a mass of mud,) “the deep channel has been thrown ‘to the Calcutta side, from the projecting angle at Haura ‘Ghat.”

Babu's Ghat, next to it, was named from Raj Chandra Mir, who built it. The *Bankshall*, the hall on the banks of the river(?) was the site of the first dry dock in Calcutta, made here by Government, in 1790, but removed in 1808. Bankshall seems to have been an old name, given to stations for ships or pilots, thus Fulta was called the Dutch Bankshall, as their ships, owing to the strong currents, sometimes could not ascend the river to Chinsura, but anchored there. This gave rise to the Pilot Service, which was established in 1669, the men were to be furnished from the Indiamen, to man *one* pinnacle. *Police Ghat* is so called from the Police Office having been there formerly. The embankment in front of the *Custom House* was begun in 1800. *Nimtola* was named after a *Nim* tree, which protected the weary with its shade. The *Strand* district is the oldest settled in Calcutta, its sedgy shores, called Suttanutty, were occupied by Job Charnock, in 1689, when he landed from Uluberia; they presented the only cleared spot, as jangal extended from Chandpal Ghat all to the south.

In 1823 the *Strand road* was formed, which led to a great sanitary improvement, but injured the ship-builders, who had docks in Clive-street, and were obliged to remove to Haura and Sulkea. This road has been widened at the expense of the river, so that where the western railing of the Metcalfe Hall stands, there were, forty years ago, nine fathoms of water.

Clive Street, parallel with the strand, was once “the grand ‘theatre of business, and there stood the Council House, and ‘every public mart in it;” near where the Oriental Bank is now, was the residence of Lord Clive.

Jessop's foundery was established by Mr. Jessop, of the Buttery iron works, in Shropshire. He was sent out in 1820, by the East India Company, to make an iron suspension bridge for the King of Lucknow, he remained five years in Lucknow, then came to Calcutta and commenced a foundery.

The *Mint*, of modern erection, was built below high water mark, two-thirds of it is under ground, propped up on mud and piles.

The *Bag-bazar* is of long standing, it was in 1749 one of those farmed out by Government, along with *Soba-bazar*, *Sam-bazar*, *Hat Kola*, *Jaun-bazar*, *Burtalla*, *Sutanutty Hât*.

We come now to *Haura*, on the opposite banks, but as we wish to confine our remarks to points not generally known and not easily accessible to the public, we refer our readers for an

account of the *Botanic Gardens, Bishop's College, Haura, &c., &c.*, to an Article in No. VIII. of this *Review*, pp. 476—484.

We merely notice that Haura, in 1709, had docks and a good garden belonging to the Armenians, that the ground to the north-west of the church is marked off in Upjohn's map as practising grounds of the Bengal Artillery. The old fort of *Tanna*, built to protect the trade of the river, was situated a little to the south of the residence of the superintendent of the Botanical Gardens: mention is made of it in 1686, when its garrison endeavored to hinder an English sixty-gun ship from passing down the river. In 1783 the *Orphan House*, now the Magistrate's kachari at Haura, was erected, of which David Brown was the first chaplain, but he resigned this *lucrative* post in 1788, and devoted himself to the *gratuitous* service of the Mission Church.

Sulkea, a densely populated suburb, containing 73,446 inhabitants, in 1835, formed the terminus of the Benares road, which, by its narrowness and roughness, reminds us of the difficulties dâk travellers must have met with in former days. It was a common practice, however, formerly, when travellers were few, for Englishmen to send to the zemindars along the road for supplies of bearers and food: the zemindars supplied them, but quietly indemnified themselves by debiting it to the expenses of the *revenue* collection, or else making the *rayats* pay for it. It was not until 1765 that a regular dâk was established, and that only between Calcutta and Murshidabad; and for a long period after that, travellers had no bungalows, but were obliged to send two sets of tents on before them.

Opposite *Sulkea*, on the left bank of the river, is the *Nawab of Chitpur's* palace, which was a favourite resort of Europeans in the last century. The buildings and gardens were magnificent; and the Nawab Rezah Khân lived on intimate terms with the *Sahib-lok*, inviting them to his palace, and presenting a fine object, mounted on his splendid elephant and attended by a guard of honour. When the foreign Governors came down from Serampur, Chandernagar, Chinsura, they landed at Chitpur, where a deputation received them, and they then rode in state up to Government House—this Nawab was a descendant of Jâfir Ali.

Beyond his palace, in the house now occupied by Mr. Kelsall, and known by the name of Kasipur House, lived Sir R. Chambers, noted for his oriental learning.

South of this is the *Chitpur-road*, which may be called the Cheapside of Calcutta, as Lal-bazar is its Wapping, being thronged constantly with native vehicles. Various wealthy

native families, who lived in this street formerly, have now deserted it on account of its noise and dust. It received its name from the goddess *Chiteswari*, who had a splendid temple here, where human sacrifices were formerly offered. Chitpur-road is the oldest road in Calcutta, forming a continuation of the Dum-Dum-road, which was the old line of communication between Murshidabad and Káli Ghat.

Mutsyea-bazar was famous for its sale of fish, in last century : the native merchants lived on the river banks, while behind them were the seats of trade. The ground here is the lowest in Calcutta, and only eight feet above the sea level.

The *Bara-bazar* is mentioned in 1757. A native friend has communicated to us some anecdotes of natives, who resided in this and the neighbouring bazar a century ago: we give them :—

The oldest inhabitant of Calcutta, of any note, was Baishnavacharan Set, who lived at Bara-bazar about a hundred years ago, and was reckoned one of the richest and most honest merchants of his time. As an instance of his honesty, it is said, that Rámarájá, prince of Telingáná, would use no Ganges water for his religious services, unless consigned to him under his seal. Once the Set bought a quantity of zinc in the name of his partner, Gauri Sen, which afterwards turned out to contain a large admixture of silver. He attributed the transmutation of the metal to the good fortune of his partner, and, accordingly, made over the whole profit of the bargain to him, unwilling to share the good fortune of another. Gauri Sen became very rich from this wind-fall, used to spend large sums of money in liberating prisoners who happened to be confined for debts, and pay fines for such poor people as happened to fight or quarrel for a good cause, and were punished by fines: hence the adage, “লাগে টাকা দেবে গৌরী সেন.”

Of this Set it is also said, that once he contracted to buy 10,000 maunds of sugar from a merchant of Burdwan, a *tam-buli* or *pán-dealer* by caste, named Gobardhana Rakshit. When the sugar arrived at Kadamtola Ghat, at Bara-bazar, the people of the Set, in order to extort money from the consigner, reported to their master that the goods were not equal to muster. This, in due course, was communicated to the consigner, and he was requested to make a proportionate deduction in the price. The Rakshit, rather than abate in his price, and submit to the stigma of attempting to deal unfairly, ordered the whole cargo to be thrown into the river.—When this intencion was carried out in part, the Set interposed, and offered to take the remainder, paying for the whole invoice. Gobardhana, not to be out-done by the Set in honesty, would only take for what remained at the invoice rate, and the bargain was settled accordingly.

বনমালী সরকারের বাড়ি।
গোবিন্দরাম মিত্রের ছড়ি।
আমীর চাঁদের দাড়ি।
হজুরি মল্লের কড়ি।

Of the four individuals named in the above stanza, all contemporary, of the middle of the last century, Banamali Sircar, the party noted for his fine house, was a *Sudgopa* by caste, and used to serve as a banian to European merchants. The ruins of his house still exist near Bag-bazar. His son Radhakrishna Sircar held a high position in Hindu society, and Raja Navakrishna, even in his better days, is said to have paid him court.

Govindaram Mittra was a zemindar, and had held large farms from the Nawabs of Murshidabad.* He was notorious for his devotion to club-law, and his lattie was an object of universal dread. A temple (the oldest in Calcutta) and a Navaratna on the Chitpur-road still exist.

Hazurimall was a Sikh merchant; he lived at Bara-bazar, in a very large house, had a large establishment of clerks, and sixteen sets of singers and musicians to sing the praises of Akál. A lane at Baitakhana is still known by his name.

Dewán Káshinátha was a parvenu. His widowed mother used to serve a Mohammedan fakir named Sháb Jummah, who lived in a reed bush on the bank of the river near Bara-bazar. On the death of the fakir, Káshináth came to some fortune (it is said) through the blessing of the saint, and, subsequently, much improved it by his connection with the Rájá of Káshijora, to whom he was introduced by Baishnavacharan Set.

The *Faujdarí Balakhana* was formerly the town-house of the Faujdar, or Governor of Hugli; under the Musalmans, he was an important personage, and one of the chief officers in Bengal.

We come next to an ancient quarter of Calcutta, the part occupied by the Armenians, Portuguese, Jews, Greeks. The appearance of the houses tells their own tale, and reminds us of the compact buildings in the garrison towns of the continent.

The Armenians are among the oldest residents, and their quarter attracts by its antique air, contrasted with conspicuous modern buildings in Calcutta. The Armenians, like the Jews, were famous for their mercantile zeal, and in early days, were much employed by the English as *Gomastahs*—they are to be commended for their always having retained the oriental dress—they have never had much social intercourse with the English. They had a church here as early as 1724, the present St. Nazareth; previous to that they had a small chapel in China-bazar, and their burying ground was on the site of the present church, while the East India Company made a regulation that, in whatever part of India the Armenians should amount to forty, the East India Company would build a church for them, and pay the minister's salary for seven years. The Armenians had settled in this quarter as early as the days of Job Charnock.

The Portuguese quarter of *Murgi Háta*, or the fowl market, is equally interesting: we have given an account of it in an article in this *Review*, No. X.—“The Portuguese in North of

* He was “the black banian” of the Mayor’s Court for twenty-five years, and amassed an immense fortune.

India," we therefore need not repeat what is stated there. As the Portuguese were such ancient and influential inhabitants of Calcutta, we make a few general remarks respecting them.

It presents a singular contrast to present times, when 4,000 natives are receiving an English education in Calcutta, that in the middle of last century, the Portuguese language was a common medium of intercourse. The Portuguese had, for two centuries previously, carried on a flourishing trade, and many of them were employed as topazzas, table-servants and slaves (last century the generality of Europeans in Calcutta kept slave-boys to wait at table.) On this subject we extract from a Calcutta paper of 1781 the following advertisement :—

“ TO BE SOLD BY PRIVATE SALE :

Two Coffree boys, who play remarkably well on the French Horn, about eighteen years of age: belonging to a Portuguese Paddrie lately deceased. For particulars, enquire of the Vicar of the Portuguese Church.”

Mrs. Kindersley, in her letters, states, that the Dutch at the Cape imported slaves from the East Indies, which were easily procurable, as it was a practice of the Portuguese, in their early navigation in the East, to land on the coast, rob and plunder the defenceless inhabitants, and then carry them away as slaves, which they reconciled to their consciences, by making Christians of them, in giving them a black hat, trousers, coat and stockings, an *European* name, teaching them to repeat so many Pater Nosters and Ave Marias. Those natives who apostatised, were burnt at Goa. Slaves were regularly purchased and registered in the kácheri, and in 1752, we find each slave paid a duty of four rupees four annas to the East India Company, while at that period, the charge for a marriage license was only three rupees. Hamilton, in 1702, speaks of a place twelve leagues above Sagar, “commonly known by the name of Rogue’s river, which had that ‘ appellation from some banditti Portuguese, who betook themselves to prey among the islands at the mouth of the Ganges, ‘ and committed depredations on those that traded in the river of ‘ Hugli.” In other points morals were not better, the same writer states: “ The Bandel deals in no sort of commodities, ‘ but what are in request at the court of Venus.”

The Portuguese came in 1530, into this country, as mercenaries in the service of the King of Gour, and acted as a kind of pretorian guards to the native Rajahs; at that period the chief emporia from the Cape to China, an extent of 12,000

miles of sea coast, were in their possession,—and all this in the short space of fifteen years under Albuquerque.

We must allow the Portuguese full credit for a sincere desire to propagate their faith. "Wherever the Portuguese prevailed or gained a settlement, one of their first points was to 'stock the place with missionaries," but, like the French missionaries in North America, they were, in various cases, the panderers to ambition, so that the English at Bombay would not allow Portuguese missionaries to settle there, though they permitted French, German or Italian ones.

Hamilton writes in 1708, respecting their language: "Portuguese is the language that most Europeans learn, to qualify themselves for general converse with one another, as well as with the different inhabitants of India." How fallen now! There are, perhaps, not three Europeans now in Bengal, well acquainted with it, and even few of the so-called Portuguese can read it intelligently. The Portuguese language has now fallen through India. In 1823 it was complained of in Calcutta that "the priests preached in high Portuguese, while the people only 'understood the language of *ayaa*." Few traces of it now are left, except in such words as *caste*, *compound*, *janala*, and a few others. The Portuguese conquests, by the temporal advantages conferred on converts, spread the system, but chiefly among the lower classes, who became their servants and soldiers. The epithet "Rice Christians" applied to Native Christians, was handed down from the Portuguese, who called such persons *Christianos de Arroz*. But what could have been expected from converts, when their teachers were a set of ignorant men, taken out of the class of common sailors and soldiers, who could scarcely read? No wonder that such men professed to show at Goa, the model of a ship which sailed in one night from the Cape of Good Hope to Goa, "the devil holding the helm, and the 'Virgin Mary acting as quarter-master." At Goa was every where to be met the image of the Virgin, described as "a woman gorgeously dressed like a courtesan, with a friz bob-wig, with a crown on it, and a large hoop petticoat reaching down to her feet, tied round the neck instead of the waist, and a child in her arms." These priests were famous legacy hunters, and thoroughly profligate, as the people were completely subject to their will.

The name Portuguese, in the last century, was a bye-word of reproach, the name Portuguese *ayah* was synonymous with *femme de plaisir*, while the men who boasted to be countrymen of Albuquerque and the DeCastas, became petty *keranis* or

cooks—what a fall for persons, whose ancestors, as early as 1563, used to send thirty ships annually from Bengal to the Malabar Coast, laden with pepper, sugar, cloth, and oil.

With all their faults, the Portuguese, in one point, set an example to the English, they made India their home,—the word so current among the English last century of “the Exiles” they spurned, they would not have called Calcutta a settlement, but a city.

The *native part of the town*, east of the Chitpur-road, is comparatively modern; though we find the names of Mirzapur and Simla mentioned in 1742, yet, down to the commencement of this century, their site was occupied chiefly by paddy fields, with stagnant tanks sending out their malaria, while at night no native would venture out with any good clothes on him—there was such just dread of robbery and murder. Of Simla it was stated in 1826, “no native for love or money could be ‘got to go this way after sunset.’” The site of Cornwallis Square and of the Circular canal was long noted for the murders committed there. *Soba Bazar* is a building of last century, and reminds us of Naba Kissen and the days of Clive.

Near the *Circular-road*, when the Marquis of Wellesley, whose influence gave a great stimulus to the improvement of the roads, came to Calcutta, was “the deep, broad Mahratta ‘ditch,’” which was chiefly filled up by depositing the filth of the town in it. “The earth excavated in forming the ditch, was so ‘disposed on the inner or townward side, as to form a tolerably ‘high road, along the margin of which, was planted a row of trees, ‘and this constituted the most frequented and fashionable part ‘about the town.’” An old writer states: “Now (1802) on the Circular-road of Calcutta, the young, the sprightly and the opulent, ‘during the fragrance of morning, in the chariot of health, enjoy the gales of recreation.” In 1794 there were three houses, in its length of three miles. The ditch was dug in 1742 to protect the English territories, then seven miles in circumference, the inhabitants being terrified at the invasions of those modern Vandals, the Mahrattas, who, the year previous, invaded Bengal to demand the chaut or fourth part of the revenues; they were fierce invaders, called by Arungzebe “mountain rats;” but it is to be remembered they were Hindus, who claimed, by treaty, a share in the revenues of the country: the Moguls broke their promise, and the Mahrattas had to collect by main force. But the Mahrattas, in 1742, were not a whit more atrocious than were the Orangemen and Romanists in Ireland towards each other in 1798. The Mahratta power was a pure Hindu revulsion against

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the Musalman, and rose rapidly on the decline of the latter, extending its sway from Surat to the confines of Calcutta, and from Agra to the Kistna, collecting a revenue of seventeen crores, and numbering 300,000 cavalry, all under the guidance of brahmans. Like the French national guard, they were soldiers and peasants, and noted for the keen sword blades they wielded; they used to say the English swords were only fit for cutting butter. Owing to the defeat of 200,000 Mahrattas at Paniput, by 150,000 Musalmans, Bengal became for ever free from any apprehensions of invasion. The Mahratta ditch commenced at Chitpur bridge, but was not completed, as the panic subsided. By the treaty of 1757 with Mír Jáfír Ali, the latter agreed to give up to the English "the Mahratta ditch all round Calcutta, and 600 yards all round about the ditch; the lands to the southward of Calcutta, as low as Culpí, should be under the Government of the English Company." The country on the other side of the ditch was, at that time, infested with bands of dakaites, but there was a high road which ran along side the ditch, probably made from the excavation in 1742.

Omichand's garden, now *Halsi bhagan*, was the head-quarters of Suraj Daula, and a military post fortified with cannon, in 1757. Here, at the Durbar, Messrs. Watts and Scrafton saw there was no prospect of making peace with the Nawab, and that the sword was the *ultima ratio*. The garden was so called from Omichand, the Rothschild of his day, a merchant of Patna, who possessed great influence over Ali Verdi Khan; he gained much money by usurious practices with the troops. The names of Omichand and Manikchand occur, who, as Hindus, held high appointments under the Musalman dynasty, but Gladwin, in his history, gives us the key to this policy. Omichand was the great millionaire of his day, who, by his influence, could sway the political movements of the court of Murshidabad. During forty years he was the chief contractor for providing the Company's investments, and realized more than a crore of rupees. He lived in this place with more than regal magnificence, most of the best houses in Calcutta belonged to him, hence, merchant-like, he was an enemy to war. Omichand stipulated with the English to obtain thirty lakhs for betraying Suraj Daula, but on finding he was deceived by a fictitious treaty, he lost his reason.

The ground to the east of Omichand's garden was the scene of hard fighting, when, in 1757, the English troops marched in a fog through Suraj Daula's camp, to the East of Halsi bhagan, and marched down the Baitakhana. In the skirmishing which took place, the English lost more men than they did at Plassey.

Baitakhana-street, now the *Bow-bazar*, received its name from the famous old tree that stood here and formed a *Baitakhana* or resting place for the merchants who traded to Calcutta, and whose caravans rested under its shade. Owing to the dread of the Mahrattas, who plundered in the districts west of the Hugli, the Eastern side, as being protected by the river, was selected for their route of trade from the North-west. Job Charnock is said to have chosen the site of Calcutta for a city, in consequence of the pleasure he found in sitting and smoking under the shade of a large tree. This tree was, probably, the *Baitakhana* tree, "here the merchants met to depart in ' bodies from Calcutta, to protect each other from robbers in the ' neighbouring jungle, and here they dispersed when they arrived ' at Calcutta, with merchandise, for the factory." This tree is marked on Upjohn's map of 1794. *Baitakhana* was called in 1757, the Avenue leading to the eastward, the greater part was then surrounded by jungle. A *rath* of Jaggannath, seventy feet high, formerly stood here, and a *thanna* was located under the shade of the big tree.

Opposite *Baitakhana*, in the south corner of *Sealda*, is the site of the house which formed the Jockey club and refreshment place of the Calcutta sportsmen, when, in former days, they went tiger and bear hunting in the neighbourhood of *Dum-Dum*. Let our readers remember that last century there were no *pakka* buildings in *Dum-Dum*, the artillery merely went there in the cold weather from the fort. An anecdote is related of an officer named Tiger Duff, noted for his athletic Highland form. Dining, some seventy years ago, at the bungalow mess-room in *Dum-Dum*, he found his servants retiring quickly from the room, when rising up to see what was the matter, he came in collision with a huge Bengal tiger, who had made his appearance within the compound. He had presence of mind to thrust the brawny arm of his right hand into the tiger's throat, and seize hold of the root of his tongue, the enraged beast twisted and writhed, and lacerated the other hand, but still he held his grip until he had seized a knife, and with his left hand cut his throat, when the animal fell in the agonies of death on the floor.

The house next *Baitakhana* is occupied by *Mr. Blacquiere*, the oldest resident in Calcutta, now in his ninety-second year, seventy-eight of which have been passed in Calcutta, where he arrived a fortnight after the execution of Nankumar. He has seen the maidan a rice field.

Sealda is mentioned in 1757 as a "narrow causeway, raised

‘several feet above the level of the country, with a ditch on each side, leading from the East.’ It was the scene of hard fighting in 1757, when there were thirty-nine English and eighteen sipahis killed, eighty-two English and thirty-five sipahis wounded. The English guns had to be dragged through *Sealda*, then rice fields. At *Baitakhana* was a Musalman battery commanding the ditch, which inflicted great slaughter on the English.

To the North-west of *Baitakhana* is the *Portuguese burial ground*, the gift of Mr. Joseph Baretto, one of the Portuguese “merchant princes” of Calcutta, who purchased it in 1785 for 8,000 rupees.

The *Baitakhana church* was founded in 1809, by a Mrs. Shaw.

The *old Madressa*, founded by Warren Hastings in 1781, in the first instance at his own expense, still remains; the collegiate establishment was removed to Wellesley Square in 1824; the buildings have been improved,—but not the Musalmans; now, as then, “they despise the sciences and hold trade in contempt.”

Of the Calcutta Musalmans of last century little can be said; they were fierce and haughty, and paraded the streets with daggers in their girdles. On the decline of Murshidabad the best families went to the North West; the commercial influence of Calcutta not being liked by men whose ascendancy lay in the sword. In fact, Bengal was never thoroughly incorporated into their empire, and all their conquests in the South were slow; thus the Carnatic was not entirely reduced under their sway until 1650. They were never very zealous here in propagating their religion, and the case of Jafir Khan, who pulled down all the Hindu temples within four days’ journey of Murshidabad, in order to build his own Mausoleum, and a mosque with the materials, stands as a solitary case. They were severe collectors of the revenue however. Murshid Kuli Khan used to oblige defaulting zemindars “to wear leather long drawers, filled with live cats—to drink buffalo’s milk mixed with salt, till they were brought to death’s door by diarrhoea.” With all this cruelty, the Musalmans gave speedy decisions, which were preferable to the tardy, and therefore almost useless decisions of our existing courts. The *chora* or whip, and *sipaha* or triangle of bambu, with a rope suspended for tying up the culprit, were formerly common in their *kacharis*; the zemindar presided, and Europeans have been known to send their servants with a chit to the zemindar, politely requesting him to flog them!

Sealda leads to the Circular canal; the *Circular canal* branches

off from the Circular-road ; the north part of it was once the Mahratta ditch, through which a stream ran ; it was begun in 1824 and finished in 1834, at a cost of 1,443,470 rupees, but its increasing trade soon brought in a large profit ; in three years 23,109 boats passed through it.

On its site Suraj Daula's army was encamped in 1757, the part near Chitpur bridge is on the site of the old Mahratta ditch, which formed here a strong defence of Calcutta, against Suraj Daula's army.

Though, for some time, this canal was the cause of unhealthiness, it has contributed very much to the clearing of the country. *Baliaghat*, now the scene of such a busy trade, was seventy years ago called the "Baliaghat passage through the wood." A branch of the canal a mile long, called the Entally canal, excavated in 1809, serving as a large mud trap, contains 722,065 cubic feet.

The Circular canal begins at Chitpur, a little beyond is the village of Barnagur, i. e., *Barahanagar*, or the place of boars, once abundant there ; it was formerly a Dutch settlement, and the half way station between Fulta and Chinsura. Stavorinus writes of it as having a house for the temporary accommodation of such of their servants as land here in going up or down the river.

The Salt-water Lake seems, in former days, to have been deeper and wider than now, running probably close to the Circular-road. Holwell states, that in his time, about 1740, the lake overflowed in the rains, an occurrence which seldom takes place of late years. As late as 1791, Tarda was on the borders of the lake, but the lake is now at a considerable distance ; its greatest depth does not exceed $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and it seems to be gradually silting up ; charred and peaty earth, found twenty feet below the surface, indicates that here, as in Dum-Dum, were the remains of an ancient forest, and that it was the resort of wild buffaloes. These marshy lands are not now wholly useless, as they yield to the zemindars, by the fisheries and reeds, a profit of 16,000 rupees annually. It is about three feet lower in level than the banks of the river. Dr. Stewart, in his interesting "notes on Calcutta," written in 1836, states that : Not more than forty years ago, the salt-lake was much nearer to Calcutta than at present.

On a road leading from the Circular-road to the lake, is the *Chinese burial ground*, on another road the *Parsi's*, and on a third the *Jew's*, the latter teems with Hebrew inscriptions.

The Circular-road might have been justly called the Valley of

Hinnom, in former days, as it was lined to the north in various places with burial grounds, which were then "some miles from the town," though now situated in populous neighbourhoods, but "the temple of the divinity was not made a charnel house." *

The *Mission burial ground*, called Kiernander's, was originally made by that eminent missionary, and opened on August 25, 1767, on the old burial ground near Tank Square being ploughed up and its monuments levelled. Few names of note occur here. Few call up historic associations, as Ghazipur does of Cornwallis, or Tanjore of Swartz, or Goa of St. Xavier. The name of Jones almost stands out alone, *magnum et venerabile nomen*; his monument has been repaired at the expense of the Asiatic Society. The ground yielded large profits, 500 rupees last century being charged for opening graves for the respectable classes,—days when undertakers fattened on the spoils of death. The small square on the opposite side was opened in 1773 for interring Kiernander's wife, the square to the east was opened in 1796: the monuments chiefly record the names of those "born just to bloom and fade." There is, however, the monument of Colonel Stewart, disfigured by the emblems of Hindu idolatry, which in life he so warmly cherished. Few tombs of the old times occur, though Park-street burial ground is the *Pere Le Chaise* of Calcutta; there are, however, the tombs of General Clavering, the great opponent of Hastings, of *W. Chambers*, the first person in Bengal who translated any portion of the Bible, and of *Cleveland*, the benefactor of the Rajmahal Hill tribes.

Tiretta's burial ground was opened in 1796, taking its name from the same Monsieur Tiretta who established the bazar already spoken of.

The *French Burial Ground* contains few monuments of any antiquity, though the French seemed at one time in a fair way to have contested for the prize of Bengal with the English,—when Colonel Clive took Chandernagore in 1757, their fort mounted 183 pieces of cannons, many of large calibre, and they had previously a greater number of European troops than the English,—but England was the "Ocean Queen."

* Among the most flourishing trades, that of an *Undertaker* was the foremost. As late as thirty years ago, an Undertaker about to sail for Europe, demanded 20,000 rupees for the good will of his business for the months of August and September,—memorable months in old Calcutta, when as late as Hastings' administration, those who survived them used to congratulate each other on having a new lease of life; and as an earlier period, the 15th of November was an equally memorable day, when the survivors met to rejoice in their deliverance from death.

The Muhammadans have five burial grounds along the road; Narikeldanga, Gobra, Kasia-bagan, Tangra and Karbela.

Respecting the native part of Calcutta, little is to be gleaned. We find in Holwell's account, that in 1752, the names of the following places are mentioned:—Patreah Ghat, Soba-bazar, Bag-bazar, Hatkhola, Simla district, Mirzapur district, Hogul-kurea district, Doubapara, Jaun Nagore, Baniapukur, Tangra, and Dollond.

We have thus taken a glance at the chief points of interest in the different streets,—but the European population change here so rapidly, that the events of the past soon become buried in oblivion, and this was particularly the case before the newspaper press sprang up, which is such a mirror of the events of the day. Few of the streets bear any marks of antiquity, and the English, like the Americans, have had the bad taste to give them European names, instead of euphonious expressions drawn from native associations,—yet there is not a single street which perpetuates the name of the founder of Calcutta, Mr. Charnock. The natives have not been so neglectful, as Barrackpur still retains the soubriquet of Chanak. Of the native ones some are called after things which were sold on the site of the existing streets; as Suriparah (wine sold); Harikatta (bones for combs); Kulutala (oil); Chuturparah (carpenters); Chunam (lime); Molunga (salt); Aharitola (curds); Kumartola (potters' tank.)

The names of old native proprietors are recalled by *Hedaram Banerjea Guli*, *Bihma Banerji Guli* (Bihma was noted for inviting large parties of natives, and giving them scanty fare); *Jay Narayan Pakrasi Guli*, (Jay Narayan is said to have had a contract for building a part of the fort, having received several lakhs in advance, he fled); *Tulsi Ram Ghose Guli*, (Tulsi Rám gained much money as a ship banyan.)

Loudon-street recalls the name of the Countess of Loudon, in whose time it was built. *Russel-street* was called after Sir H. Russel, Chief Justice, who built the first house there, now occupied as a boarding establishment. *Middleton-street* was so named after its first resident, a civilian; it was formerly a part of Sir E. Impey's park. *Grant's-lane*, in Cossitola, so called from the late Charles Grant, father of Lord Glenelg, who resided in the first house on the right hand side as you enter from Cossitala. He came out to India, poor and penniless, but by the force of integrity and religious principle, he rose afterwards to be chairman of the Court of Directors. What a contrast his original position was,—

that of an "interloper" or private trader,—a class to which the Court was so hostile, that in 1682 they sent out orders that none of their servants should *intermarry* with them. *Olive-street*, so called from Lord Clive, he lived where the Oriental Bank is now located.

The Musalmans have given few names to places, those chiefly from *pirs*—such as *Maniktala*, which was called after a Musalman pir or saint, named Manik.

The Portuguese have *Baretto-street* (the name of Baretto occurs, as that of a Viceroy in India, in 1558). Joseph Baretto was a Portuguese merchant, who came from Bombay and settled in Calcutta as a merchant, and was a man of the same generous stamp as Palmer.

We close now our notes on the *localities* of Calcutta; an equally wide field is presented in the *people* of Calcutta of last century—their amusements—literary and religious condition—their dress—diet—diseases—manners—institutions—the newspaper press—the prices of articles—trades—but the limits assigned to this *Review*, and the extent of our article, forbid our entering on the subject at present.

ART. III.—*Selections from Public Correspondence, North Western Provinces. Published by Authority. Nos. I. to XI. Agra. Secundra Orphan Press.*

"THE Government of India," said Burke, "is a Government of writing—a Government of record." "This system," he adds, "affords such means of governing a great, foreign and dispersed empire, as few countries ever possessed even in governing the most limited and narrow jurisdiction." Regarding no country in the world has more been written than India, and yet regarding no country is the general public more misinformed and more apathetic. No Government is more commented upon by Englishmen than the Indian, and yet no Government is less understood by them. One cause, among many others, of this practical

been the non-publication of official documents. In the Government of the North Western Provinces a new course. Of all the Indian Governments, it is the most, and it stands the highest in public estimation. One of the first duties of an enlightened Government is to open its ways to men." Such an administration will not be lost by secrecy. But besides the moral injury inflicted by the Government from the publication of the effect produced on the officers of the various departments is quite electrical. When officials at a distance learn how workmen are doing—what plans are conceived—thoughts are moulded into shape—they are not only instructed, but are also instructed how to act. Thus improvement is reflected and infinitely diffused, and the progress are communicated to the remotest presidency, just as the winged words fly along the telegraph.

Feeling we propose to review the *Selections* placed before the public in this paper. They have appeared in separate numbers on various dates, during the last three years. Eleven numbers have been issued, of which the united bulk nearly equals two octavo volumes. They are well got up, and the pages are copiously interspersed with colored maps, plans, and drawings. The facts and subjects are sufficiently varied to admit of classification and generalization. We shall therefore note those headings under which the records may naturally be grouped, so as to enable the reader to see at a glance what is the nature of the information offered. It may be said then that the papers relate to 1—*Bridges*; 2—*Roads*; 3—*Canals and works for irrigation*; 4—*Navigation*; 5—*Statistics*; 6—*Revenue*;

7—*Criminal Administration* ; 8—*Miscellaneous*. It should be noted *en passant*, that none of the correspondence refers to the "Dewan," or civil department. We shall now consider what light has been thrown on each of these subjects by the present publications.

The subject of bridges stands first in the list. As there is little hope that many of our great rivers, with their shifting courses and their precarious banks, will ever be spanned by viaducts or permanent bridges, it becomes of great importance to consider how temporary bridges may be best constructed, that can withstand the lesser floods and currents, and can afford an easy transport for the winter traffic. The ordinary boat-bridges can be economically constructed, but then they are apt to yield to the force of the stream, and to the pressure of the traffic; and then they undulate under passing loads. In 1845, Mr. Jackson, the magistrate of Agra, endeavoured to strengthen the Jumna bridge by the insertion of pontoons, or iron cylinders, in lieu of boats. The experiment was tested by the passage of the captured Sikh ordnance, and, subsequently, the pontoons having been increased to the number of seventy, till they bridged the whole river, a space of 1,250 feet,—a committee, composed chiefly of professional judges, was appointed to examine the relative merits of pontoon and boat bridges. We will note the chief points established by the committee's enquiries. The expense of the iron structure is greater—a pontoon bridge would cost three times as much as a boat bridge. But then, by the pontoon, we secure stability and buoyancy to resist the stream, and to support a greater load of traffic, and rigidity to facilitate the passage. Further, it may be presumed, with the utmost probability, that the pontoon bridge will be the most durable. The cost of maintenance and repair would be about equal in both cases. The form of structure must, firstly, depend on the nature of the river. For deep and rapid rivers the cylinders used at Agra are the best, as offering less obstruction to the current, and being therefore more capable of resisting it; while, for a shallow stream like the Jumna at Agra, a more boat-like form is desirable, as occasioning a less draught of water. With respect to the materials, the committee has explained the precautions necessary for the preservation of the iron when the pontoons rest on the wet sand.

It is reported that pontoon bridges, on the Agra model, are to be constructed at Delhi and Allahabad. When this improvement shall have been added to the wooden tram roads already conducted over the sands, the crossing of the river will be most complete. Before quitting the subject, we must observe,

that in the Punjab, where there are more temporary bridges than in any other province, the consideration of pontoon bridges becomes very important, both on account of the scarcity of wood and the violence of the winter floods. There are few boat-bridges which do not require renewal during the winter, and which are not swept away on the first melting of the mountain snows in March.

Permanent wooden bridges are treated of in the *Selections*. There are some useful plans inserted for their construction in hill districts, where the nature of the ground and the abundance of timber offer unwonted facilities ; but their use in champaign country is not recommended. Several wooden bridges of great size and antiquity in the Rohilcund territory are described. When some bridges of this kind were erected by the Shahjehanpore local committee, the Court of Directors enquired what special antidote had been provided against destruction by white-ants and dry rot. The important fact was elicited, that the best preservative against their ravages is the vibration occasioned by traffic. The timbers of bridges built prior to British rule have remained unscathed, although subjected to no kyanizing process, and fortified by no external application. In reference to the preservation of wood, we will, in this place, advert to a valuable report by Dr. Paton, the superintendent of the Government mail carts, established on the Grand Trunk Road, relative to the preparation of babul wood by boiling. For some years past, the wheels of the mail carriages have been made of this wood. This process had been considered injurious to strength, elasticity, and durability ; but it is now found to secure, instead of destroying, these qualities. Dr. Paton attributes this effect to the extraction of the sap, and to the amalgamation of the tannin (which exudes from the bark) with the fibres of the wood, which results are produced by the process of boiling. To show the value of this process, it is sufficient to state that it seasons wood in four *months*, which would otherwise have been seasoned by atmospheric influences in four *years*.

We find no mention of suspension bridges ; however, several valuable treatises on this class of bridges have been already published. There are two valuable plans for bridges ; one is a plan by Lieut. Briggs, surveyor on the Grand Deccan Road, for crossing the Nerbudda. The remarkable feature of this plan is the super-structure, which is formed on what is called the "double-truss" principle. The wooden trusses compose the flooring of the bridge, and are substitutes for arches. The piers are to be of masonry, and their foundations must be sunk till they reach a substratum of rock or some such substance.

The want of foundation in our Indian rivers is, indeed, the difficulty which often sets all mechanical science at defiance.

Provided some foundation can be found, whereon the structure may ultimately rest, the suspension, the tubular, and the double-truss principles would surmount all obstacles, and embrace the broadest rivers in their mighty span. The double-truss system has already been employed in the construction of noble viaducts over the American rivers; but then the pillars were both made of granite and rested on granite. However, the second of the two plans above adverted to is meant to partially combat this very difficulty. Colonel Boileau's elliptical bridge is expressly designed to obviate, by means of its tunnel, the necessity for massive piers and foundations in the black yielding soil of Malwa.

In connexion with masonry works, we may say a few words on the brick-making machines introduced into India by Colonel Cautley. The brick-moulders of Hindostan, animated by that spirit so eminently evinced, on a recent occasion, by the operative engineers in England, were constantly striking work. During his visit to England, Colonel Cautley examined the various brick machines used in the British Isles, and by the Egyptian engineers on the Nile. He caused two machines to be tried in the Ganges canal works, one invented by Messrs. Ainslie of Ipswich, the other belonging to Mr. Hall, an American invention. The former did not answer for the soft clay of India. The latter plan proved very successful, turning out bricks for half the cost of manual labour. The moral effect produced on the brick moulders appears to have been most gratifying, —from the most untractable they have become the most docile of beings!

A large number of the papers printed among these *Selections* refer to road-making. The account given of the operations conducted by several of the local committees is most satisfactory. Our readers probably know, that, in the various districts, these committees, chiefly composed of the resident civil and engineer officers, form a most important agency, to whom are entrusted the conservancy and extension of all local improvements, and the employment of the road and ferry funds. Many active members of the committees, though they had not received a scientific education, yet endeavoured to make up by care and diligence for the want of professional knowledge. The Azimgurh committee seem to have largely profited by the counsels of Colonel Boileau, of the engineers, whose useful plans and explanations are given in the *Selections*. The Goruckpore committee appear to have been eminently successful.

An interesting catalogue is inserted of the public works completed by them, without any professional aid whatever. The illustration thus afforded of the opportunities of doing good, which are enjoyed by these local committees, forces upon us the consideration, that civil engineering ought to be an obligatory branch of education for all the Company's servants. It should be a prominent object in the programme of Haileybury studies; and those civil servants who may not previously have received any education in this department, should devote a portion of their furlough leisure to the acquiring of this most necessary knowledge. The Goruckpore district is now intersected with good roads. The nullahs have been bridged, the morasses have been traversed by embankments. Scarce thirty years have elapsed since the scanty traffic toiled its weary way along ruts and furrows, and was hopelessly "stuck" in the quag-mires, or brought to dead stops by unfordable brooks. Goruckpore is, doubtless, one of the most interesting districts in Upper India. In few localities have cultivation, trade, and material wealth more rapidly increased. It was formerly the favored resort of the wild beast and the hunter; but now civilization has interposed its mild sway and spoil all the sport. We doubt not, that many civilians in mature life have collected revenue from tracts of country, where, in the days of their griffinhood, they had chased the boar and shot the tiger.

The Shahjehanpore committee, we also find, induced the Rani of Powaine, a wealthy princess, to construct, at her expense, under their directions, a handsome masonry bridge. The works of public utility, which figure in the *Calcutta Gazette*, as constructed by individuals, are frequently sneered at. And, indeed, some of them are "shams." At all events, functionaries in this country cannot do better than stimulate the public spirit of their neighbourhood, and turn to good account that vanity and love of fame which glows in the breast of every native grandee. We find two valuable papers on the Grand Trunk Road, one by Colonel Abbott, the other by Major Willis. The first paper, though it must have been very useful at the time of publication, is less so now, inasmuch as most of the reforms it advocates have since been carried out. Still it embodies the experience afforded by early errors, and furnishes a gauge by which to measure our progress. Needless sinuosity of the line, bad drainage, narrowness of section, lofty causeways, with precipitous banks, wanting slope, dangerous ditches, defective sideway—then, unconsolidated metal, extravagant cost of kunkur, want of shade—all these are evils which have been partially or entirely remedied. In this report, also, the question as to how

far the metalled line may become available for indigenous traffic is touched upon. The carrying trade must, of course, adapt itself to the new mode of transit. A revolution in roads must give rise to a revolution in wheels, and in the shoeing of cattle. Light carts going short journeys, with unshod cattle, and weak wooden wheels, can never bear the friction of the metal, but must keep to the old track of sand and ruts ; while the business-like class of carriers, who, under the new regime, will be created for the benefit of commerce, must always prefer the solid metal for their heavy-laden carts, whose cattle are shod and whose wheels are bound with iron.

The most useful part of Major Willis's report is the account given of the "Nokur" coolies, who, it appears, correspond with the "mile-men" of England, and the "cantonniers" of France. The necessity for such an establishment is based on the old principle, "one stitch in time saves nine." The system which postpones repairs till the metal has become materially thinned, or has broken in altogether, is shown to be ruinously extravagant, especially in Indian roads, where the incessant attrition of the hackery-wheels, which always pursue the same track, tends to wear the metal into ruts. To obviate this, a fixed establishment is distributed along the whole line, by whom every mile of road is daily inspected, and the faintest indications of wear and tear reported, in order that a prompt remedy may be applied.

There is a paper on stone tram-roads in general, and especially the line constructed near Agra : these roads are extensively used in the vicinities of English cities, and may also prove of advantage in this country for short distances near cities and custom-houses, where there may be a great press of traffic, especially if the surface of the ground be waving or broken. The cost must, of course, be considerable, about 4,500 rupees per mile, but the Agra line appears to have answered its purpose. In connection with this subject, we have a full account of the stone quarries near the Agra, Allahabad, and Mirzapore districts. The stone is shown to be of good quality, as indeed is attested by the many fine old buildings still extant, and the quarriers possess a rough, though tolerably effective mechanical skill ; but no great advance as yet seems to have been made in applying or developing the resources of these quarries. They are held by various tenures, and are subjected to various scales of duty, in some cases so high, as to be almost prohibitory. In most instances, no direct duties are levied by Government, but the landholders of the estate, within which the quarry is situated, are allowed to levy cesses from the quarriers. The

net profits accruing to the landholders, from such quarries, sometimes is, and sometimes is not, taken into account, at the assessment of the land revenue. On the whole, the stone duties levied by the state, or by the lord of the manor, appear to be much lighter than those exacted by the native states adjoining the frontier.

We cannot leave the subject of roads, without briefly noticing a paper by Major Kennedy on road-making in the Hills, and especially on the principles applicable to the Hindustan and Thibet roads—that most interesting road which conducts the traveller from the plains to Simla by an almost imperceptible ascent, and which must ever be an interesting subject to the Simla-going public; but the paper is filled with details of a purely practical and professional nature, which can hardly arrest the attention of the general reader. Suffice it to say, that the paper embraces the line of the road, the fixing of the “obligatory points” with mathematical precision, and the exact marking of the line, from one point to the other, and the construction of the road, the fixing of the centre line, the sloping off of the surface towards the sides, the judicious adaptation of the materials which nature furnishes close at hand.

We pass on to canals and works of irrigation, it could not be expected that these *Selections* should give much additional information regarding the canals of Upper India. The Government has already published largely, and the *Calcutta Review* may claim credit for having aided in making these canals known to the public. We meet with an account of some experiments made to test, by the analogy of the Jumna, the probability of the Ganges being affected as a navigable river by the great canal. During four periods of the year the Jumna canals were closed, the waters subtracted by it being thus thrown back on the parent stream, water gauges were established at the principal places along the banks. It was thus ascertained that the river was affected only in the winter, the maximum rise of fifteen inches occurring in March. Colonel Cantley considers that neither the Jumna nor the Ganges will be affected as navigable streams, and certainly that portion of the cotton trade, which depends on the water carriage of the Jumna, does not seem to have suffered: still, it is admitted that a rise of fifteen inches would relieve boats sticking on a sand bank. So, after all, the navigation of these rivers may be affected, though, perhaps, slightly.

We have not space to notice a plan for spreading a canal over the thirsty sands of the Cis-Sutlej states, especially as its interest would be eclipsed by the Punjab canals now in progress.

There is a set of official papers, from the Madras Revenue Board, in the Department of Public Works, on the irrigation of the Tanjore province. The magnificent deltas, threaded by a net-work of canals, which adorn the Coromandel Coast, have been famous ever since the days of Burke; but the facts, as generally known, appeal to the imagination rather than instruct the reason. A precise official report, therefore, is useful, as pointing out models for imitation, and especially as denoting the exact results of British rule, in maintaining and enlarging the works—as showing, in fact, how our Governments have used and put out to interest the legacy of improvement bequeathed to them by their native predecessors. Under the native rule, navigation and land transit were sacrificed to irrigation; now, both have been rendered compatible with it. The canals have been bridged, and navigable lines have been established. At one time accumulations of sand threatened to cut off the supply of water. These were removed by engineering skill. Full testimony is borne to the perfection attained, by the native government, in the science of irrigation. There is a complete map of the Tanjore provinces, and a detailed account of each kind of work. The Madras system differs on the whole from that of Upper India. Large canals are not excavated, but the natural streams are diverted into channels of irrigation. The *Selections* show that the Agra Presidency emulates the other divisions of the Empire. They comprise papers on the works of irrigation, in the Delhi territory, in Rohilkund, in Himar, in Allahabad, in Ajmere. The Ajmere report has been subsequently superseded by the quarto volume, which Colonel Dixon has published on the history and administration of this province. This work has received its full meed of praise, from the periodical press of India. We have already (No. XXX., Art. 9) noticed it at considerable length, therefore regret the less that we have not the space to recapitulate even the material results of an administration, that in ten years doubled the cultivation and revenue, and trebled the population of the province, by an outlay of public money, which has been repaid to the Treasury, in the shape of extra revenue, three times over. The Delhi report shows how the old embankments, reared in the time of Mogul emperors, have been kept in a state of substantial repair.

In the year 1844, a volume of reports on Rohilkund was published, which brought down the administrative history of the province to that date.

We need not retrace the history of the Terai Pergunnah, and the causes, geographical, social, and political, which have

led to the sad deterioration of this tract. It was incumbent on the British Government to restore and re-invigorate a tract which, during the course of time, has been changed from a fertile garden to a pestilential swamp; especially as it had been neglected, during the early years of our rule, and as much of the mischief had arisen, subsequently to that fatal invasion, in which the Nawab Wuzir of Oudh was backed by Warren Hastings. The improvement of the Terai vicinity was taken in hand during the year 1843-1844, when Captain Jones, of the engineers, was appointed to organize plans of drainage and irrigation, which should change the face of the country and dissipate malaria. The papers now included in the *Selections* take up the narrative at this point, they exhibit the various works constructed by Captain Jones, to the close of 1847; but we have no further accounts subsequent to this year. We hope that reports will, some day, be published, which may show how far the anticipated results have been attained. This subject also has been discussed at length in our pages. (No. IX., Art 3.)

Two papers are devoted to the improvement of navigation. One treating of the Jumna, by Lieutenant Douglas, the other on the Ganges, by Mr. E. A. Reade, the commissioner of Benares. The first paper dates as far back as 1840; it lays down very clearly the first principles which should guide all efforts at improving navigation, such as the causes which create accumulations of sand, the preservation of the mean velocity of the stream, the effects which result from any disturbance of this mean, the cases where the section requires widening, or where the channel requires deepening. Mr. Reade's minute describes some very simple and cheap experiments, by which the Ganges was enabled to remove the sand impediments which choked up its course in the Beaulah Flats. On the lower corner of the shoal, two lines of boats were arranged in a conical shape, converging to an apex. Between the two points of the apex, a small aperture was left to admit the current. This passage was further cut by delvers, who extended their excavation upwards. The river thus aided, soon enlarged the channel through the midst of the sand-bank, till the whole was carried away, and the course left free for navigation. "Thus," says Mr. Reade, "a barrier, which it would have been worth the while of the Steam Companies to remove at a cost of thousands of rupees, was effectively disposed off at a cost of twenty-seven." Proceeding on a similar principle, Mr. Reade proposes, in such localities as Beaulah Flats, to fix two lines of boats, strengthened by hawsers and thorn bushes, to form

solid boundaries of the navigable channel. The river would cut a channel for itself, eddies would be formed, and the sand held in solution would be deposited behind the lines of boats: thus the navigation course would be both cleared and marked.

There are, among the *Selections*, some contributions to the *Statistical Literature* of the North Western Provinces. The reader is, doubtless, aware, that the bulk of the statistics of Upper India have been embodied in the *Statistical Manual*: but in the present volumes we find some useful supplements. There are revised census returns for the city of Delhi, and the districts of Muttra and Furrukhabad. In Delhi some useful comparisons are drawn. It appears that the people of Delhi are better off for house-room than most of the populations in the crowded districts of England, and much better off than the population of Middlesex. The rate of mortality seems much greater at Delhi, being one to twenty-nine, whereas in England, it is one to fifty-five; some deductions, however, must be made for Delhi, the deaths of children bear a large proportion, and it appears, that of late years small-pox has made great havoc. In Muttra, the increase of population during the two years following the census of 1848, was ten per cent. There is a very interesting statistical memorandum of Mr. C. Raikes, the collector, on the resources of the Mynpurie district, in which the population returns are used as a means of testing the gross produce of the land. The exports in gram and other kinds of produce of the district, are approximately ascertained. Then the number of people and cattle being known, the amount which they must consume, (and which, it is shown, must be raised in the district,) is calculated. The total amount of produce, both for exportation and for domestic consumption, being estimated, its value is proved to be *seven times* the Government revenue, whereas it has been always supposed, that in Upper India the Government revenue absorbs one-fourth, instead of one-seventh. Mr. Raikes's data do, in our opinion, bear out his conclusion. It then becomes an interesting question, whether similar reasoning will apply to the whole North Western Provinces. The land revenue of the provinces is about forty millions of Rupees, and the population twenty-three millions. This population must consume food with 150 millions of Rupees annually. Then (if the same proportion as at Mynpurie be taken) the food for cattle and the exports should make up another 100 millions, and if the importation of grain should be found inconsiderable, then it would be clear, that the gross produce of the North Western Provinces must at least equal 250 millions of

Rupees, that is, six times the land revenue. At present, however, we have not the means or the space to enter into this important question. We may, perhaps, return to it on a future occasion. There can be no doubt, that census returns form a most legitimate basis for estimating the produce of a country ; and we cannot help thinking that if full use is made of our elaborate census, the land tax in Upper India will be found even *lighter* than it is supposed to be.

A comparatively small portion of the *Selections* is devoted to revenue matters. The two chief papers relate to the settlements effected in Pergunnah Sukrawah, Zillah Furrukhabad, and Pergunnah Kurnal, Zillah Paneput. Both these settlements were made in assertion of the principle, that while Government may alienate its own fiscal rights in favour of individuals, yet it is bound to protect the proprietors and tenants in such tracts from the arbitrary power of the grantee, and to limit his demand just as its own demand is limited. In the Kurnal case, the grantees, an old Musulman family, had allowed the old village communities to stand. There was, consequently, no difficulty in making a regular settlement with them. In the Sukrawah case, the grantees had, during several generations, uprooted many of the communities, and reduced others to a state of vassalage. A settlement was therefore made only with those communities that survived the grantee's aggression and remained intact. It was impossible to reinstate those that had entirely succumbed to the "force of circumstances." These were, however, confirmed in full possession of any subordinate rights on which they had managed to retain a partial hold. Cases of this description have now, we believe, been disposed of throughout the provinces, and thus the last finishing stroke has been put to the great settlement. Yet we observe that one of the "Lights of the London press" talks of the uncertainty of landed tenures as one of the evils under which India groans. We do not know what this "light" would regard as certainty ; but if the land tenure of the North Western Provinces be uncertain, where every field in an assessed area of 50,000 square miles is accurately mapped, and the rights of every man in an agricultural population of fifteen millions are ascertained and recorded, we despair of the attainment of certainty in any tenure whatsoever.

There is, among the *Selections*, a paper, descriptive of the complicated "Bêj Burâr," which prevails among the communities of Bundelkund. We have also a schedule of the expenditure incurred in the revenue survey, and settlement of the North Western Provinces, a document which would only

interest professional readers, but which must be very useful to the authorities in the Punjab, where survey and settlement are in progress.

Among the papers which relate to the criminal department, the most interesting is a minute on trial by jury, by Mr. H. Lushington, who has lately retired from the Sudder Bench at Agra. This is, in our opinion, the best written passage in the book. Its purpose was to extend the operation of the Jury Act of 1832. The arguments are laid down with much cogency and perspicuity, and the details are elaborated with practical discernment. Indeed, the matter is essentially one of detail. If the detailed working of a jury law were to be neglected, the institution would soon fall into contempt. That the employment of juries would elevate national morals, and aid in the judicial discovery of truth, will be admitted on all hands. The question is this, can native jurymen be trusted? Few would contend, that at present they could be implicitly trusted, as the English jurors are. Many experienced men would deny that they could be trusted at all. And it is generally believed, that the first Jury Act has failed to serve any beneficial purpose. Yet, Mr. Lushington most justly urges, the Indian punchyets precisely correspond with British juries; perhaps, the only constitution in which the two nations agree. Every one knows that the natives would settle a multitude of (to them) most important disputes by these means.

The power and respect enjoyed by these private tribunals is unquestionable, it cannot be then that the natives are, by nature, incapacitated for juridical duties. The desideratum is to make a native jury as valuable as a native punchyet. The qualities, distinctive of the punchyet, ought to be ascertained, and these, if possible, imparted to the jury. The elements of success should be extracted, as it were, from the one institution, and infused into the other. Let the people thoroughly understand, that no new-fangled doctrine is being forced into operation, but that the old time-honored principle of punchyet is being embodied into our criminal administration. We believe that, generally, the jurymen assembled under the regulations of 1832, have not been men who would have been useful or approved members of punchyets. They have generally been residents of the cities, or hangers on of the courts. Now the members of punchyets are men of local knowledge and influence, and are amenable to the public opinion in the little world of their own neighbourhood. One great object should be to get such men as these to serve on juries. This could only

be done by taking a wide field of selection, and by summoning jurors from all parts of the districts. In the manner recommended by Mr. Lushington, the judges can always select particular classes of men to try particular kinds of cases. There are some cases in which respectable zemindars are likely to try well and sincerely ; and other cases more fit to be tried by merchants and shop-keepers. The objection, that jurors must be summoned at the shortest notice, otherwise they will be tampered with, is disposed of by Mr. Lushington, who proposes, that there should be regular assizes, at which a number of cases can be tried together, and so that no jurymen could know what case he would have to try. Nor is there any force in the objection that jurymen attend unwillingly. Even in England, they attend with reluctance. Mr. Lushington advocates the employment of juries in the criminal trials held by the magistrates ; but the practical objections to this are endless. Mr. Lushington points them out without suggesting a remedy. Perhaps no remedy could be found except the separation of police and magisterial functions. Lastly, he holds the doctrine, that the verdict should not be final, but that it should be set aside only by a special order of the Sudder Court, on a representation from the judge. Most of the principles laid down by Mr. Lushington, were embodied in a draft published during 1849, which might, we think, form the foundation of an excellent law for the regulation of trial by jury. Mr. Lushington does not recommend the employment of juries in civil suits ; partly, because these causes frequently turn more upon law than upon fact, and partly, because the constant summoning of jurymen would prove burdensome to the community. But he would admit, that when the decision depends upon discrimination of evidence, native assessors would be valuable auxiliaries. In the Punjab, arbitrators have been extensively employed, and recourse to arbitration is still enjoined. This arbitration amounts to much the same thing, as the employment of juries. We are not aware that attendance has been considered irksome by the people. On the contrary, the scheme is likely to be popular, provided that the punchyets are well controlled by the judicial officer. But if there is the slightest laxity in this respect, the institution is lowered in the eyes of the public, and the administration of justice passes away from the judges, into the hands of irresponsible assessors.

The papers on the Chokidari Assessments of Shahjehanpore and Bareilly, are useful, as showing how the introduction of a measure, which has, from first to last, given rise to insurrections

and law-suits in the Supreme Courts, and all manner of horrors, may, after all, be peacefully effected. It is fortunate that both instances should be taken from Rohilkund, and that one should be Bareilly, the very city where, forty years ago, the towns-people rose in rebellion against the tax-gatherers. In both cases the chief instruments of success were equity of assessment, and collection, and the good constitution of the taxing committees. Of the two rival methods, namely, house tax and town duties, the former is, theoretically at least, the best, because it can be assessed in exact proportion to the amount and value of the property protected. But its unpopularity, particularly as contrasted with the popularity of the town duties, should make us hesitate with regard to its indiscriminate adoption. However, the town duties are not fair, as a system of police tax. The system is popular, because it relieves the Burghers, at the expense of the uncomplaining traders, who have to pay, indirectly, duties for the watch and ward of a city where they do not reside. We trust, that as time goes on and civilization spreads, other cities will become as reasonable as Shahjehanpore and Bareilly.

We find two papers on thugs, and professional thieves—the one paper shows how some of the petty and *childish* states of Central India, which bask in the sunshine of British protection, have been harbouring and maintaining gangs of thieves, that had established branch firms, and extended their connexion from Bombay to Calcutta. The other paper is instructive, as showing how bands of men may be formed, and organized, who begin by gambling and sharpening, till they go on to murder and robbery, thus displaying all the villany of thuggism, without its dark superstition or its mysterious clan-ship. A similar kind of pseudo-thuggi, has been lately discovered to have existed for many years past in the Punjab.

There are two papers relating to the Cawnpore district; the one treats of the organization of the police and the arrangements for the protection of property, and the comfort of travellers along the Grand Trunk Road. On this subject we need not now expatiate, as we discussed it in a former article (*vide Calcutta Review No. XXVIII., article on History and Statistics of Cawnpore.*) The other paper shows how the inhabitants of the whole district were induced to adopt an uniform standard of weights. To secure such a desirable uniformity has always been regarded as a delicate and difficult matter. Magistrates are, by law, prohibited from interfering authoritatively.

We have classed several papers under the head of "Miscellaneous," the most important among which is a report by

Mr. Robert Fortune, on the tea plantations of Dehra and Kumaon. This gentleman had travelled in China during the year 1846, as botanical collector to the London Horticultural Society, and had embodied the result of his journey in a pleasing volume entitled *Wanderings in China*. He was deputed on a second expedition in 1848, by the Court of Directors, to procure the best samples of the tea plant, and also manufacturers and implements for the Indian plantations. Having procured these desiderata, he was requested by the Agra Government to visit and report on the Himalayan nurseries. The first portion of the report describes each plantation in detail, the second part descants on the prospects of the cultivation, and offers suggestions for its improvement.

Mr. Fortune justly considers that the object of the cultivation is to furnish tea for Indian consumption. The notion of India supplying the home market would be chimerical. If we cannot manage to supersede the cotton of America, we are not likely to supplant the tea of China. He thinks that the Indians resemble the Chinese in thier diet and habits, and thence he concludes that the one might well learn to use the beverage which has proved so beneficial to the other. "A Chinaman," he says, "hates plain water; and thinks it unwholesome." We believe that in India the drinking water is often deleterious, and no doubt the Chinese beverage would promote the health and comfort of the people. Only they must get it cheap: as Mr. Fortune says, they must buy it at four-pence or six-pence a pound, instead of four or six shillings. But it is, we presume, certain that none but the hill districts of India will produce tea. Now could these districts ever produce tea in such quantities as to render it an article of daily consumption? We have not sufficient data to answer this question. The amount of land under tea cultivation in the North Western Provinces is as yet insignificant. In the absence of precise statistics we gather from Mr. Fortune's report, that the present aggregate area of the plantations, both public and private, is about 650 acres. Mr. Fortune testifies, however, that there are many thousand acres fit for tea cultivation in the districts of Dehra and Kumaon. The annexation of the Punjab has placed some important hill tracts at our disposal. We understand that the districts of Kangra and Kulú are well suited, and that of their cultivated area, twenty-five per cent. might be devoted to tea. There are already some incipient plantations near Dhurmsala. Then we have the Rawul Pindi district, the Peshawar territory, and the Hazara valleys. Perhaps also the Maharaja Golab Sing might, in emulation of Messrs. Wilson, Browne and Co., do something in the Flowery Pekoe and Souchong line; and the Chinese herb may yet be in-

cluded amongst the countless products of the Kashmir Paradise. The inferences which Mr. Fortune draws are encouraging ; his experience confirms most of the conjectures hazarded some years ago by Dr. Royle. The Himalayan climate and temperature, though differing in some respects from that of China, he thinks favourable. The resemblance between the vegetables of the two countries he describes as striking. The varieties of the herb heretofore in use are inferior—the implements and manufacturers clumsy ; but these defects have all been remedied. Several errors were pointed out—in some instances the plantations seem to have been saturated with water, as if they had been rice lands. This treatment Mr. Fortune considers erroneous. The Chinese never use irrigation. The plant can never be reared in flat or moist ground, as seems to have frequently been tried in India. The leaves also should not be plucked too early.

We have among the *Selections* a memorandum on the method pursued in the revenue survey of these provinces. But all treatises, on this subject, have been superseded by the “Manual of surveying,” which has taken its place as a standard work.

The only medical paper in this *Selection*, is the report on the dispensaries of the Bareilly district, by Dr. Balfour, Assistant Surgeon. Its vicinity to the pestilential Terai, renders this locality particularly suitable for the establishment of dispensaries. Besides the central dispensary, three branch dispensaries were set up, and placed under the charge of qualified native doctors. Aid was afforded by Government, and private subscriptions were raised by the European residents and by wealthy native landholders. The average number of patients receiving relief, ranged from forty to eighty-five daily, in each institution. In one branch dispensary, 28,378 cases were entertained, during a period of three years and seven months. In another, 7,363 cases in one year and seven months ; in a third, 2,170 cases in five months. Country medicines were dispensed, and common injuries treated, but no serious operations were performed. Each establishment cost about 650 Rupees per annum. Among other benefits, vaccination has been introduced, although the district had afforded many melancholy instances of the prejudices felt against this remedy, by the natives of a country perpetually ravaged by small pox. That the benefits of dispensaries might be extended at a trifling cost to every pergunnah in the provinces, seems clear from Dr. Balfour's paper. Country medicines are very cheap ; and a first class native doctor on twenty-five rupees a month, is not an expensive functionary. The rate of salary seems to us very low, if much competency is to be expected from the practitioner. Both salary and qualification

might, no doubt, be augmented with advantage. In the Bareilly district, the average cost of relief seems to have amounted to something less than two annas. It would not be easy to raise subscriptions from the native community for this purpose; but means might, from time to time, be collected. Where sub-assistant surgeons are placed in charge of dispensaries, they should strive to popularize the scientific knowledge they have acquired in the Medical College, and to make themselves practically useful.

The formation of native libraries in Nimar is the subject of one letter. The most gratifying fact in this narrative is this, that, in several places, the natives, of their own accord, without any instigation, founded libraries, and built school-rooms. In several districts of Central India, native education has received an impulse; in none more than in Sehore and Bhopal, under the auspices of Mr. Wilkinson, and Captain Cunningham, both, alas, snatched away by early death, from the sphere of usefulness. It is, perhaps, superfluous to observe, that these volumes contain but little on the subject of education, because full justice has been done to this important subject, in the mass of documents which have from time to time been given to the public.

Under the head of mineralogy, (a branch of practical science, which has made an onward stride of late years) we must notice a brief report on some graphite deposits near Almorah. The author, Major Drummond, is favorably known as a mineralogist. In 1838, he was appointed to examine the mineral resources of Kumaon and Gurhwal, and especially the copper and iron mines. For this purpose he brought out, at his own expense, a working Cornish miner, on whom, eventually, the entire investigation devolved, when Major Drummond rejoined his regiment, which had been ordered on service to Afghanistan. The reports and papers on these mines have been collected and re-printed in the *Statistical Report of Kumaon*. We commend them to the reader's attention; as the development of the Himalayan mineral resources is a matter of obvious and practical importance. Among these productions is a species of plumbago. Its excellence had been known, ever since Capt. Herbert's mineralogical survey in 1826. During his residence at Almorah, in 1830, Major Drummond discovered some traces of graphite beds near his house, and was appointed by the Government to prosecute the research. The deposits appear to be of large extent and fair quality. But Major Drummond does not think they can bear comparison with the Borrowdale mine of Cumberland. Appended to the report are some remarks of practical value, by W. Rose, the mineralogist to whom the specimens were submitted. The mineral is chiefly used for reducing the friction

of machinery, for burpishing metals, and for the manufacture of pencils. The first mentioned use is the most important. Major Drummond considers that it may be applied also to the protection of the wood and iron works of bridges, inasmuch as the Americans use it as a preservative of wood.

We shall now conclude our notice of these *Selections*. In the course of this review, we have glanced at a considerable variety of subjects. But it must not be supposed that we have traversed the whole field of public improvement and enterprise in Upper India, or that we have touched upon all the publications issued by the Agra Government. Many subjects of deep importance, on which the greatest attention and interest have been bestowed, and with which the Government is most thoroughly identified, find no place among the *Selections*. A stranger might be tempted to exclaim, "what has become of education, of the Ganges canal, of the Rurki college, of prison discipline, of municipal and sanatory improvements, of the arrangements for the protection of travellers, and the furnishing of supplies, that nothing is said about them?" But in good truth, upon all these subjects, pamphlets and brochures, innumerable serials, annuals, quartos and octavos, have already been published. For the last fifteen years, the stream of publication has been continuous. On revenue, on statistics, on education, we have as much printed information as could be desired, and an idea can be formed of the extent to which knowledge, on public affairs, has been diffused by the printing press, when it is considered that these *Selections* comprise only one item in a long catalogue of publications.

Publications, such as those under review, most useful though they are, have yet a tendency to make us over-estimate actual results, and to suppose that things are no sooner thought of than done. But in India how vast is the interval between the conception, and the execution of philanthropic designs. If we reflect upon the various subjects suggested by the *Selections*, we shall see how many matters yet remain to be thought of. How many existing ideas are in an embryo state, how much theory has yet to be reduced to practice. That schemes of progress will ever be originated by the natives of India, is hopeless. The first requisite is, that the Government should frame designs and start the execution. The next requisite is, that popular co-operation should be secured. No Government can, unaided, elevate its subjects; it may take the initiative, but the work can only be successfully prosecuted by private means. These *Selections* amply show, that the first desideratum has been attained, but they cannot always show what advance has been made towards the attainment of the second. Still all well-

wishers to India will see, from the lengthy series of documents published in the North Western Provinces, that there is a fermentation going on in the minds of public men of all grades and denominations, which must portend a good day coming. It is now more than ever necessary, that zeal and energy should be sustained in India, that the sacred fire should be kept alive and glowing—inasmuch as the present race of statesmen in England will never be induced to bestow on the East more than a languid and transitory attention. Where are now the successors of those statesmen who, three generations back, “schooled themselves to think and feel like Hindus, in order ‘that they might present to Parliament a picture of the condition and the sufferings of India?’” Could these mighty assailants of the Indian Governors, during the eighteenth century, behold the land as it now is, they would still raise their voice for further reform; but yet they would study, with earnest pleasure, the published record of what has been done. But we have little hope that these things will occupy the attention of either of the parliamentary committees now assembled to take an account of the Company’s stewardship. How few of the schemes, nostrums, panaceas, or crotchets that have been propounded, in any way concern the welfare of the people! While statesmen in England, charged to legislate for India, amuse themselves with such things as the reduction of Leadenhall-street bureaucracy, the details of directorial patronage, the appointment of Commanders-in-Chief, the retention or abolition of Councils at the minor Presidencies, the constitution of the Court of Proprietors, the strength of our clerical establishment, the number of Queen’s regiments serving in the East,—in most of which matters the “mild Hindu,” doubtless, feels a lively interest,—statesmen in India are left unaided, to consider how the administration may be improved, how taxation may be modified, how education may be diffused, how inland navigation may be conducted, how mineral resources may be developed, how the thirsty land may be irrigated by canals, how the plains may be threaded by roads and railways, and the rivers spanned by bridges, how the scattered sections of the empire may be bound together by the lightning communication of the electric telegraph! It is all well—exceedingly desirable—that the patronage should be regulated in the best manner possible, that the power of Government should be distributed in the most unexceptionable proportions between Boards and Courts, and Councils, Supreme and Local; but in so far as the interests of the people are concerned, there are matters more important than these.

ART. IV.—*India in Greece ; or truth in Mythology, containing the sources of the Hellenic race ; the Colonization of Egypt and Palestine ; the Wars of the Grand Lama ; and the Budhistic Propaganda in Greece. By E. Pococke, Esq. London and Glasgow. 1852.*

THE present are certainly the days of rapid intercourse. There is a restless spirit amongst engineers, merchants, and trading companies, which is staggered by no obstacles, is daunted by no dangers, and regards no expense. To obtain a sure and constant communication between the East and the West, time and money will be readily sacrificed. But the mental activity which forms grand conceptions, and the persevering energy which carries them out, are not confined solely to companies of utilitarians. Traces of the same haste and boldness are now seen to invade the departments of philology and scholarship. An overland communication must be shown to have been carried on between Greece and India, two or three thousand years ago. There are here difficulties to be encountered, and triumphs to be achieved, as remarkable as any which have ever illustrated the career of navigators and engineers. Learning has to solve difficult problems, to bridge over yawning chasms, to connect broken chains, if she would prove incontestably the identity of two distant nations at a period anterior to the commencement of history. To demonstrate that India migrated almost bodily into Hellas, that the Rajputs settled in Thessaly, may turn out to be as hard as to construct the promised railroad, which, passing by Bagdad and crossing Belochistan, is to bring the untravelled Londoner in eight or ten days to Bombay. There is, however, this difference between the two undertakings, that, while both are equally grand in appearance, the one must imperatively stake an enormous amount of capital, and demand a vast deal of science, and a great exercise of discretion, judgment, and sound good sense. Failure will be tantamount, perhaps to ruin, certainly to ridicule or disgrace. But the other, or the mental undertaking, stakes no capital, but that of the intellect, and can incur no loss, but that of scholarly reputation. The proposers of the gigantic railroad above alluded to, and Mr. Pococke, the author of the work before us, whom we have been led to link together, are obviously not starting on an equality. There is no check to rash adventure, which can at all compare with the prospect of a drained exchequer, and a bankrupt notoriety.

To be serious, we took up the work, whose title we have prefixed to this paper, with some expectation of deriving

pleasure therefrom. It would be gratifying, we thought, to know how far the connection between India and Greece had been ascertained by diligent, laborious, and patient investigation : to see exactly the limits of our knowledge and of our ignorance : to discern where the enquirer was treading on firm and solid ground, and where he was still picking his way, with doubt and hesitation, over a tract infested with quicksands. We should have sympathized with a man who had mistrusted the proverbial delusions of a long-cherished theory, who had tested, by every criterion in his power, the conclusions he had arrived at by a searching examination, who had gratefully acknowledged the previous labours, and bowed to the authority of all the great directors of historical analysis. It would have been satisfactory to know the languages such a man had mastered, the medals he had consulted, the chronological tables he had pored over, the libraries he had ransacked. But, instead of the cautious doubt, the modest diffidence, the deference to the expressed opinions of German and English philologists, which generally characterize the performances of real scholars, we find in Mr. Pococke's volume, a series of extravagant theories and fancied resemblances, set forth with an habitual intolerance and an over-weening presumption, of which, in the nineteenth century, we should have thought any writer incapable.

We know nothing whatever of Mr. Pococke, except from his present work. But as he is not one of those persons who will allow their light to be hidden, and as he takes good care to make abundant references in his volume to his own literary performances, past and yet to come, we are enabled to present our readers with a sort of summary of a part of his literary career. We find then, from the dedication of the work, that a stranger, whom we must infer to be the author himself, had a casual interview with Mr. H. H. Wilson, the great orientalist. An intimation that the said interview was characterized on Mr. Wilson's part "by much urbanity," leaves us in doubt, whether the same is to be said of Mr. Pococke or the stranger himself ; and whether he be not one of those obtrusive individuals who persist in introducing a favourite theory at all places and times, and in every society, to the confusion of all pleasant intercourse. After the interview the stranger found himself committed to a "pledge" of tracing "to their true sources, the pilgrim fathers of the Hellenic race." The appearance of the present volume is, to a certain extent, the redemption of that pledge : and we are thus benefitted by an "historical sketch of the fortunes of the Western Pandions of Athens, the Hellenes

‘ or chiefs of the Hela in Greece, the Cashmerians of Boeotia and of the Thessalian Himalayas !’ The above words are Mr. Pococke’s own. The work is dedicated, as might be expected, to Mr. Wilson, the honoured Tricala of oriental literature, a phrase which we can best explain to un-oriental readers, by referring them to that curious old man of the sea, who could take all shapes at will, that of a tree, a tiger, or a bear, who was venerated by nymphs and consulted by enquiring strangers, like Mr. Pococke, and who knew all things:—

Quæ sint, quæ fuerint, quæ mox ventura trahantur.

The qualifications brought by the author to the performance of the task above briefly described, are, that he is, we doubt not, a fair classic: a poet, in spite of gods and columns, for he gives us sundry extracts from manuscript translations and original pieces: that he has some knowledge of Persian and Sanscrit: that he has written articles for the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, (which fact of itself certainly indicates a position in the literary world at home,) that he is possessed of an extraordinary admiration for Buddhists and Rajputs, and that he unites to a boldness in theorizing, a power of surmounting difficulties, such as would appal other less ardent travellers, and a facility for mixing up old things and new, for fusing together the Semitic and the Indo-Germanic languages, such as we should have thought incredible in this age of historical investigation and common sense. We should add, too, that with the confidence inspired by past triumphs, with the growing ardour fostered by discoveries in Grecian history, our author, as he himself informs us, is now busied with two works, which will, no doubt, amaze the literary world, the one being the early history of Great Britain, and the other the early history of Rome. The first work is to include—much to the astonishment of those officers who fought in Afghanistan, and who will learn, for the first time, that they were then fighting against their own countrymen—the settlement of the Afghan tribe in Scotland, and of the Hibernas or Hya tribes in Ireland. And the second will contain the sources of the Roman policy and religion; and may, if we are to judge from the depreciating notices in the volume before us of many eminent scholars, prove Niebuhr’s unrivalled sagacity and almost boundless learning, to have been, on many occasions, entirely at fault. To this we can only say that if another such tissue of fanciful theories, enunciated with such amazing confidence, is to result from a “casual interview” between Mr. Pococke and the great Avatar of Sanscrit literature and Hindu philosophy, we have only to pray, that

the next stranger from the East who may fall in Mr. Pococke's way, may be the dullest civilian who ever blundered over a revenue settlement, or the most unimaginative subaltern whose thoughts never went beyond his company in prospect, or his monthly pay. It is too bad that the mere sight of taste, research, powers of criticism, and genuine scholarship, united in one man, should impel another who possesses nothing of the kind, to the undertaking and completion of such a precious performance as the present.

But we feel that it is time to lay before our readers, as succinctly as we can, a statement of Mr. Pococke's theories as to the mode in which India obtained a footing in Greece, and of the reasoning by which his views are supported. The following remarks then appear to us to convey, with fairness and accuracy, a summary of the main points of his creed.

Language, and the names which language has given to the grand features of nature, cannot lie. Cities and dynasties, temples and towns, may be swept away by the usual vicissitudes of conquest and spoliation, but language can neither perish irrecoverably, nor utter an uncertain sound. Names once given to mountains, seas, and rivers, endure for ever, and when appealed to practically, will correctly indicate their original colonists or inhabitants. But, unfortunately, the early Hellenic etymologists of some 3,000 years ago, finding a series of names already given to mountains, rivers, and so forth, the precise meaning of which they could not expound, bethought themselves of translating these names into the language of Homer; and when they had thus translated them, or to speak more correctly, when they had altered meaningless strange words to such Greek words nearest to them in sound, as possessed some meaning, they proceeded to invent, in support of the change, some story or myth about a hero, a god, or a strange tribe, grasshoppers, centaurs, and the like. In this way the early Greeks, with their lively imagination, and their poetical tendencies, finding in the names of a hundred streams and hills the remnants of the old Pelasgian language, which they could not, or cared not, to explain, or of whose very existence they were ignorant, immediately sought the explanation thereof in their own full, copious, and sonorous tongue. There was no difficulty in this, where the exponent of thought was so flexible, and the expounders surrendered all their judgment to their fancy, and paid no regard to philology. Accordingly, myths sprang up every where at the bidding of these enchanter. No hill without its appropriate legend; no valley unadorned by some tale of prowess or woe. Rapidly caught up by the early epic poets, they

were transmitted to the second or lyric age of Greek poetry, and aided by the lyre, obtained for ever a permanent abiding place. In this way rose the Centaurs, the Serpent Pytho, Cadmus and the dragon's teeth, Zeus and Apollo, the Pierian Muses and Cecrops, the Tettiges or grasshoppers, the monster Gorgona, the builders of Cyclopiian walls. So far, however, from these being fictions, they are, every one of them, "as real as King Harold," and the localities whence they issued in the Punjab, in Behar, in Affghanistan or Cashmere, are all capable of identification with extreme minuteness. The theory is not satisfied with a simple appeal to great and striking similarities, or with a basis of broad distinguishing characteristics, or with arguments resting on those probabilities of an early connection with the East, which even reason finds it difficult to discard. A jealous scrutiny into language, undertaken without a shade of doubt,—a series of experiments, pursued without the slightest mistrust, have resulted in the compilation of two maps, which give—not large and ill-defined tracts in Asia and in Europe corresponding to each other—but ridges and valleys, towns and streams in East and West, about the identity of which there can be no more reasonable doubt, than there can be doubt that the disinterred city of Pompeii is really the Roman city which was buried in ashes during the first century of our era. In order that the reader may not fatigue himself with a desultory comparison of the places in the Oriental map, with the corresponding places in the European map, the author has taken the trouble to give to each locality in each map its duplicate title: that by which it was known to ignorant Greeks, and is still known to unenlightened Europeans, and that additional one which Mr. Pococke's research and discernment have triumphantly assigned to it. Thus, to quote the author, or to explain our meaning more clearly, the map of Affghanistan and the adjacent countries shows the corresponding settlements of the Hela chiefs, or the Hellenes, the Casopæi or Cashmerians, the Bhutias (Buddhists) or Thibetans, the Othryans or Himalayans, the chiefs of the Oxus, the Lama tribes, the Philistines, the Tartar tribes, &c., &c., in Greece, Palestine, and Egypt. When we have fully satisfied ourselves of the various starting points of Greeks and Philistines, gods and kings, nymphs and grasshoppers, we next come to the map of Greece—*extra Peloponnesum*—to use the phraseology of the old school Atlas—and we find there the whole tableau re-produced, on the high lands of Thessaly, by the shores of the Ægean sea, and in the country of Alexander and Philip. India has fairly got into Greece; and we can discern

the "primitive colonization of the country from the provinces of the Indus, the Ganges, the Himalayan mountains, Tibet, 'Cashmir and the Oxus." Our readers may be startled at this assurance, but a broad view, such as we have given in Mr. Pococke's own words, conveys no adequate notion of the extreme distinctness and accuracy with which men and tribes are re-produced, and have their dwellings assigned to them by the waters of the Peneus, the oaks of Dodona, the seven tides of the Euripus, and the oracles of Delphi. We give a few specimens of Mr. Pococke's metamorphoses. The Pelasgi came from Pelasa in Behar, and Pelasa is nothing more or less than the Butea Frondosa! Macedonia is derived from Magadha, the well-known Sanscrit name for Southern Behar! The Greek word, *Γᾱα*, to which Æschylus had such an Homeric attachment, is not the earth at all, but *Gāyāji*! the revered of Bengalis and up-country devotees, the old capital of the above province. The Cyclops, who built those massive and stupendous structures, which like Stonehenge, or the great sewers at Rome, appear to defy speculation and antiquarian research, are simply the Goclapes or Gocla chiefs living on the banks of the Jumna! Attock, the well-known fort on the Indus, to which the last war has given an undying celebrity, is the origin, at one time, of Athens, at another of the word Autochthones, by which the simple-minded Greeks designated the Aborigines of the soil. The Behút or Jhelum sends forth the Baihútians to colonise Bœotia. From the Eubahúyas, a Sanscrit word, signifying mighty-armed men or warriors, comes the island of Eubœa. Argolis means the Arghwalas or people of the Arghasan (!) Sperchius, a name hitherto foolishly derived from *σπέρχω* to hasten, and thought to be expressive of the force of the current, is nothing else than the Ganges or heavenly river, from Swarga. The Cadmei are the Gautamas, or disciples of the great Buddhist. Larissa, the capital of Achilles, is Lahore; and Philip of Macedon signifies a Bhil prince, and not a lover of horses!

The above are not one-fiftieth part of the changes and transformations which, on Mr. Pococke's invitation, and on a mere similarity of sound, for it is nothing more, we are called on to examine, assent to, and applaud. It would take, not the space usually devoted to one article, but to two or three, were we to endeavour to follow this inquisitive gentleman through all his fantastic speculations on the identity of Cephallenia and Cabul, Elymiotis and Yelum or Jhelum, Epirus and Hya chiefs, Olympus and High Lamas, Tomaros and the great Meru mount. No charlatan at a country fair, before a set of

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gaping clowns, ever exhibited such a series of antics. We look in vain for any summary of the learned authorities on whose matured judgment Mr. Pococke might appear to lean: whose theories, carefully devised and patiently tested, he might delight in leading one step further towards the desired goal. Mr. Pococke has not, as he admits himself, proceeded on the plan of quoting manuscripts, comparing coins, weighing authorities, or using any of those numerous helps which, in this age of advanced criticism, it is incumbent on all theorists laboriously to use. "As these evidences," he says, "will be 'found to appeal to the practical sense of every individual, 'I shall offer no apology for neglecting to support them by 'classical or modern authorities.'" The evidences are said to be those of a solid geographical basis. Language then, and geography, are the sole tests to which he appeals, with the exception of a few authors from whom he gives us copious quotations, without extracting the pith and marrow of their researches, or bringing them, calmly and conscientiously, to throw light to his own. We are sensible that it is a very easy thing to throw ridicule on even the soundest discoveries in comparative philology, and that to demolish a theory regarding the identity of two distant regions or races, something more is necessary than to endeavour to raise a laugh at the facility with which consonants are changed and vowels elided, to make Hindu and Greek speak in the same words. We shall, therefore, proceed seriously to state the broad objections to Mr. Pococke's theory in the abstract, previous to pointing out several instances on which his deductions, or rather assumptions, are the very reverse of sound canons and known truths.

Now nothing can be more certain that when one language is transformed into, or becomes mingled in another, the change or admixture, in almost every instance, is marked by certain definite and regular rules. There may be some irregularities: there may be exceptions, violations of precedent, harsh shocks to euphony: strange and unlooked-for abbreviations, combinings of one vowel with another, which the parent language abhors; but still there are certain infallible canons in the metamorphose, to which philologists can appeal with the confidence that such will stand a rigid inquiry. The truth of this position may be seen by reference to any derivative tongue of the East or the West. It is seen in the formation of our language from the Anglo-Saxon: in that of Italian from Latin: in Bengali or Hindi, as derived from that great parent of so many oriental tongues, the Sanscrit. A moderate acquaintance with the original language, and with the rules of fusion, enable men, at a glance,

to look for and to detect the birth-place of many a term in common use. It was in this way that Burnouf and Lassen laid down the laws by which Sanscrit passed into the Pali, in some instances as immutable and as regular in their operation as the laws of Nature herself. And we have a right to demand from such an author as Mr. Pococke, either that he shall adhere rigidly to these philological truths, or that he shall show cause for his deviation from them, in every instance or class of instances. But in the preface we are told that the " Sanscrit scholar will find a few irregularities in that process which I have developed. They are such as belong to a form compounded of the old Pehlvi and the Sanscrit : the latter serving as the basis, and the former as the inflective power." What acquaintance this author may have with the old language of Media, we know not ; but we are enabled, from his own showing, to declare that, in many instances, the words which he ingeniously couples with Sanscrit words, are those of the regular Persian language, as it is spoken at this very day. Still further to prevent an unfavourable judgment on his philology, the author tells us that the " apparent irregularities of orthography occurring in connection with the same word, will be found to be more imaginary than real," and that it will be a good thing for all readers to get accustomed to " such variations of form, but not of power, nor of signification." Such varieties, we are told, will, " with few exceptions, be found to arise from the necessity of running parallel with the irregular meanderings of the Helenic or oriental streama." With such doctrines admitted, what irregularities can be attacked ? With such license once granted, to what fair conclusions may we not arrive ? But the truth is, that we protest strongly against this claim to derive Greek names from Sanscrit and Persian words conjointly, or even from Sanscrit, unless the derivation shall proceed on known and acknowledged principles of criticism, or until Mr. Pococke shall bring forward some authority for the practice, besides his own bare assertion. On the contrary, we shall insist on the most rigid adherence to the rules by which Sanscrit entirely forms, or augments, or replenishes, the spoken dialects of India, or by which its connection with Greek and Latin or other western languages, has been sought hitherto to be established. Nothing is more deceptive or dangerous than this unlimited credit on a large and flexible language, like the Sanscrit ; to say nothing of the aid of another, almost as copious, where Sanscrit may be at fault. If this once be sanctioned, there is hardly any word in the classical languages, for which an equivalent in sound may not be

found in the East, by the aid of a little ingenious transposition. If words largely used in Sanscrit, and consequently of everyday occurrence in its derivatives, are to be unceremoniously taken to form, now the head, and now the tail, of a Greek word, if common endings are to be made beginnings, if Persian plurals are to be affixed to Sanscrit roots, if Sanscrit nouns, not those in general use, but those woven occasionally by some fantastic poet into his elaborate and complex stanzas, are to be assumed, when it suits an author, as the basis of some common Greek fable, or as the name of a tribe, there is no connection which we may not hope to prove. Then the Brahmins or the Buddhists may have been the priests of Delphi, the builders of the Roman Cloacæ, the artificers of Stonehenge, the early colonists of Gaul or Britain. Once allow these gratuitous assumptions to have the force of unquestioned law, and there is no distant region to which we may not lead an eastern colony, no untrodden or uncivilized locality which may not render a faithful testimony to its toils.

It is true that, to find Persian and Sanscrit harmoniously coupled together, we have not far to seek. We need not, for this purpose, go to Greece. We have the example before us in India, here, at our doors. Let a man take up any book on Modern India, let him only spread open before him a map of the British or of native territories, and if he possess but the slightest tincture of oriental literature, he will have no difficulty in recognizing, in a hundred names, the admixture of Persian with Sanscrit. The grand features of nature will retain, indeed, their old nomenclature. The larger tracts of country will recall the fallen dynasties of Hindu sovereigns. The rivers and mountains will speak of a language of unfathomed antiquity, and a period long anterior to history. But the works of man's hand, the villages and towns, the crowded marts, some even of the divisions of the provinces, will all bring before the eye, in a series of tableaux, the march and the settlement of the Mussulman conqueror. In one corner of a district will be found half-a-dozen villages, essentially Hindu in origin and name. In another corner there will be as many more essentially Mohammedan. Then the names of a third class will be half Hindu and half Mohammedan. A dozen illustrations of this last class will be found in the names Cawnpore, Mirzapore, Sheikpore, Rajgunge, Amírpore, and others, which will occur, not only in the more notable towns, distinguished by the above appellations, but in numerous others in any district. It was in this way that Mussulman and Hindu traded in the same mart, settled near the same river or tank, and, formed by constant

intercourse, one common, rich, and polished colloquial dialect. But the very origin of this fusion, which gave us the Urdu language, is not a thousand years old. It cannot, by any possibility, date previous to the inroads of Mahmud of Ghuzni, and before we can permit Mr. Pococke to yoke Persian to Sanscrit, in order that he may account for the origin of some Greek word which was in daily use, at least two thousand years before the age of the said Mahmud, we must have some better authority for the practice than he has yet given us in his cool intimation, that we are to look for a "few irregularities" in this philology made easy.

The truth is, however, that this writer seems to have put chronology entirely on the shelf. Language is to explain itself, and may discard all light thrown on the migrations of great tribes, by a comparison of traditions and early annals, by an enquiry into inscriptions, coins, and other traces of sovereignty, and by the results of the grand discussion as to the priority of the Brahmanical over the Buddhistic religion. Of this controversy, which we conceive is now finally settled in favour of the antiquity of the Brahman, Mr. Pococke seems to be well nigh ignorant. What good authority is there for referring the great struggle between the "high-caste Brahmanical Vedantist," as he is termed in the volume before us, and the worshipper of the one God, the reformer of the old religion, to the primeval wars of the Solar and the Lunar races? Yet this is what we must understand Mr. Pococke to mean in page 161, though he very wisely commits himself to no dates, and runs back, like the praise of beauty in Wordsworth's *Russian Fugitive*, into the "mists of fabling time." We regret, however, that Mr. Pococke does not show, like the object of the poet's eulogy, any disinclination to climb "along forbidden ways." A copious language, a series of gigantic works, similarities in sound, are quite sufficient for him. Whether Buddha lived about the year 900 before Christ, or in the commencement of the seventh century, or the sixth, as is the opinion of many distinguished orientalists, is matter for no reflexion. The Buddhistic clans—that is, the Lunar race—fought with the Children of the Sun, not merely in India, but in Greece. Buddha is as old as Manu, and Cadmus the Phœnician, the inventor of the Greek alphabet, who, we always thought, flourished in the fifteenth century before our era, or was about cotemporary with the Vedas, is found out to be Gautama, the great apostle of Buddhism, who, we had thought, lived and died somewhere in the sixth century, or about the age of the Grecian Pythagoras.

We must admit that it would be wrong to induce our readers to believe, that the author has made no reference to the writings of other persons on oriental subjects connected with Buddhism and Hindu mythology. On the contrary, old authors and new, travellers in reality and travellers on paper, are occasionally appealed to, whenever any part of their works seems to bear favourable testimony to Mr. Pococke's cause. Thus we have copious extracts from the writings of German philosophers, Bengal Civil Servants, and Grecian historians. We pass rapidly from the Mahawanso of Mr. Turnour, to a lengthened quotation from Mr. Grote; from Csoma De Coros, to an unpublished letter from one English gentleman to another, from Mr. H. T. Prinsep and Mr. Edward Thomas, B. C. S., to the Khiva of Capt. Abbott, and the amusing volumes of M. Huc. The whole of the above are, however, summoned without method, paraded without connection, and dismissed without good result. And if there is one author on whom Mr. Pococke places more reliance than any other, whom he praises, not merely for his attractiveness, but for his sound judgment, that author turns out to be the most unlucky selection, by way of a guide, that any antiquarian or philologist could possibly have made. What do our readers think of Colonel Tod, the accomplished but sanguine author of the *Annals of Rajasthan*, being chosen as a person to whom Mr. Pococke is "deeply indebted for valuable corroborative proof, and distinct illustration of the geographical facts already adduced:" as a man, whose steady convictions, "firmly and ably supported, will be found amply established by the practical geographical evidences here laid before the reader;" as one in short who, "undeterred by derision and defeat," has succeeded in establishing theories, which we are to believe, shall stand the test of time as securely as the rock temples of Ellora or the Jain structures of Rajasthan. It is necessary to linger a little more on this part of the subject, in order that, while the merits of such a man as the late Agent for Rajputana are not unduly depreciated, the sagacity of Mr. Pococke in selecting such a guide, may meet with its fair share of praise. Most readers have read or dipped into the ponderous volumes on the annals of Rajputs, which were the result of more than ten years' residence amongst those high-spirited tribes. There is no doubt that their author brought to his task many valuable qualifications. Ardent and enthusiastic, he saw, in the Rajput chieftains, the representatives of the ancient nobility of India. He sympathised keenly with their wants and aspirations: extolled the love of arms, the fondness for adventure, the skill in athletic sports, the daring in the chase

and in the battle, which distinguished not merely the heads of principalities, but even the ordinary villagers: passed alighty over their natural defects, or saw in them only the result of intercourse with the foreigner: watched over their interests, gave prominence to their claims to consideration, and was to them, in all things, a protector and a friend. For months he busied himself in transcribing their annals, and for hours together he could listen to the recitations of their bards. His position, his very duties as a servant of Government, his annual tour in the cold season, all tended to heighten his conviction of their good qualities, his blindness to their defects. Wherever he trod, along the edge of the sandy desert, or on the cool heights of mount Abú, or by the castled summits of Chitúr, he saw the imperishable monuments of the thirty-six royal tribes. Queen-mothers, and high-born ladies, held conversation for hours together with him, behind the usual protection claimed by oriental delicacy. Chieftains greeted him on his return from his annual visitation, with that inborn and dignified courtesy, to which European refinement could literally add nothing, or delighted to exhibit in the presence of the Agent Sahib, their matchless dexterity with the sword or the gun, and to split bullets on knives, actually concealed from their sight!* For him a dozen pens were constantly transcribing the warlike poems of the last minstrels of Mewar: a dozen loquacious retainers were ever ready to furnish him with long-cherished traditions, accounts of striking feats of heroism, and splendid instances of female devotion unto death. Add to this that, on digesting his copious stores of information, and presenting them to the public, he had, to illustrate his pages, the aid of one of the most accomplished artists that the Indian army, so fertile in talent of every description, has ever produced. The silvery lake, the summer residence during the fierce heats of May, the elegant tracery of a Jain temple, the ruined pillar and the broken shaft, the capital city of a dynasty, whose origin was lost in the twilight of history, the rocky pass, the frowning citadel, the gorgeous palace—all this, which had been duly extolled by the pen of a Tod, was still further set forth in the most attractive colours, by the pencil of a Waugh. It was no wonder that readers should have admired and pitied, when they read the story of the defeat of the flower of Rajput chivalry by the practised battalions of DeBoigne, or gazed on the fortress, the determined gallantry of whose defenders had well nigh checked,

* This feat was performed by placing the knife in the exact centre of an earthen, or Kedgerree pot, and then aiming at that centre. It required a little extra care, but the attempt was actually successful.

in his full career, the most powerful of Mohammedan emperors. The two volumes on Rajputana were, in short, exactly what the character, position, and idiosyncrasy of their author would have led all readers of judgment to expect. Set off by a lively and attractive style, and replete with much novel information, they are invaluable authorities on every thing that relates to the customs, social habits, mode of speech and address, and way of thinking, prevalent amongst Rajputs. There are stories in them which might have served Dryden for a five-act play, or Scott for a three-volumed novel. They may be trusted implicitly by any reader who should wish to know what ceremonies are observed on the birth, education, and introduction into society, of a young Rajput chieftain: what weapons are best manufactured in the work-shops of Kotah or Jeypore: by what employments the seclusion of a Rajputni is varied: what failings, hereditary or acquired, mar the otherwise fine and manly character of the soldier-peasant: what passes are most accessible; where the march of an invading army could be most readily checked; how lands are irrigated, how crops are sown; and how revenue is raised. But we should put no more faith in the theories broached by this accomplished author as to the origin, migrations, and settlement of ancient dynasties, than in Livy's early traditions of Rome, after they had been laid bare and dissected by the searching hand of Niebuhr. Fair and honest criticism will readily assign to Colonel Tod his proper place as an authority in the history of the Rahtores—sound and trustworthy on one set of subjects—unsafe and insecure on another. We cannot do better than borrow the remarks made on this author by an Indian officer of great acquirements and research. Touching on some of the unsupported assertions made by Colonel Tod, Sir H. M. Elliot says—*Supplemental Glossary*, page 354:—"While, however, we cannot but dissent from several of this author's extravagant surmises and assertions, it would be ungracious not to acknowledge how deeply we are indebted to him for his interesting *Annals of Rajasthan*, a work which contains much novel information, and is a repertory of important facts and traditions, which are invaluable to an enquirer into the history of India, previous to the Mohammedan invasion. He would have conferred a still deeper obligation on us, had he published his promised translation of the poem of Chund Bardai." Backed by such authority, we feel no hesitation in asserting that Mr. Pockocke, in choosing Colonel Tod as his mainstay, has merely given another proof of his singular unfitness for patient historical research. This is, however, in perfect keeping with the

remainder of the work. The most airy fabric, the most shadowy theory, ever engage his credulity and attract his eye.

We now feel that it is time to proceed to a more minute investigation of the ground on which many of this author's deductions rest. We have already pointed out his unauthorized derivations of Greek words from Persian or Sanscrit, or from parts of both at the same time, just as it happens to suit him. It would have been much safer for Mr. Pococke to have relied on the acknowledged similarity of many of the commonest Persian words to the Sanscrit, and have based his arguments on the broad affinities of these two languages—such, for instance, as occur in the well-known identity of the Persian and Sanscrit terms for *place, name, new, horse, cow, water*, of many of the numerals, and the like. Had he confined himself to some of the indubitable proofs of the connection between the classic and the Indo-Germanic languages, and had reasoned generally on the subject, he would have encountered less danger of refutation on particular points. When he tells us that the Greek despot is nothing but the Sanscrit *Deshapati*, 'the lord of a country;' and that Pythagoras has long been suspected of Buddhism, we give him an entire and unhesitating belief. But his obstinate determination to recognize, at all hazards, an Indian acquaintance in classic dress, to see the towns and cities, the tribes and mountains of Northern India, in the hills and vales of Thessaly, has made the task of exposure one of comparative ease.

One of the first strange derivations which strikes us, is that of the words Hellenes and Hellas. Mr. Pococke (page 49) has not "the slightest doubt," that these names are derived from certain chiefs who, as Rajputs, were all worshippers of the sun, the Greek *ἥλιος* and the Sanscrit *hela* being identical. Certainly there is a Sanscrit word *heli*—not *hela*, as the author will have it—which is one of the synonymes for the sun, and there is another word *ina*, which signifies lord or master, but *heli* and *ina* were never joined together, so as to form the word Helaines or Greeks, as the author has it, until he so joined them. Again the Greek word Hellas is to be formed from the two Sanscrit words *hela* and *des*, "the land of the sun" which is equivalent to Hellados, which every school-boy must know is the genitive of Hellas. Thus, when it suits a particular theory, the Sanscrit is to be derived into the possessive, and not into the first case of the Greek declension. It is almost unnecessary to say that, for this freak, no authority whatever is adduced.

To the next hypothesis we are thus gravely introduced,

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page 58—"Who could have imagined, that from the present barbarous land of Affghanistan, the elegant, refined, and witty Athenian should have set out! Yet, so it was. The northern course of the Indus was his first home. The Attac, indeed, gave a name to the far-famed province of Attica! The Attac is at present a fort, and a small town on the east bank of the Indus, 942 miles from the sea, and close below the place where it receives the waters of the Cabul river, and first becomes navigable. 'The name,' writes Thornton, 'signifying obstacle, is supposed to have been given to it under the presumption, that no scrupulous Hindoo would proceed westward of it.'" Passing over the minute accuracy which has taken the trouble to mark the exact number of miles from the sea, at which Attock, to use plain language, is situated; and the forgetfulness to note, that by Affghanistan can only be meant the old Dorani empire in its fullest extent, before it was shorn of its possessions, we must remark that this word Attock is well-known to be neither Sanscrit nor Persian. Whether we agree with Thornton, who supposes the term to indicate a barrier set by religious scruples, or with other writers, who take it to mean a barrier against invasion from the Khyber, there can be no doubt that the fort of Attock is identical in sound with the Hindi word अट्ठक, signifying 'prevention, hindrance.' No one has ever yet attempted to identify it with any of the learned languages of the East. We much doubt, if the word is to be found in any Mahomedan writer 500 years old, and we believe that it is one of those local words peculiar to the dialects of India, and in common and familiar use, no one exactly knows how. But not content with deriving the Greek word Attica—the birth-place of so much that is enduring in philosophy, refinement, and art—from an obscure Hindu vocable, the author goes on to explain the meaning of the word Autochthones, or Aborigines, by saying (page 61) that they were "not Autochthones, sprung from the same earth, but Attac-thans, i. e., the 'people of Attac-land.'" And this precious jumble is attempted to be explained by a solution at the foot of the page, in which the false or Greek word is set down as "Autochthon, the same land," to Grecian ears, and the Sanscrit, or genuine word, as Attac-than, or the Attac-land, to the ears of all true and rational philologists. Thus Mr. Pococke, to explain a theory to the truth of which he had pledged himself, links together an unknown Hindi, and a common Sanscrit word, and gives to the latter the form of the English plural, in order to bring out more strongly the similarity of the whole in sound to the classic Autochthones! A similar absurdity is perpetrated

a page or two further, or where we are told that the Tettiges or grasshoppers, about which term the early Greeks had a pleasing and ingenious fable, is derived from Tatta, the town in Scinde, of which Tattaikes, or *τάρταϊκες* is merely a derivative form. As usual, there is no single authority for this piece of absurdity.

In page 75 occurs a crowning piece of fatuity. After expressing an opinion that the river Arghasan, in the province of Sarawan, near Affghanistan, gave its name to the province of Argos (we had thought that Argos was a town and not a province), he proceeds to say that "be this as it may, certain 'it is, that those who lived in the district of Arghas were called 'Argh-walas (Arg-olis) or inhabitants of Arghas," and then in a note is added, "Arghasan is evidently the Persian plural of Arghas," and "wala (in composition) a keeper, inhabitant, 'man, &c., as dhoodh-wala, milk-man; naw-wala, boat-man; 'Dilli-wala, inhabitant of Delhi." Can this author be in earnest? Is he not amusing himself with the proverbial credulity of untravelled Englishmen? The use of the word *wala*, in composition, is familiar enough to every one here. It answers, in its use and appliances, something of the purpose of our English word *fellow*, which it is not wholly unlike in sound. But it is old Hindi again, and has no recognised affinity with either Persian or Sanscrit. Yet there is nothing in the place where the above extract occurs, to indicate that Mr. Pococke had the least suspicion that this handy conventional phrase, the grand resource of gentlemen and ladies who speak the Vernacular imperfectly, and in whose behalf it does excellent service, was not cast in the purest antique mould. Conceive the name of a Grecian province, as old, and almost as famous as the Trojan war, being derived from a river in a mountainous country to the north of India, coupled to a phrase current only in India, and unknown to any classical eastern tongue! Mr. Pococke might as well have said at once that Argolis was derived from ag-wala, fire-man. It would have been equally correct in comparative philology and as similar in sound.

In page 82 we are told that the mountain chain of Pindus, forming the boundary between Thessaly and Epirus, takes its name from the Pind, that is to say, from a place which the transactions of the last three years have made familiar to us as Pind Dadun Khan. It is our belief, but we speak in this instance with some little diffidence, that the word Pind is local and peculiar to the Punjab, where it simply means a village, as Rawul Pindee, the village of Rawul, Pind Dadun Khan, the village of Dadun Khan. This, at least, we have heard on

authority, much more respectable than that of Mr. Pococke, and one which has probability in its favour. It is quite certain too, that the term is not Sanscrit in its origin.

In page 84 we are treated to a new derivation of the word Achelous, the river, in whose fight with the hero Hercules, Gibbon saw merely the contention which must ensue when the aboriginal inhabitant comes in contact with an invading or settling colonist. "The Ac-Helous or Hela's water, 'the largest river in Greece, and so named from the Hela mountains in Scinde, traverses the whole country from north to south, like the Indus in the Punjab:" and then in a note the derivation is given as "Aca, water; Helavas, the people of the Hela mountains. The form Helavas becomes 'Helawas or Helous." Now Aca is not water, neither in Persian nor in Sanscrit. The word in the former language is *ab*, and in the latter, *āpa*. But *p* to *c*, or any transformation of a troublesome letter, is a mere trifle when it suits this accomplished conjuror.

In page 93 Thessalia is said to be "a Greek euphonism for 'Des-Shalia' or 'the land of Shal,' Shal for the convenience of pronunciation spelt Shawl." This land is not, as might be supposed by the unlearned, the territory of Maharajah Gulab Sing, but an elevated valley near the Bolan Pass. Unluckily, however, when the well known Sanscrit word *des* or *desh* is used in company with another name to indicate the abode or locality of a certain tribe, it forms the latter part of the compound word, and not the commencement of it. Thus we have in India Kalinga-des, and Or-des or Orissa, and by this rule, which we have reason to believe a sound rule, the 'land of Shal' would be Shal-des, and how is Thessaly to come out of this, unless we have recourse to another dexterous transposition, or to Mr. Pococke's usual sneer at the frivolity and puerility of the Greeks? That the word *desh* does in compound words occasionally form the first syllable, we readily admit, but in such cases it will be found that the term is one of general import, and does not denote any land or province in particular. The terms in which it does so occur as *deshadharma*, *deshavyavahara*, local law, and local usage, or the like, will be familiar enough to any orientalist.

A similar unauthorised transformation occurs in the same place, where we learn that Callidromos, a place near Thermopylæ, is "interpreted first into Sanscrit and next into English," Cul-ait-Ramas, tribe of Oude-Ramas, "the mythology, history, language, and worship of these Ramas, reaching with one arm to Rama, with the other to Peru." This is, indeed, fulfilling

the injunction of the opening lines of the *Vanity of Human Wishes*, to an extent never contemplated by Dr. Johnson. But the truth is, that the tribe of Oude-Ramas, were such a combination usual in Sanscrit, would be Oude-Rama-Cul or Ram-Oude-Cul. The fact of the matter is, however, that no such union ever did come to pass of any of the three words thus unceremoniously yoked together "heads and points, in the same truckle bed."

Mount Othrys in Thessaly is next declared to be the Odrys of India; and Odrys is stated to be the Sanscrit name of the Himalaya as king of mountains, *Adris* being composed of *Adri*, a mountain, and *is* a king, by the rules of combination, *Adris*. Now *Adri* is certainly a mountain, but *is* is not a king, and no such combination as *Adris* occurs in Wilson. There is *Adripati*, 'king of mountains,' and there is *Himadri*, 'mountain of snow,' but it was left for Mr. Pococke to add to the copiousness of this wonderful language by a few extra synonymes of his own. Then again we have a little variety in the shape of a derivation from the Persian. The *Apidanus* is said (page 100) to be the water of Danu, viz., *Ap-i-Danu*. There is no mistaking the connecting link of these two words as pure and undefiled Persian. But *ap* is not Persian. The Persian word for water is, of course, *ab*, the Sanscrit is *apa*. Yet a little before this we were told that *aca* was water in Sanscrit, and now we have *ap*, which is neither Persian nor Sanscrit, linked to what is the sign of the genitive or possessive case in the former language. These are, indeed, a few of the "irregularities" which we were prudently told would be found in the process to be developed.

One of the combinations in which this author takes great delight, and which he reproduces on several occasions, after its first discovery, is that of the *Hi*, or *Hya Budhas*. These men were originally (page 103) of the Lunar race, then they appear as the *Druopes*, next as our own *Druids*, and, lastly, as the colonizers of the *Ebudes*, by which we must understand the isles of the *Hebrides* or *Western isles*. Now for the derivation. *Haya*, says Mr. Pococke, is horse, and *Budha* is *Budha*, that is, 'wise,' so the whole together *must* mean the "tribe of the wise horses," or "the tribe of horses of the wise." It is impossible, that, if the combination have any meaning, it can mean any thing else. Whether this sagacious tribe have any reference to the *Houhynnyms* of *Gulliver*, we are left to guess. The dexterity of the whole combination, however, finds an exact parallel in one of Dr. Johnson's well known derivations, which, with the reasoning by which it was confuted, seems so exactly to bear on the present case, that we shall

quote both. The great lexicographer, it seems, being at a loss to explain the etymology of the word Pageant, and finding nothing elucidatory on the subject in the works of previous etymologists, gravely set down the following as the origin of the word.

“Pageant—of this word the etymologists give us no satisfactory account. It may, perhaps, be *payen géant*, a Pagan giant: a representation of triumph used at return from holy wars, as we have yet the Saracen's Head.”

On this unfortunate attempt at solving a difficulty, Horne Tooke, in his *Diversions of Purley*, gives the following just commentary:—“Undoubtedly we have in London the sign of the Saracen's Head. Undoubtedly *payen* is French and *géant* is French—but these words, *payen géant* were never yet seen so coupled in French,”—and then this quaint, instructive and amusing writer proceeds to show that the word *pageant* is, in all probability, derived from an Anglo-Saxon verb which signifies, to deceive by false resemblance or representation, supporting his statements, as he almost invariably does, by quotations from standard English authors. Similarly we would say to Mr. Pococke in the spirit of Horne Tooke. Undoubtedly *Haya* is Sanscrit and means horse. Undoubtedly *Buddha* is Sanscrit, and means ‘wise,’ but *Haya Budha* were never yet seen so coupled in Sanscrit. We are thus saved any further difficulty at solution as to the tribe, in as much as the word, the difficulty, and the resolution thereof, are of Mr. Pococke's own creation.

The *φῆρες* of Homer, usually translated ‘wild beasts,’ is explained in the following manner. The word is connected with the town of *Pheræ* in Thessaly, and with the *Peer* of the Punjab. Both towns were so denominated, we are told, from an old Persian word signifying a “venerable elder or saint,” and hence comes the name usually given to old *Chiron*, the preceptor of *Achilles*, who, we are informed, was ‘the most accomplished divine and leech of his time.’ He was called a *pír*, (*Pheer Theios*) a god-like saint, and out of this the senseless and literal Greeks made an unfortunate paradox, of *φῆρ θεῖος* ‘god-like beast.’ Hence came all the stories about the Centaur teacher and his strange and uncouth appearance, though a master of the polite arts, in which character he was sedulously extolled by a series of poets.

————— *quamvis*
Excuteret risum citharædi cauda magistri.

And in this way does Mr. Pococke leap from the language of *Manu* to that of *Mahmud of Ghuzni*, from the Punjab

to Thessaly, from Thornton's Gazetteer to Achilles and his Dolopians!

In page 119 Mr. Pococke, who has been all along deriving Hercules from Heri-cul-es, or as we understand him, the "lord of the tribe of Hari," suddenly recollects that, after all, the Greeks persisted in spelling this name *Heracles*, and that Hercules is merely the Latin form. This of course requires some explanation and, accordingly in a note, we find that "Heracles, 'the Greek form, is a singularly clipping style; as usual the 'short "oo" is cut out. The Roman forms are generally 'purer." For this, there is, as usual, nothing but Mr. Pococke's bare assertion, and the "clipping style," we should say, is just as likely to be found in the hard and less flexible language of the two, although we are quite ready to admit that the Latin, equally with the Greek, sprung out of some older language, whether that be Pelasgian or Sanscrit.

Then the Hyperboreans are the people of Khyber-pur, *i. e.*, the city and district of the Khyber. To this additional instance of the unlicensed union of Sanscrit and Persian, we have only to say, that Barrackpore may be, at once, proved to have been founded ages ago, partly by a colony of English soldiers, who brought with them the term used to designate the winter quarters of an army, and, partly, by a colony of Brahmins or Hindus of some sort, who, on their part, added the word usually employed in the land of their origin, to designate a town, city, or assemblage of buildings. The truth is, that this author jumbles up Sanscrit and Persian, *Thenth* or rustic Hindi, and other abbreviations, without the slightest regard to the various influences of invasion or conquest, by which the language, the institutions, and the social customs of the East, were gradually fused into their present complex and variegated condition. But a patient and careful etymologist can no more with impunity disregard these striking landmarks, than a geologist can lose sight of the distinction between the primary and tertiary formation.

We are instructed in page 134, not to forget that the Cashmirs once "lived in England." On the argument by which this assertion is supported, we have little to say, it being included in one of Mr. Pococke's broad and heedless assertions, but we can only remark that, in this case, we can have no hesitation in promptly relieving Maharajah Gulab Sing of the sovereignty of that cool and romantic province. We are only "enjoying our own again."

Deva, the Greek *θεός*, as Mr. Pococke says, and as indeed, is universally allowed, is stated (page 137) to be the ordinary

name of a religious teacher or priest. To this we must demur, at least in the form put by the writer. The word *Deva* is occasionally applicable to a Brahmin, but it is not one of the words by which a member of this haughty fraternity is commonly known: it is not used in writing or conversation one-tenth as often as the familiar words *dwija*, 'twice born,' *vipra*, and *Brahmana*; moreover, if ever used to signify the highest caste of Hindus—it is generally joined to another word, as *bhu deva*, a god of earth, (characteristic enough of the pride of the race) and there is the word *devala*, which is derived from the noun *deva* and the root *la*, 'to bring,' and signifies a Brahman of an inferior order, who conducts all sorts of ceremonies for hire, and lives on the offerings made to the images on which he attends. But neither *deva* nor *devala*, nor *bhu deva*, ever can be called the ordinary or familiar names of religious teachers. In the very next page Wilson's Sanscrit Dictionary is appealed to to justify the origin of the Greek μεταρῆσται or 'strange inhabitants' in the sense in which Achilles in the 9th Iliad applies it to himself, in having been treated by Agamemnon as if he were a miserable interloper, and not the bravest of the Greeks.

ὥσει τιν' ἀτίμητον μεταρῆσται.

These new sojourners are people from the province of Matan, in the south part of Cashmere, who having left the verdant plains of their father-land, are called Metan-astæ, from Matan, the land just mentioned, and "vasti, dwellers, from the verb *vas*, to dwell: vasti, plural only." But unfortunately by Wilson and by the author's own showing, the word is *vāsti*, with a short and not a long vowel, and Mr. Pococke does not condescend to tell us whence he gets the long *a*, nor how he can presume to charge the Sanscrit language, euphonious even to a fault, with the perpetration of such a rough and barbarous compound as Matan-Vasti, which grates on the ear like a false quantity in the classical languages.

Arjuna, the great archer of the Mahabharat, having been satisfactorily proved to be the chief of the Aigiales, or the Ionians who lived on the shore, it is next attempted to be shown that Epirus was colonised by a large band of the same powerful class. This is to be proved by making out the Thesproti or inhabitants of Thesprotia, to be the Des B'rati, or men of the land of Bharata, whence we are transported by a rapid electric touch, to the Bruttii and the Poles, and Pole-land, or Poland! But the simple truth is, that the old name for India, which an educated Hindu will use at the present day in conversation, is Bharata Varsha, and even had the term been what

Mr. Pococke describes it to be, it would run as Bharata-desh, and not as Des-Bharat. But a slight inversion is of no moment if it serves to prop up or illustrate a rash or clumsy theory.

A derivation of the word senators, in page 173, is so patent an absurdity, that we shall soon dismiss it. Senator means, "a war chief." It has, we are told, nothing whatever to do with Senex, or those old men, whose united appearance, so grave and majestic, made the foreign ambassador return and tell his master that he had seen an assembly of kings. The foolish Romans, whose knowledge, relative to the sources of their own language, was about as correct as that of the Greeks, should have known that Sen-nath-war was derived from *sen* an army, *nath* a chief or lord: and *war* a Persian attributive! We have nothing to say to this, except, simply, to remind our readers of the cool presumption of thus accounting for a Latin word by tagging on an out-landish Persian affix to two pure Sanscrit vocables, without reference to chronology, to the common rules of the union of different languages, or even to plausibility. Had he contented himself with remarking that Senātor and Senā, "an army," for the word is so spelt, and not Sen, seemed to have some affinity with each other, there would have been some method in his philological madness. But thus is he determined to make or mar the foolish fates.

Our old friends, the *Cossids*, or runners, are discovered to be the Chasquis or messengers of Montezuma! and the word Cossid is, with great discretion, set down as "Indian." Now we ask, what is the meaning of the term Indian, as applied to language? All terms in use in this country, or at least, in Northern India, must either be of Sanscrit or Persian origin, or must be set down as old Hindi, or as "local and rustic," by which we readily understand that no one can give any account of them beyond the fact that they exist. The word Indian, as explanatory of a term used in India, explains nothing. The reality we need hardly say in this case is, that Cossid is an Arabic word, and of the probability of its identity with a term used in the New World, we leave our readers to judge. Again Coricancha, the famous Peruvian temple, which literally blazed with barbaric gold and jewels, is to be read as Ghur-i-cancha, and this, in Mr. Pococke's crucible, is made up of *ghur*, the common every-day-word for a house, *i* the Persian possessive term "of," and *cancha*, gold. Thus a Peruvian term, expressive of one of the most splendid and gorgeous buildings, which national pride had ever constructed, is to be explained by a common Hindi term, derived from the pure Sanscrit—for *ghur* is merely a corruption of *griha*, as Mr. Pococke admits—by *i* a Persian affix, and by *cancha*, which is wrongly put

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for either the Sanscrit word *kānāka*, or for *kānchana*, *gold*. Two classical languages and a mixed dialect are thus to furnish contributions to Mr. Pococke's theory, without system or method; for we need hardly say, that even were the hypothesis plausible, the etymology is unsound. A further example of purely gratuitous assumption occurs in page 156, where, after informing us that the children of the sun, or clans of the Jumna, "are to be seen on the southern base" of the mountains "of Ætolia, or Oude," he says that the "Agræi or the people of Agra lie immediately to the north," while the Amphilocheians or Beluchis of *Am*, flank the Agræans on the west. In support of this transformation there is not the least authority advanced, and we can give no reason for it, save the similarity in the sound of Agræi and Agra. But will Mr. Pococke tell us the meaning of the word by which the capital of the great Akbar is commonly designated? We cannot tell him for certain, but we can say what other scholars have thought and written on the subject. In the *Supplemental Glossary* already quoted, we find opposite the word *agur*, a salt pit, the following not uninteresting explanation:—

"It is stated by some authorities, that this word is the origin of the name of the imperial city of Agra, and from the brackish nature of the soil and water, there is no improbability in the statement: but Niamut Oolla, in his history of the Afghans, gives a very different account. He says, that Sultan Secunder Lodi, after getting on board a boat at Muttra, asked his steerer, which of the two heights before them was fittest for building. On which the steers-man replied, 'that which is a-head (Agra) is the best.' At this the Sultan smiled and said, 'the name of the town, then, which I design to build, shall be Agra.' This must be altogether an imaginary dialogue: besides which, it is not likely the steers-man would speak Sanscrit to the Emperor. It is evident moreover that Secunder was not the founder of Agra, as is generally reported, though he may have built the fort of Badulghurh; for the capture of it is celebrated in the verses of a Ghuzni poet in the time of Musaúd, the son of Ibrahim, the grand-son of Mahmud; and it is even acknowledged to have been an old city before the time of the Afghans, in the auto-biography of Jehangir, whose veracity need not be impeached in passages where he has no occasion to indulge in the 'Ercles Vein' respecting the achievements of himself or his ancestors."

Then follows a Persian couplet, which, supposing it to have been really written in the days of the grand-son of Mahmud of Ghuzni, is pronounced to be a curious relic, as there is no other record of the capture of Agra by the monarch in question.

Whatever may be the origin of Agra, it is quite clear that it is not one of the old Hindu cities, which like Cannouj or Oude, or Ougein, have obtained a lasting celebrity in the chronicles of the Sanscrit poets. And thus the absurdity of connecting one of the tribes of early Greece, with a city, the first traces of whose existence are believed not to be of older date than some eleven hundred years *after* the Christian era, will be sufficiently patent. The *Supplemental Glossary*, which we have just referred to, has afforded us a welcome opportunity for fortifying our strictures by sound and judicious criticism, combined with much talent and research. It is refreshing to turn from a work full of the crudest theories, to one bearing the unpretending name of a Supplemental Glossary, but replete with the spirit of Spelman or Ducange. Why does not Sir H. Elliot, who has for eight years tantalized us with the first results of his diligent enquiries, go on and finish the work? It was said by Gibbon of Sir William Jones, that he was, "perhaps, the only lawyer equally conversant with the Year books of Westminster, the Commentaries of Ulpian, the attic pleadings of Isæus, and the sentences of Arabian and Persian Cadhis." A very similar judgment may, with equal truth, be passed on the extent and variety of Sir H. Elliot's accomplishments. Familiar with Classics and the modern languages, deeply read in Arabic, Persian and Sanscrit, an historian and a distinguished public officer, he has taken an active part in political affairs of great moment, he has evinced a profounder knowledge of the subject of rent-free tenures than, perhaps, any other civilian in the service, and he has managed to collect and compress into one single volume, an immense extent of curious information relative to the tribes and the customs of Upper India, the fiscal and agricultural terms in use amongst the peasantry, and to give names to things, and illustrations to names, of which Shakespear and Gilchrist had never even heard.

When Mr. Pococke tells us that the patriarch or lawgiver Manu is thought to be identical with Menes the Egyptian king, he refers to us an opinion, which has been held by several orientalists since the days of Sir William Jones, but he follows this up (page 178), by saying that the Greek Memnon, or, as he spells it, Me'mnoo, is a corruption of M'ha Menoo, i. e., the great Manu. When, we may ask, was the first of Hindu lawgivers ever known by the appellation of Maha Manu, for that is what Mr Pococke means, and how, if he were, could such a contraction as Memnon come out of the Sanscrit word? There is, however, Maha Muni, a great saint, which would have been much more to the purpose, had it occurred to the author to indent on it.

The Mamaconas of Mr. Prescott's Peru, elderly matrons who guarded the tender youth of the virgins dedicated to the service of the Sun, are discovered to be the same as *Mama-canyas*, and this strange combination is made out to signify "mothers of the virgins," *Canya* being "a pure Sanscrit word for virgin." Now in the first place there is no Sanscrit word *mama*, signifying mother, though it is true that the author has not the hardihood to assert that there is, but if it were possible to imagine such a compound word as *Mama-canya*, the meaning thereof would be the very opposite of that given by Mr. Pococke. Let us take any compound of *Matri*, the proper Sanscrit word for mother, and explain it in accordance with the rules of the language. If *matribandhu* signifies "a kinsman of a mother," and *matriswasri* is "a mother's sister," on the same principle *Mama-canya* must mean, not mothers of the virgins, but virgin or daughter of the mother!

Mount Lebanon (page 215) is, we learn, merely a settlement of the tribes of Leh or Ladakh. The name is *Le-banan*. To explain this, we are referred, as usual, to the most incongruous medley and unphilosophical jargon. Thus *Le* or *Leh* is the locality, and *Bana* is the Rajputana form of the Sanscrit *Varna*, a tribe, and the Persian plural of the corrupt form gives us *Banan*, and the sum total is *Leh-Banān* or the tribes of *Leh*! We can add little to what we have before pointed out on this unwarrantable jumble, except that a parallel may be found to it in some of the papers in the Civil and Criminal courts of the lower division of this Presidency, where the ignorant or half-educated *vakils* and *mukhtars* are in the habit of joining Persian affixes to nouns of pure Sanscrit origin. But the practice is peculiar, and has only arisen since the discontinuance of Persian as the official language of the courts some fifteen years ago. In the same way *Sidon* means "All saints' town," for *Sidon* is merely *Saidhan*, and this is the plural of *Sidha*, "perfect," which—the word being pure Sanscrit—may yet borrow its plural from the Persian and become *Sidhan*!

Damascus (page 219) is derived from *Damas-kas*, a derivative of *Dhamas* in Tibet. We had always thought that the word was merely the Persian *Dimishk*, with the usual elongation of the western world. But when Mr. Pococke has derived all these Syrian, Grecian, and Roman terms from towns in Tibet, and mountains in Cashmere and Afghanistan, will he tell us what the original words themselves mean? Are they abstract terms expressive of any quality of the heart or understanding? Do they always give names to the living tribes, or do the living

tribes give names to the inanimate objects? and how, after all, are we one step nearer to the first root of the word?

All who have dipped into the pages of Colonel Tod, will remember the frequent mention of the bard Chund, who is said to have flourished in the twelfth century of our era, and to have written a voluminous poem of 100,000 stanzas on the heroic deeds of his countrymen. The name is a Hindu name, as every one knows, and may be connected with, or derived from, the Sanskrit word signifying *moon*. But Mr. Pococke has found out another derivation for the sacred bard of the Rajputs. The word is "a Persian equivalent for *cāla, time!*" We pass over the lesser blunder of making the very common Persian term "chand" or "some," to signify "time," in amazement at the gross ignorance and extraordinary fatuity which could connect the name of a Hindu of the Hindus, born some 800 years ago in the sandy plains of Rajputana, with a language at that time hardly known in India at all, and if known, only as the language of an invader and enemy.

The Greek word *ekaton*, a hundred, is derived from a word of the same sound and appearance, signifying "having the mind fixed on one (ek) object," which we must take for granted, is meant to be Sanscrit. The author having hitherto coined new and unheard-of combinations, must now coin new words. There is no Sanscrit word *ekaton* which means what the writer says. There is *ekagra*, "attentive," and *ekanta*, "solitary," but the change of a few letters is a mere trifle. Persephone (page 265) is *Parasu-pani*, "a name of Durga, called also Coree (Sansk. Gourree)." If this word could mean anything, it would mean "one with an axe in his or her hand," but neither in Wilson nor in Williams have we been able to find any epithet of Durga 'as the lady with the hatchet,' and Mr. Pococke, as usual, gives us no authority for his epithet. In the Dictionary of Raja Radhakant Deb we find the word, but it is an epithet of Ganesa, the Hindu Mercury. Then again Diocles is derived from *Deva*, a Brahmin, *Kula* a tribe, and *es* a chief, although there is no such known combination as that of the two last words, and *Devakula* or *Devakulam*, when it does occur, signifies a temple. About the same place (page 269) occur some more rare derivations. The Eumolpids mean *Su-mol-Budha*, "the very great Budha," and the Troglodytes, or "genuine cave-hermits," are the Srooculas, "the tribes of Sroos or hearers, i. e., Jainas, a sect of Budhists." Even the common Greek word *kakos* or "bad-man," is found out to have an eastern origin and means "go-ghos" or cow-killer, and our Saxon word *bad* comes from *badh* to kill—and so on.

We now come to a much graver charge against Mr. Pococke than any yet advanced by us. It is not that of presumption, or confusion of languages, or disregard of the commonest rules of Sanscrit euphony, or inattention to all sound and judicious writers, and blind adherence to those who are not implicitly to be trusted. It is something much worse than carelessness, arrogance, and love of startling and fantastic theories. It is nothing more or less than that of interpolation to suit a favourite hypothesis. We have already adverted to the derivation of Attica from Attock: of the land of so much ancient civilization, intellectual wealth, and maritime supremacy, from a place of comparative obscurity in the Punjab, not mentioned by any early oriental writer, not known to any classic eastern tongue. But in demonstrating the thoroughly Indian character of the primitive population of Attica, and in confidence that he has satisfactorily transplanted the Pandus and other clans into primitive Grecian history, Mr. Pococke turns to the Grecian historian of the present day, and summons Mr. Grote to give favourable testimony in his cause. Allowing that Mr. Grote does ample justice to the realities of Attic society, but lamenting that he should have had no suspicion of the original starting point of the inhabitants of Hellas, he says: "The account he (Mr. Grote) has given of the constituent parts of the Attic state are so true and just to the habits and system of the tribes of the Attock, in the olden time, that I cannot but introduce them in this place." And then, after his lucid description of the rights and obligations which characterized the gentile and the phratic union, Mr. Grote, to our amazement (for the Italics are our own) is made to say, in page 345 of the present work: "Such was the primitive religious and social union of the population of Attica *and of the Attock*, in its gradually ascending scale, as distinguished from the political union, probably of later introduction, represented at first by the Trittyes and Demes." We read the above sentence, which is given with the usual inverted commas, as an extract from Grote's History, vol. III., page 74, with something beyond mere surprise. Could it be, that this thoughtful, accurate, and judicious writer, had become a convert to, or had anticipated, Mr. Pococke's creed? Was it possible that an author who, we are told, had no idea of the real origin of the people about whom he was writing a work of ten volumes or so, had either deliberately or inadvertently recognized the identity of Attock and Attica? We turned to the passage quoted, and we found that the words, *and of the Attock*, were not in Grote at all: that in short they had been

foisted in by Mr. Pococke, purposely, or had crept in owing to the most astounding negligence. Such a fact as this requires little comment.

We might go on for ten pages more, reviewing Mr. Pococke's fanciful derivations, which embrace every Greek celebrity of interest, either amongst gods or men, and submitting them to the judgment of every reader of common candour or sense. We might dissect the analogies which are found to exist between Apollo and Budha Rao, or the Budha king, between the Hindu month Bhadro, and the Grecian month Boedromion, between Athene or Minerva, and Adhine, the queen of Heaven, Lycurgus and Logurh, Arjuna and Delbhoi, Bamian and Parnassus, Ila the son of Budha, and Ilium, Polynce and the prince of the Naga chiefs! We should, however, weary the patience of our readers with a list of metamorphoses which, in the end, fail even to provoke a smile. One more of his etymologies we must, however, give, because it touches on the subject of the village communities in India, about which Mr. Campbell has lately written so much and so well. We have all, in India, at some time, heard of the headman of the village or division, whether he be known to us as Patel, or Mundul, or Mokaddum, or by some similar denomination: and the student of Grecian history will remember certain functionaries called Naucraroi or Naucraries, whose duties in the early distribution of the Attic tribes, before the time of Solon or Cleisthenes, are still a puzzle to the antiquarian. The puzzle is, however, solved at last by Mr. Pococke. The Naucraros is not derived from *naus* a ship, nor is it another word for Naukleros, a householder, as is the latest and most probable explanation, but it is a "Greek disguise for Naug'ra-raj, or the head citizen of 'his division, or in Indian parlance, the district potail." Then in the usual note we learn that "Naugara (spelt Nagara)," is "a citizen: Nagara-raj, (Naukra-ros,) head of the citizens." This will be new to experienced district officers, who, we will venture to say, in all their researches, never heard the local dignitary addressed by his constituents as Nagara-raj. But setting aside all reasoning on the entirely local character of these functionaries, and on their varying denominations in different provinces of the empire, we have only to remark that the word Nagara, which is derived from Nagar or Nugger, as it is usually pronounced, means, of course, "one born or bred in a city, a town-lad," "a knowing person," says Mr. Wilson in his Dictionary, as a "buck," "a wag," &c. The word is the very opposite of anything rustic or countryfied, and when occurring in any Sanscrit author, would be much more

characteristic of the fops and dandies of the court of Vikramaditya, if there were any, than of the chief of those tenacious self-governing village communities. And who, we may ask, who ever heard of such a combination as Nagara-raj? The nearest to it in sound is Naga-raj, which, of course, means king of serpents! The jargon of Covielle, in the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, who mystified the old man with that wonderful Turkish language *qui dit tant de choses en peu de mots*, is really more interesting and instructive, than Mr. Pococke's, and we doubt not, quite as classical and sound.

We can assure our readers that the above instances, of what appears to us the strangest aberration of learning and discursive studies, are merely selected from a huge mass of others. We might go on for ten pages more, wearying our readers, and puzzling ourselves to try and discover what authorities Mr. Pococke had for many other startling disclosures. Those which we have remarked on, are certainly such as would attract observation by their prominence, and we trust that we have been enabled, by the help of a very moderate acquaintance with oriental literature, to show that some of his most important deductions, and, generally, the whole system of his enquiries, cannot stand the test of truth. We do not deny that his studies appear to have ranged over a field of some extent, but their application is fantastic and irregular; old and new authors, some of them very doubtful and unsafe guides, are lugged in to suit a pre-conceived idea or prop a falling theory, just as it happens to please the fancy of the writer. Moreover, any one who will take up the book and read ten pages or so thereof, cannot fail to be struck with the assurance and complacency with which the most astounding assumptions are propounded. The slenderest theories inspire the author with no mistrust: the most arbitrary combinations generate no apprehension: the wildest flights of fancy fail to sober this adventurous Phaeton, this new Icarus. The longest march, over the most inhospitable regions, does not abate one jot of the confidence with which this Walter the Pennyless, would lead us, in a mad crusade, to lay in some dreary desert the corpses of our reason and our common sense. There would be some indulgence due to a writer who, having hit upon a new theory, should cautiously endeavour to follow its working: who should step gradually from one firm piece of ground to another: and who, throwing out his discoveries with an air of modest self-possession, should gratefully avail himself of the previous enquiries of scholars of reputation, and only depart from them with an expressed doubt, that further enquiry might, probably, prove them

to be right. But the audacity with which this author's dicta are enunciated, is not more remarkable than the tone of condescension adopted by him, when treating of the labours of some of the profoundest and most notable of English or Continental scholars. The general aim and tendency of the work, as well as several of the details of the execution, have already been given by us; and we have thought it necessary to speak of them in no very measured terms of depreciation. The following are, however, a few of the passages which evince Mr. Pococke's sense of his own merits and discoveries, and his commiseration for the wilful or unavoidable blindness of others. Mr. Pococke stands "at the fountain head of civilisation," and holds "the vantage ground of the high table land of central Asia" (p. 62). A little further, (in page 47), he is "thankful that he has been permitted to pass the gloomy barriers of the mighty past, and to bring back" records which, he doubts not, "will carry conviction to the minds of the dispassionate." In page 77, after a cool mention of the Affghan settlers in Scotland, he writes: "The Scotch clans, their original localities and their chiefs in Affghanistan and Scotland, are subjects of the deepest interest. How little did the Scotch officers, who perished in the Affghan campaigns, think, that they were opposed by the same tribes from whom they themselves sprang! A work on this subject is in progress." Little indeed, say we, and it is a pity that the interesting fact had not been known to the political officers who planned the Affghan campaign, or to Mr. Kaye, who has written its history, as it might have tended greatly to simplify the diplomatic bearings of the question, and to have altered the historian's judgment. In page 86 we gain a new light on the above war, and we are led to infer that it was a Napier, and not Pollock and Nott, who did something to wipe out the disgrace of the Khoord Cabul. After comparing the defeat and slaughter of the army, by the "subtle craft of a barbarous foe, aided by the unexampled rigours of the severest winter," to the splendour and valour of the host at Ghuzni, Mr. Pococke thus moralizes on this impressive subject: "The province of Thessaly, as being the mirror of a portion of Affghanistan and the Punjab, gives rise to feelings of the most chequered interest, forming, as it does, the record of our greatest triumphs and our greatest disasters. It was the Macedonian hero who invaded and vanquished the land of his forefathers unwittingly. It was a Napier who, leading on the small, but mighty army of civilized Britain, drove into headlong flight the hosts of those warlike clans, from whose present stock himself, and not a few of his

troops, were the direct descendants. Thus twice has the army of civilization signalised in Afghanistan and the Punjab its victory over the army of barbarism." The knowledge of the Indian history of late days, and the knowledge of Indian antiquities, combined in this author, seem to be about on a par. Mr. Pococke's own idea of caution may be seen at page 123: "Caution is a commendable virtue: but extreme distrust is far more perilous to history, than extreme facility of belief. The possessor of the latter quality may, among much fable, receive some history; while the sceptic as easily invents an invention for a nation as for an author." No one, we should imagine, will ever accuse this writer of any thing like extreme distrust, or even commendable caution. But at the commencement of the 12th chapter of the work (page 170) we are informed:—"the simple but undeniable facts which I have brought forward, resting upon a substantial geographical basis, will now commend themselves to the judgment of the dispassionate enquirer after truth." A lament for the intellectual apathy of four travellers in Cashmere, whose works are well known to the public, occurs in page 136. The men are Vigne, Moorcroft, Elphinstone, (whose name, by the way, is here spelt by the author without its final *e*) and Foster. These adventurous travellers described the manly features, the Herculean build, the symmetrical proportions, the classical make of these dwellers in the hills: but—"how little did these eminent travellers imagine, that this was the very race, this identical people of Cashmir, and its immediate neighbourhood, that helped to form from their splendid stock, the manly vigour of Hellas, and the exquisite beauty of her daughters, both Chæroneia and Plataia, are settlements from this district, Caironaya being the people of Cashmir, and Plataia being Baltia, those of Balti!" Further on, (page 142) Mr. Pococke regrets that he cannot subscribe to the theories propounded by several writers of high and deserved celebrity in Germany, relative to the foundation of Greek mythology, "still less can he accede to the doctrine of Greek invention and Greek mythopœic propensities, as laid down by Mr. Grote in his *otherwise valuable* history of Greece, as the experiment of that wide and crowded Panorama, which has been styled Greek legend and Greek mythology: a panorama painted by foreign artists." It may possibly occur to the reader, that Mr. Pococke is nothing but a foreign artist himself, and one not remarkable for fidelity of reproduction, while his work is a hasty and superficial daub, and not a life-like panorama. When in page 167 he discovers a similarity between the name of Unda,

a tract near the Sutej, and the Andes mountains, he "firmly rivets the chain of evidence:" and when, in page 184, he connects the Indus with Abyssinia, Ethiopia with Oude, he describes himself as reaching the introductory evidences of the Indian colonization of Egypt, "by the simple, yet conclusive nomenclature of land and water." "But," he continues, "we pause not here: in fact the mass of these evidences is so overpowering, that the great difficulty is in making a selection." This sort of confidence grows bolder as the author proceeds, and sees in each unsupported assumption of yesterday, a precedent for a new and unwarrantable hypothesis to-morrow. No despot, determined to sap the foundations of liberty, ever proceeded with such celerity from one encroachment to another, or made the position which he had wrested from the popular leaders, the basis of further inroads on the constitution. In page 212, the Egyptians, in hot pursuit of the host of the Israelites, are adverted to as "the Solar Rajputs;" and in page 223, Sisera, the captain of the host of Jabin, who fell a victim to his blind trust in the "sacred rights of hospitality, always accorded by the Rajputs and held inviolable," is alluded to in a careless, familiar way, as an old acquaintance, by the title of "the great Rajput prince." Yet a little further on, and this system of investigation is described (page 234) as a system "which has already been attended with such beneficial results," as an "extensive view already taken of the vast primitive families of mankind", and we are gravely reminded, that, although the present age affords us singular "facilities for locomotion" by "improved mechanical facilities," yet it would not do in the existing state of civilized society, for huge masses of men, with their flocks and herds, to move unobstructed over wide tracts, or through the territories of a civilized power: in other words, that, in spite of our railways and our steam-ships, emigration in this vague and general way between India and Greece, if ever attempted, would certainly call forth a strong remonstrance from the minister of foreign affairs at the court of Teheran, to Col. Sheil, or from the Arab chieftains along the Gulph, or from the Imaum of Muscat, to the Indian Government. Then in page 238, we find a lament for Mr. Grote, who, though "one of the ablest of modern historians," has "been entirely led astray by the corrupt medium through which information has been handed down. And the same author again appears to have had no suspicion of the original starting point of the inhabitants of Hellas, and, consequently, has treated of the Hellenes in their own primitive state, upon the same principles, as those which apply to the

‘ Homeric and Thucydidean Greek.’ The most consummate piece of arrogance, and the last with which we shall trouble our readers, occurs in page 251, where, after again intimating that his dependence is mainly on Sir W. Jones, Wilford, and Tod, and others, who, as they had the courage to step out of the beaten path of knowledge, have been condemned as rash and chimerical, Mr. Pococke calls on us to confess that, “in conjunction with the overpowering proofs I have already advanced of the actual sources and direction of a vast and primitive emigration, this subject does not demand the ordinary proof of chronological history.” He then deliberately proceeds:—“the language of a mighty people is its greatest history, and for the just development of this history, I have applied the most rigid tests, allowing, with the most jealous care, no theory, no mere similarity of sound, to lead me astray from that uniform process of investigation by which these results have been obtained. That process will be found to be based on no narrow nor imaginary foundation, but verified by results as uniform as they are copious. The ancient world is a physiological grammar of fact, by the study of which the great chart of the wanderings of the patriarchs of our race will yet be read with truth.”

That we have little of the ordinary proofs of chronological history in the volume before us, and that the process of investigation has been sufficiently uniform, will be readily allowed. The whole of the theory, in fact, proceeds on this assumption. There is to be no comparison of dates, no regard to the changes and fluctuations of the great Asiatic languages: the periods of the immigrations of huge tribes, the ascertained dates of important revolutions in religion or manners, are not to be taken into the smallest account. The unvarying laws of Sanscrit euphony, regular even in the change undergone by the parent language when passing into other spoken dialects, are to be shifted, pruned or modified, as it suits the writer: other languages are to be dragged in at will; the Semitic is to aid the Indo-Germanic: the local abbreviations current in Muttra or Rohilcund, linked with classical Sanscrit, are to find resting places in Peru and Thessaly, and the ‘*mulier formosa*’ is to end in a fish. And even granted that Mr. Pococke has correctly performed the office of interpreter, will he explain to us the meaning of all the words by which he designates the tribes in their earliest localities, in their original seats?

We do not deny that of the thousand guesses made in this

work, there are some which seem plausible, and which, with a little more careful sifting, might, if modestly put forward, lead a careful reader to think there was something in them. But by far the greater number are extravagant and improbable in the last degree: and many, as we have shown, are utterly untenable and opposed to fact. To make any thing of the hypothesis, the whole work must be re-written. It is a condition essential to the progress and final triumph of any theory like the present, that every step taken shall be deliberately weighed: that one assumption shall not be made the stepping stone to another: and that every thing written by previous authors on both sides of the question, shall be diligently collated and compared. Moreover, it belongs to the very nature of such enquiries, to throw out many suppositions for the research and criticism of others. There are several points which, however they may seem conclusive to the author himself, who, by dint of long meditation, has become persuaded of their intrinsic truth, can only be put forward as reasonable conjectures, for other men to sift. In short, in a work of this kind, a man cannot proceed with too much caution. In these days of divided labour, refined criticism, annihilation of old creeds and abhorrence of new, vague speculations in matters of philology, can least be tolerated.

One part of the work has, however, our entire sympathy. At the commencement of one of the chapters, headed 'Oriental Research,' there is a quotation from the writings of the late James Prinsep, in which that highly gifted person, after confessing the unsatisfactory results of the study of Indian antiquities, whether the student shall wander through a maze of fable, or shall stumble on some dry and unsatisfying fact, points out the chance of connecting legendary India, and historic Greece, to be that which alone repays the enquirer for his trouble, and which makes the sifting of authorities, old and new, a pastime of engrossing interest and pleasure. It is no doubt, as Mr. Pococke says, a grand thing to stand at the fountain of civilization, and to occupy a vantage ground on the high table-land of Asia. When, raised on such eminence, the scholar looks westward till his eye rests on a favoured locality by the shores of the Ægean, a nerve is touched of exquisite sensibility: a prospect is opened more attractive than any of the landscapes of Claude: shrines are descried which have drawn together more pilgrims, from all climates and nations, than the holy stone of Mecca, or the junction of the waters at Prayāg. Confine researches to India, and look for purely Indian results, and the chances

are, that only a few German scholars, and some half-dozen indefatigable orientalists, belonging to one of the Indian services, will take any interest in the matter! The scientific and literary world will, perhaps, be excited for half a day, on hearing that a stone with an inscription in strange characters has been dug up in Central India, which proves the wide extent of country under the sway of a single monarch, somewhere about the commencement of our era: or that a new temple has been found on a mountain in the midst of some dark, unhealthy, and almost impenetrable forest, which speaks of a time when the jungle was a garden, and a populous city flourished at the foot of the hill. Wonder will be expressed at the discovery, commendation be given to the scholar, encouragement will be afforded by the applause of a few literati at Berlin, or Bonn, or Paris, or by the patronage of a wealthy body; even the mere dilettante may be startled—and then the whole thing will drop. But tell the intellectual world that you have clearly traced a connection between the rocky soil of Attica, and the high land of central Asia, between early Asiatic conceptions and the refinement of the Greek—and you shall not fail to arouse the curiosity which, in the cloisters of Oxford, has fathomed the utmost depths of Athenian philosophy and civilization. It will be a gratifying thing to know whence sprung originally that wonderful power of delineation, that masterly conception, that unrivalled execution, that simple grandeur, and that exquisite symmetry, which distinguish the embodiments of high Grecian art. No doubt, the Greeks were the last persons in the world whose temperament could fit them for researches of this sort. Lively, imaginative, subtle, they learnt only one language in the world, but they learnt it well. Wielding at will that marvellous mother tongue, which gave ‘a soul to the objects of sense, and a body ‘to the abstractions of philosophy,’ they looked with characteristic presumption on every dialect spoken by the tribes on the shores of the Euxine, or along the coast of Illyricum, with scorn on every barbarian who was powerless to comprehend the language of the shield of Achilles. And thus scholarship may go on toiling for ever in the mines of Hinduism, and accumulating materials from the remnants of every eastern dialect and people, wherewith to build up by degrees an edifice that shall stand the attacks of criticism, and the world will not be warned in time, nor acknowledge that its homage has been paid to unworthy objects. We shall never ask of Hindu, or Arab, or Tartar, or Mogul, or Buddhist, or Mexican, to fix the canons of our

intellectual faith, to define our boundaries, to strengthen our bulwarks. In spite of Oriental enthusiast, English utilitarian, and reckless innovators of all sorts, our taste must be guided, our conceptions be formed, on the models bequeathed to us by Athens, polished, creative and luxurious; by Rome, aggressive, isolated, and stern.

It is difficult to end a review of a work in which learning seems to have been ridden to madness, with any thing like serious criticism. And we must therefore take leave of Mr. Pococke with a reference to one tribe, of the great extent and ramifications of which the author, discursive and impetuous as he is, seems to have been entirely ignorant. We quote Mr. Pococke's own account of the origin of the Perhaibœans, as he spells the name, or inhabitants of Perhaibœa or Olooson, near Mount Titarus, in Greece. The reader, he tells us, "will bear in mind that Titarus, both river and mountain in Greece, take a name from the 'Tatarus' mountain pass of Affghanistan. There the name Ooloos, observes Elphinstone, is applied to a whole tribe, or to an independent branch. The word seems to mean a clannish commonwealth. An Ooloos is divided into several branches, each under its own chief, who is subordinate to the chief of the Ooloos. During civil wars in the nation, the unsuccessful candidate for the command of an Ooloos joins the pretender to the throne, and is brought into power on the success of his party; thus there is the Oolooson (Oolusān) the Perhaibœan clan of warriors. Perhaibœans at once mythological and historical, Trojan and anti-Trojan, Greek and Affghan." Thus says Mr. Pococke on Elphinstone. But is it not possible that the Ooloos of Affghanistan may be the progenitor of other tribes besides the Grecian? Had these authors—to avail ourselves of Mr. Pococke's usual style of argument, when discovering some facts which had long remained a sealed mystery to other scholars—had they no suspicion that this remarkable union or clan, might be traced in the most civilized state of society, amongst the various nations of Europe, in the descendants of Saxon and Norman, Hun and Goth? For once we will venture an hypothesis, as to the correct meaning and origin of this term, and will shew Elphinstone to be entirely at fault. The word is not unknown in India. It is employed in colloquial intercourse, and is too often in common use. The pedantic, who insist on puzzling the common herd by spelling oriental words with extreme accuracy, write the word as Ulu. The unlearned are content to know and use it as Ooloo. It has been used to denominate a certain species of the extensive

family of the *Simiæ*. The *S*, wrongly inserted by Elphinstone, is nothing more than the English plural, which has crept in unlawfully, just in the same manner as Persian terminations have been joined by Mr. Pockocke to Sanscrit words. Oolooson, or Perhaibœan Trojans, are then nothing more or less than the "sons of Ooloos," the two words having been joined together by the disuse of one *S*—a corruption neither unnatural nor unfamiliar to the ear: as witness the common surname of *Jameson*, which is undoubtedly a corruption of *James-son*, or even of *James's-son*. We strongly recommend Mr. Pockocke, instead of writing on the Scotch Affghans, and the Rajputs or Budhists who built the Cloacæ at Rome, to trace the fortunes and migrations of this interesting family from east even to west, and from west to east. He will find the tribe of Ooloos everywhere. Members of it are to be discovered in every walk of life, in every trade, calling, and profession, and country, amongst civilians, merchants, soldiers, and learned societies. Objects of satire and persecution, the members of this family are daunted by no repulses, and rise with new vigour from every prostration. They are to be met with, in short, wherever there is a blunder to be committed in business, a speculation to be mismanaged, an error in diplomacy to be committed, or a learned theory, in ethnology, philology, or any other subject, to be pushed to an extreme, until common sense and judgment shall give up the ghost in despair.

ART. V.—*Memoir on the Kaffirs, Hottentots, and Boosjemans of South Africa. By Colonel John Sutherland. Cape Town. 1847.*

[It is necessary to state that the following article was written more than a year ago, before the tidings of the supersession of Sir Henry Smith in the government of the Cape Colony had reached India ; but as the important principles that are propounded in it are of universal application, and as even the prospects of the war, and the state of affairs on the frontier of our South African Colony seem to be very little altered, it is believed that the publication of the article even now will not be inopportune.—ED.]

IN the ordinary course of literary review, it would be late in the day to notice a work published five years ago. Recent events at the Cape Colony however, and the disastrous war still raging there, invest the subject so ably treated by our author, with such peculiar interest at the present time, that we need offer no apology, we feel assured, in presenting to our readers the opinion of a practical statesman as to the character of our present enemies, the Kaffirs, formed on intimate personal acquaintance, and with his views respecting the internal defensive arrangements and frontier policy which should regulate our relations with that race. In this review we shall have occasion to notice the debate in the House of Commons, of the 15th April, 1851, on Mr. Adderley's motion, and to advert to the leading article in the *Evening Mail*, of the 23rd April, on Cape affairs.

We have marked for comment the leader here referred to, because, while allusion is therein made to Colonel Sutherland in terms of just appreciation, as one of the best of Indian statesmen, and of the high purpose which led him, when visiting the Cape for health and repose, to proceed to the distant frontier "to study the habits, ascertain the resources, and measure the capacities of the native tribes, and this done, to draw up gratuitously, a minute on the subject, for submission to the Governor for the time being:"—while this just tribute is paid to the individual, it is assumed that the suggestions he submitted, have, in the main, been acted on by succeeding Governors ; but that the scheme, formed on the Indian model, has failed, owing to the different nature of the materials at the Cape on which the experiment was tried—that the condition of India, in short, bears scarcely any analogy, in respect of the wild tribes which inhabit portions of its territories, to that of the Cape, with its bordering Kaffirs.

As a careful comparison between our author's scheme, and the plan adopted by the Cape Government in the late organization of the frontier tribes, has satisfied us, that even in respect of the mere machinery, there was a wide departure from Colonel

Sutherland's suggestions; and further that, in the conduct of our relations with the frontier tribes, the very reverse of the principles advocated by that officer, have been acted on, we think it but fair to our author, and important to the impartial and unprejudiced consideration of his views, to remove the impression that his scheme has been tried and has failed from whatever cause. The cause, indeed, assigned, would seem to have been advanced on imperfect information respecting one at least of the two countries which form the objects of comparison, namely, India, between the wild tribes of which, and those at the Cape, the analogy is closer than may at first view appear. This analogy it will be useful to trace.

Referring then again to the *Evening Mail* article, it is observed, "that the wild tribes of India, though in themselves as 'savage and indomitable as the Kaffirs, stood in no such relation to the authorities around them—that there was no 'question, whatever, between their strength and ours." These remarks are based on the assumption that the tribes in question were "isolated communities, contesting their remote localities with tigers," &c. Regarded as such, the remarks on their insignificance as an enemy would be applicable enough; but it may not be generally known that most of the wild tribes of India are subject, as tributaries, to independent, and often powerful, princes and chiefs. The authority of the latter over such subjects is rarely exerted, except for the collection of tribute; and even in this, it is often resisted, and with success, owing to the natural strength of the tracts inhabited by the tribes. But a nominal allegiance or recognition of feudal sovereignty has never been denied—on the contrary, rather gloried in. These wild tribes are, probably, the aborigines of the country, and though found under different denominations in divers parts, as Bhils, Minas, Ghonds, Kholas, &c., &c., they present the same characteristics everywhere; and under whatever name, the relation we have indicated between the aborigines and the independent chiefs of the country, obtains markedly throughout the principalities of Rajputana and most of the chiefships of Bundelkhund, in Nagpur, and, indeed, almost universally throughout India, where aborigines are to be found—the instances in which they are met with in absolute independence, being the exception, not the rule. But not only to the aborigines will the term *wild tribes* apply. The warlike clans of Rajputs inhabiting the desert states, are almost equally rude and lawless as the original denizens of the hills and forests, paying, like these, merely a nominal, but not the less cherished, allegiance, to their respective feudal chiefs. Indeed, the two

racers are often found banded together in predatory enterprises.

Now, what has rendered these savage tribes not only harmless as an enemy to the Government of India, but, on the contrary, disposed to receive kindly its humane efforts to reclaim them to habits of order and industry, and even to submit themselves to military discipline in our service? The fact of the eminent success of the British Government in India, in this great work of civilization, is indisputable. Rajputana,—for eight or nine years the field of our author's distinguished political administration,—Rajputana alone could furnish several instances throughout the range of the Arabulla mountains which traverse it longitudinally. What then, if it be asked, has brought about this satisfactory result? We answer confidently, the wise and liberal policy which has cultivated friendly relations with the princes and chiefs to whom these wild tribes are subject.

A notable illustration in support of this opinion was afforded by the suppression of the great marauding system which obtained in Central India, in the years 1846-7, solely by the efforts of the rulers of states. These chiefs had long viewed, with apathy, the lawless operations of the free-booters, until the latter, emboldened by repeated successful enterprises, made an attack on one of the British Government treasuries, and accomplished its plunder by cutting down the guards. The administration of the day contemplated the necessity of military operations by our own troops, to avenge the insult and put down the formidable marauding system; but Colonel Sutherland, then the British representative in Rajputana, overruled the project. Confiding in the friendly feelings and good faith of the chiefs, he called upon them to avenge the insult which had been offered to our power by their subjects. The result well justified his confidence. Arming simultaneously, the states² sent their troops into the field; and in a few months all the parties of the organization were beaten and dispersed, their leaders captured, and the system effectually suppressed. Thus, by the unaided exertions of our allies, British honour was satisfied, and tranquillity restored to the country.

Contrast this satisfactory result with what might have been expected, had it been the policy of the British Government in India, systematically to degrade the chiefs under their protectorate, and to disparage their authority; or had they, in the case of violation of territory under notice, rigorously held the chiefs responsible for the misdeeds of their subjects, and adopted penal measures accordingly? What measures? Annexation

of deserts and barren hilly tracts would hardly pay, even if their conquest could be achieved in the face of a warlike race. At any rate, in any coercive measures to which the Government might have resorted, they would assuredly have found the operations of the wild tribes, when backed by the authority and resources of their feudal chiefs, and sheltered by the unassailable strength of their country, a very different affair from the acts of the same class, heretofore not only unauthorized, but in all possible ways repressed. The liberal and enlightened policy, on the contrary, which the Indian Government has uniformly adopted, is to respect the titles of their protected chiefs, and to strengthen their hands in every way; and they have found their account in it, in uninterrupted internal tranquillity, greatly diminished military expense, and the staunch co-operation of their allies in their foreign wars.

Let us now turn to the Cape, and see what policy has there regulated our conduct towards the wild tribes and their chiefs, and what system has guided our measures for the defence of the frontier. In considering these questions, it will appear that the widest possible departure from our author's suggestion, has obtained, wholly in respect of foreign policy, and very materially as regards the organization of the frontier region for internal defence; and upon these two points hinges the whole question of peace or war on the frontier. The better to mark the discrepancy alluded to, we will detail, first, briefly, Colonel Sutherland's suggestions, as embodied in the minute he submitted to the Cape Government, in 1844, and which was published, subsequently, with the memoir under review—and then take occasion to advert to the frontier policy of the Cape Government of late years. The course of enquiry requisite for the institution of this comparison, may throw some light on the causes which originated the present war, and lead us, perhaps, to some practical conclusions for bringing it to a close, and placing our relations with the Kaffirs on a footing of promising tranquillity for the future.

We may premise that the great error which the Cape Government appear to us to have committed in its dealing with the Kaffirs, is treating them as British subjects, instead of what they are—independent tribes subject to their respective chiefs, and allied to the British Government at the Cape, by the usual formal instrument of such alliances—A TREATY; and this not even a protectorate treaty, which might have afforded a plausible pretext for the assumption of a certain degree of authority over them, but simply a treaty of peace and amity. Regarding the border tribes, then, as British subjects, is, to our appre-

hension, we repeat, the fundamental error which has marked all our communications with them, and which, consequently, as being quite unwarranted by the true nature of our mutual relations, lies at the bottom of the present war.

In proceeding now to sketch briefly our author's scheme, we shall observe how distinctly he recognizes the condition of the Kaffirs as independent tribes, and how scrupulously he regards their rights as such. Indeed, the first thing which would seem to have attracted his attention, in considering our relations with that race, is the last treaty negotiated with them, bearing date 5th December, 1836; and the third head of his minute, wherein he propounds his scheme of frontier policy, opens (page 16) with a detail of the articles, and upon these he proceeds to note his observations.

The restitution of the territory, afterwards known as the neutral territory, is first commented on; and in speaking of the chief Makomo having failed to recover on the occasion his original patrimony, our author observes:—"To the sympathy of ' the chiefs and people of Kaffirland in Makomo's misfortunes, ' if not to their sense of the injustice done him, is, however, ' generally ascribed the mighty combination which led to their ' general irruption into the colony in 1834-5." This Chief Makomo, we may note in passing, is one of the most influential in the field against us, at this present moment, though he was friendly enough at the commencement of the present administration. It was this very Makomo, upon whose neck Sir H. Smith placed his foot at a friendly meeting of the chiefs which he had convened. The feat was intended, perhaps, as a symbolical demonstration, to indicate to the dull apprehensions of the Kaffirs, that the era of a rigorous administration had dawned. They pondered the lesson in their hearts. But to return. The next article of the treaty noticed is Article XIV., wherein it is stipulated that armed individuals or troops shall not pass the colonial border. Upon this our author remarks, that this "is a ' condition of things not certainly consistent with our supremacy, but negotiation to gain this right might cause uneasiness, and there is nothing in the matter, urgent or important, ' for if the Kaffirs give us sufficient cause, a declaration of war ' will follow, and then troops will necessarily enter their ' country." We extract this merely as a further illustration of the scrupulous care enjoined to avoid entering upon any unnecessary negotiation calculated even to *cause uneasiness*.

Articles 16, 24, 25, and 26, relating to the adjustment of border criminal cases, are next noticed, and the amendments of the same in 1840, involving important concessions, all in favour

of the colony, except in the provision whereby fourteen days are given to the chiefs to afford indemnification, instead of having, as formerly, to do so at once. In commenting on these amended articles, "the objectionable peculiarity of dictating to the native chiefs, how they are to deal with their own subjects in recovering stolen property," is remarked upon.

An appended clause to article 26 is then noticed, providing further facilities to colonists to search after stolen property, &c., notwithstanding which, our author observes, "there is a general sense of insecurity of life and property among the Colonial borderers, and actual proof of aggression on the part of the Kaffirs, which show that the system, however well designed in 1836, and amended in 1840, after four years' experience of its working, does not yet altogether work well." He proposes then the introduction of a system for the adjustment of border disputes, analogous to that which had been adopted in India, and which, we may say for Colonel Sutherland, his genius framed, and his administrative talent brought into practical operation. The system is briefly described by the author in the following words:—"A system has been lately adopted in India, for the adjustment of petty international differences of a criminal character, in which it is the duty of the British Government to mediate and control, which has been attended with the happiest results. The several states forming the circle of a political superintendency, under any residency, or agency, have their *pakatis*, or agents, accredited to the resident for the disposal of ordinary business; out of these foreign agents a standing court of arbitration is formed for the adjustment of such international questions; all such questions, as they arise, are referred to this court.* It takes evidence and passes its decree, and the decree is enforced by the resident, when he considers it unobjectionable; or, in more important cases, or where this is desired by the court, the resident himself, or one of his assistants, takes his seat in the court, and votes with the other members, or has the casting vote. The agent of the state, whose subject is the complainant, or defendant, always has a seat in the court as the representative of their

* "Colonel Smith (now Sir Harry, the present Governor) says, in proposing the trial of offenders delivered up to us, by a Kaffir Jury (Letter to His Excellency the Governor, 12th February, 1836.) Those ignorant of Kaffir manners will say—'Oh, the Kaffirs would never find their people guilty;' such, I say, is not the case; I never saw more honest or more unprejudiced people when assembled for such purposes, or evidences who more plainly speak out without lying."

What excuse then, for Sir Harry, in endeavouring to rule them with the "brass knob" baton?

interests; or where the plaintiff or defendant is a British subject, the resident, or one of his assistants, is there. But, although there, such representatives of individual interests do not always vote, this being generally left to their own sense of right. Such a decision is necessarily more satisfactory to both plaintiff and defendant, whether it be a state, or one of its subjects, than the decision of an individual could be. The court is an open one, and has the additional advantage of showing to all the world that justice is done according to treaty or usage, without favor or affection, whilst it accustoms the natives to our modes of transacting business, and, which is not less important, accustoms us to their modes, leading to a general co-operation in the administration of international justice and the prevention of crime.

“ There are materials here for the formation of such a court, and for ensuring the attendance of defendants and witnesses, in the pakati, the resident agents, and the agent general, and its institution could not fail, I think, to produce very beneficial results here, as it has done in India.”

Reverting to the treaty, our author remarks that it is in his opinion defective in one important particular, namely, “ in not being defensive as well as a treaty of peace and amity.” In proposing accordingly a revision of the treaty for the purpose of imparting to it this protectorate character, Colonel Sutherland supports his suggestion by the following sound arguments:—

“ It would give us the right of protecting those with whom we were so allied against foreign invasion, which, of course, would be an inestimable benefit conferred on them. It would enable us to call on our allies to assist in the protection of the colony, if menaced or attacked from any quarter, and to this extent would have the effect of breaking up any confederacy which may exist for evil among the Kaffir chiefs, rendering the British Government the acknowledged head and protector in all cases where it had defensive treaties with chiefs, and mediator in all cases where its mediation might be required. It appears that the Kaffirs were in danger of being destroyed, or pushed on the colony in 1828, by the Mantatees or the Ficani, who themselves were pushed from the North-East by the Zoola chief, Chaka. The forward march of Colonel Somerset and Major Dundas, defeated and checked the career of the Mantatees. There was, however, some hesitation and question of our right to interpose, although our aid was requested. A defensive alliance would, of course, teach the Kaffirs to look to our protection under such exigencies, and save the colony from the danger of their being forced into

‘ it by the pressure from without. It would also give us
 ‘ the right of protecting all chiefs with whom we were so
 ‘ allied, and save the inferior chiefships from the encroach-
 ‘ ments of the more powerful, and from this the wars of the
 ‘ Kaffirs appear principally to arise. Taught to look to our
 ‘ protection, in the two important matters of external invasion
 ‘ and aggression on the part of one chiefship on another, all
 ‘ would the more readily and systematically court our interpo-
 ‘ sition in those internal conflicts, or civil wars, to which rude
 ‘ feudalisms, like those of the Kaffirs, and even more perfect
 ‘ feudalisms, are always so liable.

“ That universal peace may be ensured, through a well re-
 ‘ gulated system of supervision over the affairs of feudal chief-
 ‘ ships, where both the ruler and the feudal chiefs appeal
 ‘ for assistance, or where one party appeals, our experi-
 ‘ ence in India affords almost every day proof; also, that
 ‘ amongst sovereignties and chiefships of far higher preten-
 ‘ sions than those of the Kaffirs, such interposition is not
 ‘ only not offensive, but that it is courted and prized by all
 ‘ parties as the greatest favour that can be conferred on
 ‘ them, particularly after they have ascertained, by past experi-
 ‘ ence in their own case, or in the case of their neighbours,
 ‘ that the supreme protecting or arbitrating power aims at no
 ‘ selfish or interested objects, and only aims at general peace,
 ‘ and the welfare of both, or of all, parties.”

We will now give a rough sketch of the scheme of a frontier legion detailed under the second head of the minute; and which, it may be premised, will be found marked by three essential features, which distinguish it from the plan on which our frontier levies have been raised and organized, namely, first, that men of different races be enlisted, and not only of different races, but even of different tribes of each race; secondly, that they should be from the first our own subjects, or men who were prepared to become such; thirdly, that they should be paid in grants of land.

These distinctive features will be observed from the following details; and the considerations which suggested them shall be given presently in the author's own words:—

“ Three corps to be formed, consisting of six companies
 ‘ each—one company in each corps to be composed of *Amakosa*
 ‘ Kaffirs, one of *Tambuki* Kaffirs.

“ Two companies in each corps to be composed of *Fingoes*,
 ‘ two ditto of *Hottentots*.”

“ And with each of the companies, a few *Bojemen* might be
 ‘ intermixed. To each corps might be given a superior native

‘ officer or commandant, to be selected from amongst the
 ‘ younger sons of the chiefs, one from the *Kaffirs*, one from
 ‘ the *Fingoes*, and one might be a *Hottentot*.” Then follows the
 proposed distribution of the corps in particular localities and
 posts (assuming the River Kye as the frontier) each under the
 command of the local resident agent, the whole under the
 authority and control of the agent general:—the scheme of
 military organization thus forming a correlative adjunct to, and
 dovetailing with, that before sketched for the conduct of civil
 and criminal border jurisdiction.

“ These three corps stationed on the frontier, to be supported
 ‘ by the Cape Mounted Rifles, which might be increased in
 ‘ number, and stationed at Fort Beaufort.

“ A single regiment of foot, stationed at Graham’s Town,
 ‘ would be sufficient for the support of all, forming a sub-
 ‘ stantial base of operations for the whole machinery.”

The mode of payment of such corps is next considered. It
 is proposed to grant unoccupied land on the frontier, both to
 officers and men, according to their several grades and rates of
 pay, like, *parva componere magnis*, the military colonies of
 Russia.

The general advantages of the scheme may be summed up
 briefly in the words of the author:—

“ The whole body would thus take root in the land. The
 ‘ presence of their cattle, herds, and families, would be sufficient
 ‘ security for the individual fidelity and good conduct of each
 ‘ and all. There can be no doubt, I think, that these military
 ‘ colonies, planted within our own territories, and composed,
 ‘ from the first, of our own subjects, or of men who would
 ‘ immediately become such, living under the control of our
 ‘ own laws, would form, whether in time of war or of peace,
 ‘ a better frontier defence to the colony than could ever be
 ‘ formed, by bringing, as has been proposed, foreign chiefs and
 ‘ people living on the border, under British laws; an attempt
 ‘ which would certainly fail here [writing from the frontier]
 ‘ as it has failed elsewhere, even had we the right to make it.
 ‘ The mixture of the Kaffirs, Fingoes, Bosjemans and Hot-
 ‘ tentots would go far to ensure the fidelity and good conduct
 ‘ of all. Such a mixture of tribes under British officers, and
 ‘ military discipline, would also go farther, perhaps, towards the
 ‘ civilization of the more savage races, than any system yet
 ‘ adopted. The missionary would find the head-quarters of
 ‘ the several corps a fine field for his labors, whilst religion and
 ‘ education would go hand-in-hand with military discipline and
 ‘ organization in the great work of civilization.”

Having thus given an outline of our author's scheme of frontier policy, together with a sketch of the machinery through which he suggests it should be carried out, let us turn to the Cape frontier, and see how far the measures which have been there adopted are, as has been affirmed, in conformity with the same. The history of the Cape colony, both while in our possession, and during a period long anterior, seems to exhibit its territorial extension as the result of circumstances, over which successive Governments for the time being would appear to have had no control. Mr. Attorney-General Bannister, cited by our author, gives a resumé of the ordinary practices at the Cape towards the natives for upwards of a century, in the following words:—"Unprovoked aggressions and deferred redress, together with rigorous prohibitions of intercourse, and strict injunctions against encroachments on the native lands, which, however, were no sooner thronged by the trespassing parties, than Government extended its bounds, and so rewarded the delinquents. In this way the colony has spread from three hours from Table Bay to Hottentot's Holland; then to Swellendam; then to Gamton's River; then to the Fish River; then, in 1825 and 1829, to the Keiskama; to the heads of the Kye and the Cradock, with perhaps more intervening stopping places, and as frequent protestations to remain content with the last attained limit."

In reference to the views of later Governors of eminence, on the policy of extending the frontier, a member of the ministry, Mr. Hawes, in replying to Sir W. Molesworth's masterly and eloquent speech in the debate of the 10th April, 1851, on our *Colonial expenditure*, endeavours to support the present aggressive policy by asserting that the principle has been uniformly advocated. It is intelligible enough that the measure of advancing the frontier may have been recommended by certain Governors under certain circumstances, having reference merely to getting a better frontier-line, without at all committing themselves to the advocacy of the principle of extension of frontier, regarded as a desirable object of policy, which Mr. Hawes distinctly implies. In fact, we believe it will be found that such recommendations, by whomsoever submitted, have, in every instance, been wholly irrespective of the policy of the measure, considered with reference to the growth of the colony. It is well known that the reason for advancing the frontier from the Fish River, fixed in 1820, by Lord Charles Somerset, to the Keiskama, was because the former was found to be ill adapted for defence. This argument would be applicable with still greater force to the advancing of the frontier from the Keiskama

to the Kye; for the former river, from being fordable in many places, and having a belt of forest on either bank, afforded peculiar facilities to the Kaffirs in their border cattle-liftings and other incursions, whereas the Kye, our author observes, appears to be marked out by nature as a frontier line, running in almost a straight and well-defined line in a south-east direction from the Storm Bergh to the sea. As Sir Benjamin D'Urban has been prominently cited by Mr. Hawes in support of the principle of extension, we may observe, in acquiescence with Colonel Sutherland's opinion, that the attainment of the Kye as a boundary was apparently Sir B. D'Urban's chief object, next to the protection of our Colonial territory, in his offensive operations; and though he took a slice of territory beyond the Kye at the close of the war of 1834-5, it was only by instructions from Lord Glenelg, under date the 2nd August, 1836, in satisfaction of an unfulfilled demand which had been made upon the Chief Krieli, and agreed to by him, to pay twenty-five thousand head of cattle as his share of the indemnification for the expenses of the war.

From all this it would appear that extension of frontier, regarded as a principle of policy, has been rather deprecated by former administrations, and only acted upon from time to time, under strong pressure of aggressions from without, or uncontrollable expansive force internally. It remained for Sir Harry Smith to commit the Home Government to the support of a policy as injudicious in its application as ruinous in its results.

In the first place he has deliberately added some hundred thousand square miles of territory, for the most part desert and barren, to our already too extended possessions at the Cape. The manner in which these acquisitions have been made, moreover, has been marked by wanton outrage on the feelings of the chiefs.

With respect to the simple act of appropriation, the only objection we have at present to take is on the score of its impolicy. Much blame has further been imputed to the Governor on account of the injustice of the act; but we do not wish now to enter upon that question, or to decide between those who would stand up for the inviolable right of the savage, founded on ancient possession, to his boundless and undefined domain, and those who would encourage the expansive colonizing instinct of civilized men. We have our own opinion on this question, and it is a decided one; but it is not necessary to introduce it into the present discussion. It ought, however, to be stated that the Kaffirs, being themselves conquerors and dispossessors,

are scarcely entitled to the same privileges that might be claimed in behalf of aborigines. It is, moreover, no detriment to our argument, though we give up all that can be claimed on behalf of the civilized race to take possession of that land which they are capable of applying to its legitimate purpose, by tilling and cultivating it, and to restrict the savage nomadic tribes within limits narrower than their habits and necessities require. It is not upon the justice or injustice, but upon the policy or impolicy of Sir H. Smith's measure of frontier extension, that we are going to join issue with his supporters; the evil effects which, in our opinion, must, under any management, have resulted from the fundamental error in policy, being, under the present, aggravated by the personally offensive manner and conduct of the Governor, assumed deliberately, in furtherance, as it would seem, of a pre-conceived system of intimidation, —a system which has been rightly described by Sir William Molesworth as that of a minute, perpetual, and irritating interference with the "affairs of the Kaffirs, and an unceasing and galling attempt to subvert the influence and authority of their chiefs."

Will it be disputed that Sir H. Smith's system has been such as here described? Why, his own avowed, nay boasted, official acts proclaim it with all the force of the "brass knob" which surmounted his baton of peace and authority. Was it not one of his own vaunted acts that he had deposed the noted Kaffir Chief Sandilli from the rank of GREAT CHIEF, and had appointed himself in Sandilli's place as the INKOSI INKULU of all the Kaffirs? When such wanton treatment had driven that chief into hostility again, did the Governor not put a price of five hundred pounds on his head?—Did he not publicly degrade another high chief, before alluded to by name, Makomo, in the most outrageous manner? And did he not insult grossly all these friendly chiefs, who came on special invitation to meet the Governor in friendly meeting in December 1847, and January 1848? Of the last named chief it may not be amiss to quote here our author's opinion. At page 22 of the minute, he writes—"I have had an opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with Makomo, and so far as I can judge, he is a very remarkable man, whose good sense and good feeling may be enlisted with great advantage in securing peace on both sides of the border."

Further, in support of our view of his system, let us refer to Sir H. Smith's despatches, and we shall find abundant evidence out of his own mouth: when, for instance, he writes, that at another meeting he made the Kaffir chiefs swear to obey his

commands; to disbelieve in witchcraft; not to buy wives, &c. In contrast with the vexatious system of interference indicated by these extracts, let us place the following suggestions of our author—the liberal toleration enjoined being the dictate of sound political wisdom:—"All interference with the usages of the chiefs and people must, however, I think, be touched with a very delicate hand, or not touched at all by the officers of Government, however revolting some of those usages may be to our better feelings, and repugnant to our sense of right." And again—"It may be difficult for an enlightened and beneficent Government to shut its eyes upon such atrocities as I have noticed among the Kaffirs, or to abstain from too rudely, or too suddenly, attempting to correct and mitigate them; but since the days of miracles are gone, the endeavour to abstain will be strengthened and confirmed by constantly bearing in mind that they are not our own subjects, and that changes are not to be suddenly effected amongst any people."

But it may be possible that we are doing Sir H. Smith an injustice. He may have had special and right good reasons for his interference. And yet it is difficult to fathom them. Was it that a feeling of personal danger mingled with his sense of gubernatorial responsibility, and that he apprehended having to burn at the stake, as an accessory before the fact, for the witchcraft practised by the Kaffirs? Was it that as Sir Harry practised the Black Art himself, as was exhibited with such startling effect before the chiefs in the blowing up of the waggon—professional jealousy dictated the obnoxious interdiction? Some little indulgence is therefore due perhaps to the weakness of human nature. But whatever the motive, Sir Harry clearly considered that the scriptural impossibility of Beelzebub casting out devils, had nevertheless been realized in this fallen world as a great FACT, and this through his own instrumentality; for we find him shortly before the outbreak, writing exultingly to Lord Grey—"We are overcoming witchcraft!" Alas! alas! as the mighty wizard of Kaffirland was riding triumphantly through the air on the traditional broom-stick of the weird sisterhood, Hey presto! vanished! But whither? Ha! can it be? The INKOSI INKULU of all the Kaffirs hocus-pocus'd by a handful of them? A mighty fall indeed. Phæton and his car—Cocker and his parachute—Dædalus and his melted wings—furnish but feeble types of the fall of the once exalted, now humbled, hero.

But let us turn our eyes from the distressing spectacle, and revert to our Governor in the plenitude of his power,

when we find him ordering the Kaffirs not to buy wives. This order obviously involves the correlative command "not to sell wives." Here then, in these two mandates, we have the civilized world brought to a pretty pass! Not to buy and sell wives! in a marrying and giving-in-marriage community! Breathe it not at Almack's—whisper it not on the golden shores of the glowing East. Too late, too late, a wandering bird of the night has gone forth with the word, and no more from henceforth shall the altars of Baal smoke with the sacrifice of bleeding hearts. No more in brazen tower shall the worship of amorous Jove, descending in a shower of gold, be celebrated by the modern Danaës, assisted by the ardent, or at least heretofore submissive vestals of the present rising generation. Alas no more! but the bright reality shall dissolve and fade away into the indistinctness of an ancient myth, and soon be lost even to tradition. The harmony and order of the social world being disturbed, perturbations, variations, and eccentricities shall ensue. Exultation and a revolt of the Harem here; consternation and a committee of public safety of Dowagers there; revolutionary true-love knots and rampant Bloomerism everywhere. Rash man! what could have possessed thee to raise such a storm of unbridled passions?

Moral responsibility? Oh! But he was altogether mistaken if he supposed that such a responsibility rested on him as Governor. It is for the Missionaries, in the exercise of their noble vocation, to strive to introduce that light before which evil principles and evil practices will be dispelled; but this is an honor that God has reserved for his servants in this department. Civil Governors are his "ministers for good" in another way; and each class should restrict themselves to their own spheres. Well had it been, if Sir Harry had learnt the wisdom of taking the people of a country as they are, and its institutions as he finds them, resting assured, on the authority of Burke, that "no name, no power, no function, no artificial institution 'whatsoever, can make the men, of whom any system of ' authority is composed, any other than God, and nature, and ' education, and their habits of life, have made them."

Again, the Governor, in reporting the desertion of the Kaffir police, moralises in the following strain:—"Thus is again recorded in history, another instance of the danger to be apprehended from arming men from hostile populations!" Very lamentable, Sir Harry, certainly; but having the lights of history before you as beacons, how was it that you came to arm men from a hostile population in the first place, and having actually experienced their defection and open hostility, how came

you, next, to restore their arms to this same Cape corps, whom you yourself disarmed at King William's Town? Referring to the sketch given in a preceding part of this article, of our author's scheme for the organization of a frontier legion, we find, that it contemplates the enrolment, from the first, of our own subjects; and then, contrasting the mode of payment and other details of the scheme, replete with prudent provisions for ensuring the individual fidelity and good conduct of the men, with the mere offer of high pay held out to the border tribes, as an incentive to faithful service, we at once cease to wonder at their desertion, to range themselves on the side of their ill-used chiefs. But while driving the border tribes into open hostility, if the Governor had attached and secured the aid and co-operation of all British subjects, it would have been something as a set off. But how stands the fact? Why, that some twelve thousand Dutch farmers have left the colony, and withdrawn themselves from British sway. It is but fair, however, to Sir H. Smith, to note, that the original causes of the disaffection of the Dutch bear date from a period far anterior to his assumption of the Government. Some, indeed, such as the abolition of the old Dutch office of Heemradeen, or district magistrate, are coeval with our acquisition of the colony in 1806. For this office none equivalent has been substituted; nor, indeed, are any civil offices of importance open to the Dutch, or to any other class of colonists. All have been treated with a degree of contempt,—the result of Colonial Office jobbing, we suspect,—sufficient to endanger disgust and hatred of our British domination. Yet to Sir H. Smith it was given to add the last drop which caused their cup of endurance to overflow. And when they withdraw from British rule, and go forth beyond the border of the colony, they are denounced as traitors. Whether they have really entered into a league with our enemies, in self-defence, or are self-sustained, does not appear; but a strong presumption in favor of the former hypothesis is afforded, by the fact, that a word from their leader Pretorius (upon whose head, by the way, a price is said to have been set by the Governor) sufficed to avert a threatened incursion of the Kaffirs into the colony. There is nothing at all to wonder at in this collusion.

Let us now take a brief review of the debate in the House, on the 15th April last, on Cape affairs: though now passed into the history of a past session, it relates to important events still transpiring, and the opinions upon which, expressed by certain honorable members in the course of the debate, bear

directly on the points we are discussing, and seem to require comment.

Mr. Gladstone, in recommending the adoption of practical measures in the question, propounds dangerous doctrine in the following opinion, that "the more they separated the question 'from the inculcation of individuals, the better:'"—and so, a vastly increased expenditure has been incurred on account of a distant colony, occasioning, partly, the maintenance of oppressive and vexatious taxes upon the professional and mercantile classes in England; powerful tribes bordering upon that colony, and in friendly alliance with us, have been exasperated into determined hostility, by a system of uncalled-for interference and wanton insults; our own subjects on the frontier have been rendered disaffected; and finally, a barbarous war of extermination have been excited, bearing in its train, disgraceful reverses at first, and ultimately enormous expense to the mother-country—and the people of England, who have a right to enquire, are to be told that "nobody's to blame." This doctrine would tend to absolve all officers and employés of Government, of whatever rank or degree, in whatever office or department, from the only efficient check-rein to misconduct—responsibility. Colonial Governors more especially, and all men undertaking the control of our relations with foreign powers, ought to be subjected to the full force of individual responsibility, for it is for themselves to weigh well the Horatian precept, before undertaking important duties, and to consider what their shoulders can bear. With this class of Government employés, no rule appears to us more just than that *success* should be held, *à postérieure*, as the test of qualification. It matters little, what presumption of diplomatic talent a man may afford to the official clique, how profoundly soever read in Vattel and Grotius, how deeply soever versed in jurisprudence and political economy—if he fail in any duty he undertook, his failure is of itself conclusive evidence—however clever a red tapist he may be, and however clearly he may prove, that he ought to have succeeded—that he is deficient in some one or more of the thousand personal qualities, which, more than official qualifications, contribute to a statesman's success, more especially with semi-civilized races:—that in short he is not the man for that meridian.

Applying the principle in question to the case in point, it may be inferred that Her Majesty's ministers recognized its soundness, as they would appear to have acted upon it, when reviewing Sir H. Smith's earlier proceedings. For, referring to the Governor's earlier meetings with the chiefs, and his

mountebank conduct thereat, as reported by himself, it is impossible but that my Lord Grey and his colleagues must, in their secret official hearts, have thought his proceedings strange and eccentric to the verge of insanity : yet, if they had remonstrated with him in sober official seriousness upon the apparent illegality of usurping the great chief's rank and dignity, or on the inexpediency of reviving, in the present enlightened day, an institution of the dark ages in the rule of the despot's baton, degraded further by the substitution of a "brass knob" for the iron crown—Sir Harry would have had just ground, we conceive, to complain of the interference of the Colonial Office with his high functions, and have been justified in replying to the grave objections which had been taken to his policy : "but it SUCCEEDS!" So long then as the Kaffirs were quiet, and cultivated friendly relations with us, no exception was taken to Sir H. Smith's proceedings, credit being given them for wisdom, notwithstanding the strangeness of the garb in which the divine essence had, in that instance, clothed itself. But with this liberal toleration and forbearance from interference, the entire responsibility with respect to results, rested obviously with the Governor. And this is as it should be.

Then the honorable member for Sheffield stands up and delivers a speech, a thoroughly honest speech, breathing a bold stand-and-deliver tone, quite refreshing to read in these latter degenerate days of cant in morality, and petty larceny in crime : "We are civilized and strong—the Kaffirs barbarous and weak, 'so we seize their broad lands as a matter of course!" Bravo, Mr. Roebuck! Out with it like a man. No "false modesty or false philanthropy" here, certainly. The Anglo-Saxons did the same in North America, why should we not do so in South Africa? "Because, (Mr. Hume might answer) 'simply because *it won't pay!*'" For, with the exception of the seaboard, and a few favored spots which were pitched upon by the early settlers, and are now towns, the land of the interior of the colony, and beyond it, of Caffraria, is without water, and, consequently, in the dry climate of the Cape, utterly unfit for agriculture, though well enough adapted for pastoral purposes. The colonists, therefore, who settle in those wastes, spread themselves out so as to command each sufficient pasturage for his herds. Thus dwelling apart, they fall into the nomadic state, one but little removed from primitive barbarism. No appreciable revenue to the state can be expected from such colonists, and the high end of civilization, for which Mr. Roebuck was prepared to do

violence to his tender conscience, can clearly not be attained here, for civilization can only progress in communities, and the nature of the soil, as we have shown, cannot support communities.

Mr. Vernon Smith and Mr. F. Scott seem impressed with a belief, that the Kaffirs are such irreclaimable savages, that we could never be at peace with them. We will adduce a few extracts from authorities, who speak from intimate personal acquaintance with the race, calculated to convey truer and more just notions of the character of the people we have to deal with. This, indeed, seems an essential preliminary to the proposed measures, to be detailed presently, for establishing future friendly relations with them.

Of the naturally kind disposition of the Kaffirs, the cordial hospitality they showed to the crew of an American ship, the *Hercules*, wrecked on their coast, is sufficient proof. The commander, Captain Stouts, describes the treatment received at the hands of Kaffirs, in the following words:—"Cast with sixty of my people on the shore of Kaffirland, I found in the natives a hospitality, and received from them protection, which, in Europe, I might have sought in vain; we were unarmed, not having saved from the wreck a single article, either for our defence or subsistence. In this situation we were completely at the mercy of the natives, but instead of revenging the wrongs they and their predecessors had endured at the hands of the savage Whites, they made us fires and gave us subsistence."

Mr. Attorney-General Bannister writes, page 45:—" *Humane policy*.—It is a misapprehension only beginning to be removed, that the natives do not duly estimate the great principles of international law, and even the regular procedure of courts. The foundation of many diplomatic usages are distinctly traceable in South Africa; and the substance, with often not a little of the tediousness of judicial proceedings, may be met with there. It deserves notice that the Kaffirs, at our requisition, lately condemned four murderers with clearest justice, who would probably have escaped by English prosecution. They were Kaffirs who had killed two British soldiers without provocation."

Colonel Sutherland writes, page 449:—"I hear many people say, that amongst the native tribes of South Africa, it was one perpetual scene of contention and massacre. But surely this is not a philosophical view of the matter; for if that had been the case, the native tribes would

‘ have been reduced to the condition of the Kilkenny cats;
‘ long before Europeans came among them. It is natural for
‘ the European and Christian to adopt this view of the matter,
‘ in the hope of palliating the atrocities which the Europeans
‘ and Christians have committed against the Aborigines where
‘ they have yet come in contact. Let any one travel through
‘ Kaffirland, and see how native institutions work there, and
‘ then say whether such things arise from rapine and massacre,
‘ or from any want of power on the part of the Aborigines to
‘ manage their own affairs in their own way, and so as to pro-
‘ duce great internal comfort and prosperity, if only left to
‘ themselves. Let him again reflect on the comparative repose
‘ produced within our own border by the late proceedings of
‘ His Excellency the Governor of the colony, by merely treat-
‘ ing the Kaffirs on terms of reciprocity, and holding the chiefs
‘ responsible for aggressions committed beyond the limits which
‘ he had assigned to each chiefship.”

Again :—“ There are capabilities in the Kaffirs, which may
‘ hereafter develop themselves, and render them capable of fol-
‘ lowing us under good discipline, good treatment, and good
‘ pay, to fight our battles in any part of the world.”

Elsewhere, in commenting on Colonel Collins’s despatch of
1809 :—“ It is not difficult to see, that had the colony been for-
‘ tunate enough long to retain Colonel Collins’s services, his un-
‘ derstanding and foresight would soon have devised a scheme
‘ to settle all the frontier difficulties. He would have seen that
‘ engagements of a reciprocal character might, with safety, have
‘ been negotiated with the Kaffirs, that they were capable of
‘ becoming, through treaties offensive and defensive, good and
‘ faithful allies; and that corps might be formed of the native
‘ tribes, disciplined by British officers, sufficient, at all times,
‘ not only to control the native tribes themselves, but to reduce
‘ the farmers, and keep them to a sense of their duty and
‘ allegiance.”

It would be easy to adduce multiplied testimonies in favour
of the Kaffirs; but enough, we hope, has been brought forward
to satisfy all unprejudiced minds, that we may safely treat with
that people, if we do so in a spirit of justice, good faith, and
liberal reciprocity in minor matters. But the war is still raging.
This brings us to the last and most important point we proposed
to consider;—the means which may seem most expedient for
bringing the war to a satisfactory conclusion, and placing our
relations with the Kaffirs on a footing of probable tranquillity
for the future.

In the first place, the military operations now in progress,

must be allowed full scope, until the Kaffirs shall be thoroughly beaten, driven out of the Amalotas and beyond the Kye, which river several good authorities have concurred with our author, in considering the best possible frontier on the East. Future measures of conciliation would naturally be misunderstood, and lead to mischief instead of working permanent good, unless we first establish that salutary dread of our power, which, since the sword is drawn, is only to be done by inflicting signal chastisement upon the enemy, and making him feel, in the loss of a cherished tract of territory, a perpetual sense of his defeat. But as the prosecution of active military operations must be regarded solely as the means of forcing the Kaffirs to sue for peace, in order that, in the hour of victory, we may, with good grace, admit them to the privilege of accepting our terms, and as future conciliation enters as an element into the present scheme for settling our differences with that race, the instrument of the chastisement above indicated as the indispensable preliminary to negotiation, obviously ought not to be the present Governor, who has openly declared his opinion that the only mode of dealing with the Kaffirs is to exterminate them, and has not scrupled to call on the settlers, by public official proclamation, to rise and aid him in the work of extermination, holding out, as a bribe, the license to pillage. The war carried on under such a General would necessarily be interminable, for the proposed extermination of a race, who have the whole continent of Africa as the base of their operations, seems an impossibility. Such a leader, naturally exasperated by the failure of his policy, and attributing the blame to the Kaffirs, instead of his own erroneous measures, could scarcely be expected to be willing to admit the enemy to terms, or they, on their part, be disposed to trust him, even if ever apparently inclined to mercy. Why should the interests of the mother-country, which are seriously affected by the expense of protracted war—of humanity, which are outraged by this war of extermination—and of civilization, which must suffer from the demoralizing effect on our own subjects, of the license under which they have been called into the field;—why should these high interests, we ask, any longer be sacrificed by Sir H. Smith's being maintained in the government of a colony, for which he has shown himself so lamentably unfit? But this is a question for Her Majesty's ministers to decide according to their collective wisdom.*

* This paragraph is rendered superfluous by events that have occurred since the preparation of the present article.—ED.

Assuming peace to have been restored, then, on the advantageous basis of complete and crushing victory over the Kaffirs, and the absolute occupation of the disputed tract lying between the Keiskama and Kye Rivers, the measures requisite to keep them in check, and calculated to lead them eventually to cultivate friendly relations with us in good faith, remain to be considered.

Reverting, then, to our author's scheme, military colonies should be established on the right or western bank of the River Kye, supported by local corps posted on the second line, and having a body of regulars as a reserve on the base of this defensive plan. The strength of the supports and reserve to be regulated according to circumstances: posted, at first, in considerable force, they might be gradually reduced, as the organization of the military colonies became more and more complete, and matters on the frontier settled down. This desirable result would be greatly accelerated by organizing a Burgher militia for defensive operations. All being interested in the tranquillity of the frontier, would doubtless gladly enrol themselves.

Further incentive to do so might, and on every consideration ought, to be held out to them, by giving the commissions in the colonial forces to members of this class. Simultaneously with these arrangements for the defence of the frontier, our political relations with the Kaffirs would have to be re-adjusted.

The mere machinery for the conduct of the same has already been organized, very nearly on the Indian model as suggested by our author. Only it is recommended, page 35, that "the Agent General should exercise a much more efficient control over the proceedings of the resident agents on the spot, to ensure uniformity of system throughout—which, while that high functionary resides far away from the border, is impracticable."

But it is in regard to the principles and general policy upon which those political relations should be conducted, that our author's liberal and statesmanlike views would seem more particularly worthy of observation.

The first and most essential point upon which he dwells, is that the Kaffirs should be treated as, what they in fact are, independent tribes, and not as British subjects—that we should recognize and respect the power and authority of the Kaffir chiefs over their respective tribes, and forming treaties with them, do all in our power to strengthen their hands, and look to them alone for redress of injuries inflicted by their subjects

upon ours. This is the fundamental line of policy, which, as having been found to work so admirably in India, our author again and again reiterates, and the total departure from which has been the primary cause of the present war.

Keeping this in view, the treaties with the chiefs, we would recommend, should be negotiated on the basis sketched under the third head of the minute—protection on our side, acknowledgment of supremacy and subordinate co-operation, if required, on theirs, with absolute authority in their own dominions, and entire control over their internal affairs. Based on such treaties, a liberal policy, consistently carried out in a just and conciliatory spirit, by a strong and steady hand, could not fail, in our opinion, to establish permanent peace with the border tribes on a fixed and invariable frontier.

But not only as touching our neighbours on the frontier, must our policy be modified. The relations of the British Government at the Cape, with its own subjects, must be placed on a widely different, and far more just and liberal footing, than has obtained throughout the whole period of our possession of the Cape colony, if we desire, as is natural, their love and loyal co-operation, instead of their hatred, secret defection, and in certain cases, open hostility.

It was in contemplation, we may presume, of the wretched condition of the British population, scattered over desert wastes, and pushing still farther on into the wilderness, to escape beyond the influence of our hated rule, that our author, in his letter to the Colonial Secretary, under date 31st October, 1844 (page 574), adverted to the probable advantage which would accrue to ourselves and our subjects by relinquishing all our possessions at the Cape, except three districts, Cape, Stellenbosch and Swellendam, with any other ports or places required for imperial purposes. The advantages to our subjects, indicated by the project, were, that by compression, they would become a prosperous agricultural and manufacturing community, instead of, as now, being scattered, segregated and forlorn, in isolated patches, over boundless tracts, and thus, in fact, relapsing into the same barbarous condition as the Aborigines. The present settlers, however, would scarcely be ready, we fear, to recognize the future advantage to themselves, or their children, of a measure which demands, in the first instance, the abandonment of their homesteads, and holds out ultimately the uninviting prospect of having to work hard as agriculturists or artisans for their subsistence, instead of finding it, as heretofore, in the lazy indolent life of graziers. The advantage to the British

Government, as indicated, in having a large and industrious population, located on a few rich tracts, yielding a large revenue, and circumscribed by an easily defensible frontier, is clear enough : but this should have been thought of from the first. It is too late now, we fear, and it only remains to make the best we can of the bargain we have sold ourselves. Nor does the case seem to us at all desperate, if we will only, as above suggested, treat our subjects well, and enlist them in developing the resources of the country, such as they are, instead of driving them, by misrule, to migrate to other parts. The good treatment here advocated is no difficult task, demanding high administrative talent. On the contrary, it simply means, let them alone, and recognize in British subjects at the Cape, of all races, hues and complexions—whether English, Dutch or Aboriginal, or any, or every cross of these—recognize in all the natural inheritors of the soil, capable of understanding their own interests, and as free men, entitled, as an inherent and inalienable privilege, to manage their own affairs in their own way, and to hold civil offices under the Colonial Governments. We have seen how exclusion from respectable offices first alienated, and injudicious intermeddling completed the estrangement of our valuable Dutch subjects, and drove them forth in thousands from under our rule. We have seen the colonists, even at the seat of Government, nearly driven into rebellion, by being debarred the boon of self-government, which is incontestably their right, while a more liberal policy would not fail to attach them firmly to the mother-country. The letters patent of 23rd May, 1850, granting a constitution to the Cape colony, were hailed with acclamation. Under the auspices of a well-intentioned and just Governor, the legislature, first nominated provisionally, would have proceeded, in conformity with their *ad interim* functions, to constituent legislation. And in due course, a legally elected colonial parliament would have framed ordinances, and passed laws, adapted to the exigencies of the period. But lamentably did Sir H. Smith contravene practically the liberal intentions of the Home Government, by calling on the nominated council to proceed with ordinary legislation—pass money bills retrospectively—adopt, and thereby take the responsibility of all the Governor's past public measures, frame ordinances for future enactments, &c. &c.—all parliamentary business which the council in its provisional form was not competent to enter upon. The members, on this difference, resign ; whereupon the Governor arbitrarily and despotically carries on the Government of

the colony, with no other aid or check than a mock legislative council, composed of members of his own nomination. Thus far the blame rested entirely with Sir H. Smith. But then came the confirmation and unreserved support of all his unconstitutional acts, by the Colonial Office—a weighty responsibility for a minister to incur, having to answer for his conduct to a British parliament. And, indeed, it would seem as if the Home Administration had shrunk from the prospect of attempting to justify such a policy; for the draft ordinances relating to the long promised, long withheld constitution, were at length transmitted, for we have advices of their arrival at Cape Town, and of the general satisfaction the event has occasioned.

It is not too much to hope or expect, that the boon of free Government, and the sense of its responsibilities, may lead the local Government to adopt effective measures for settling all our differences with the Kaffirs, and this without sacrificing the interests of the frontier colonists, although distinct in a great measure from those of the metropolitans. The borderers being fairly represented in the colonial parliament, will be the security against class legislation to their prejudice.

The possibility of any line of policy, however ably administered, availing to maintain a state of peace between the Cape Government and the Kaffirs, will be doubted by a large class, who are of opinion, that where the civilized man and the savage meet, hostile collisions must ensue, and endure, as of necessity, until the savage, if the weaker party, shall be exterminated. And, certainly, the history of our possession of the Cape colony, looking only to events, without advertence to causes, would seem to furnish such persons with additional grounds for their faith. Still, while admitting the result indicated as inevitable, we do not think that the means or mode of its coming about must necessarily be that of violent collisions. On the contrary, we believe that the extinction of the savage, as an independent power, when brought into contact with a more powerful civilized one, may be produced either by assimilation of character, which, though rare under the circumstances, is, of course, the object to be sought by the superior intelligence,—or less happily, but more commonly, by the sense of security afforded by a protectorate power, inducing in the savage an entire suspension of the active exertions called forth by his former precarious existence. Abandoning himself then to the unbridled indulgence of his animal propensities, physical degeneracy ensues, under which he sinks, and the race, in a few generations, dies

out. The savage disappears before the civilized man, simply by the operation of what may be termed the law of political fusion—respecting which it was beautifully said by Lord Metcalfe, in writing on the conquest of Sindh, a result he predicted from the negotiations of the Indian Government with the amirs in 1831, or '32, and the opening of which he at the time deprecated:—"What a fatality attends us in India! We cannot touch without destroying." Let us keep steadily in view, then, this law of the political world, in determining now the basis for our future relations with the Kaffirs. Let us take a close survey of their country; and if we find in it, as we apprehend, none of the conditions under which any country can become a profitable acquisition to a distant empire, boundless tracts of land quite shut out, as by a pall, from the favoring rains of heaven, and destitute, moreover, of any means of artificial irrigation; rivers unnavigable from rapids; and its sea board an iron bound coast; if we find this vast region for the greater part uninhabited, or traversed by fierce tribes of nomades—if such be the uninviting character of the country bordering the Cape colony, our true policy obviously is to limit our intercourse with the barbarous tribes occupying the same, to simply controlling their external relations, and to have as little as possible to say to their internal affairs, lest by the operation of the law above indicated, the fragile dominion of our rude allies totter with our touch, and crumbling fall under our hands. We must not here indulge the visions of "barbaric pearls and gold," which, in other climes and other times, have rewarded the conqueror's toil; or we may awake to the ruinous reality of a further extension to our already too extended and costly conquest, which even now we are wishing, but in vain, to get rid of.

The political views propounded in the work under review, have appeared to us of such paramount importance at the present juncture, and have accordingly been discussed at such length, that we must forego the task of considering, as fully as we would have wished, the comparisons instituted by our author between the rude feudalism of the Kaffirs and that obtaining in Rajputana, and further, the analogies he draws between the Aborigines of South Africa and those of India; the Bhûl and Bosjeman; the Rajput and Kaffir; the Hot-tentot and native of the Indian coast. Referring our readers then to the pages of the memoir itself, for fuller information regarding the tribes it treats of, and promising that it will be found replete with interest, we will conclude by observing, that,

as few have had such opportunities as our author of acquiring a practical knowledge of the peculiar characteristics of wild tribes, and of watching the operations of the institutions under which they live—as few have ever equalled, none surpassed him, in the successful management of such tribes. The suggestions contained in his memoir on the Kaffirs for conducting our relations with that race, and which we have attempted to embody in the foregoing pages, would appear to be eminently worthy of the earnest consideration of Her Majesty's minister for the colonies.

The work is dedicated to Lord Metcalfe, as a small token of the author's "affection and gratitude for such friendship and support, through a long period of years, as it has seldom been the good fortune of one man to experience at the hands of another." Lord Metcalfe was long Colonel Sutherland's official chief in India; and those among our readers, who may be conversant with the noble motives and enlightened principles which guided that great man's public career, will not have failed to recognize, in many of our author's opinions, the impress of the school in which he was trained. These opinions, then, of the disciple, derive additional weight from the authority of his illustrious master.

ART. VI.—1. *The Friend of India.*

2. *Petition presented to Parliament by the British India Association.*
3. *Petition of the Calcutta Missionary Conference.*
4. *Petition of the Bombay Association.*
5. *Petition of the Christian Inhabitants of Bengal.*

WE shall make no apology for saying a few more words on the one important subject, which at present engages so much of the attention of local and periodical writers—the future Government of India. So long as the results of the Parliamentary investigation remain uncertain, so long will writers of all sorts, patriots true and false, special pleaders, honest and impartial advocates of reform, grievance-mongers by profession, and committees and associations, successively come forward with their strictures and suggestions, and their several plans for the regeneration of this country, in which good sense and extravagance, selfishness and public spirit, will be curiously commingled. We shall, however, abstain from coming forward with any plan, cut and dried, for the improvement of the general administration, and shall confine ourselves to a few remarks on several of the most notable opinions which have lately been propounded on this subject, whether by societies, patriots, or peers.

Among the points which naturally attract the most frequent criticism and animadversion, in connection with the Government of India, are the constitution, the attainments, and the general efficiency of the Civil Service. The reason of this is so obvious, as to require little comment. The situations filled by civilians are numerous, varied, and important. The emoluments attached to those situations are considerable. The advantages of the profession, generally, are great. The pensions bestowed after the usual period of service, secure to individuals an honourable competence in the evening of life. The degree of capacity, with which the various posts are filled and the duties of the Executive Government are discharged, affects every body in the remotest degree interested in the collection of the land revenue, the prevention of crime, the security and transfer of real property, the administration of civil and criminal justice, the maintenance of two great monopolies in particular localities of the empire, and the general character of the Executive Government throughout the length and breadth of the four presidencies. The above are powerful

incentives to men to speak out. And thus all persons who wish for ample remuneration while they are at work, or for good pensions, when the work is done, or for prominence and elevation, or for situations for their sons and connections, or for a good and efficient administration everywhere, and for the enhanced civilisation, the moral reform, and the intellectual progress, of the native community, have been busied for the last year, in giving free utterance to their opinions as to the best mode of improving the character of the Civil Service, and of infusing into it—we use the stereotyped phrase adopted on these occasions—some new blood. The line of argument taken up by the supporters of this plan is somewhat as follows: by those, we mean, who do not speak of the Civil Service in terms of rabid, rancorous and unmeasured abuse, and whose opinion alone has any claims to be heard. The Civil Service contains a fair proportion of talent, and has exhibited, in every generation, some signal instances of splendid statesmanship and undoubted capacity. As a body, it stands in bright and prominent contrast to any body of men occupied with the details of Civil Government in any dependency of the Crown. But it has its large proportion of drones, its brigade of incapables, its hard bargains from Leadenhall. Its salaries and remunerations are too high for these days of universal competition, proximity to England, and cheap workmanship. The judicial training is deficient. The rule of seniority stifles much energy, merit, and talent. The uncovenanted officers, who have often displayed great judgment and executive capacity, are precluded from rising to places of real emolument and trust. All this must be remedied. There is a vast quantity of serviceable talent and redundant activity at home, which is loudly calling for employment. This said talent overflows at the Universities, at public schools, at divers new colleges, proprietary or otherwise, on the outskirts of all learned professions, in the fens of Lincolnshire, in the plains of Wilts, in the dingy and murky atmosphere of the city. It lurks unnoticed in corners, unpatronized in the public places: it is carried by the mere force and pressure of circumstances into every profession in life; it waits, hopeful and hopeless, at every avenue to eminence; it emigrates in despair to Australia; it clears the backwoods of America; it guides the steam-ship and the train in this generation. It may be forced in the next, to guide the loom and the plough.

That there is a good deal of real, sterling, ability in England, which, somewhere about the age of twenty-three or twenty-four, finds itself rather at a loss, sometimes for a profession, and

sometimes for bread, is all very true. The question is—how is it to be got at? Shall a proclamation be issued, calling on all respectable fathers who have three or four well-educated sons, articulated to Conveyancers, to send up the most promising of them for examination, on a certain day, at the India House, or the Board of Control? Shall a fixed number of appointments be reserved for competition, like fellowships, at both the universities, amongst such first class men or wranglers as may doubt the possibility of their attaining to the Great Seal, or ever wearing lawn sleeves? Are we to look to the noted public schools as the reservoirs which shall fertilize the barrenness of the governing body, and exuberantly repay the patronage of the Directors? Or, lastly, shall we seek to replenish our store only from India, and continuing to send out, under the present system, one-half of the Civil Service from England, retain the other half of the appointments for a distribution in India, which, exempt from partiality and from all interested motives, shall present to the admiring world, a spectacle of honest and judicious patronage, such as was never before witnessed? The advocates for a wider circulation of directorial bounty have been wonderfully united in their cry for a hunt after unrecognised merit, but they have, most of them, been ominously silent as to the details of the search. Nothing is easier than to get up a vague and indistinct clamour of this kind, or more true than to assert that the places of several members of the Civil Service might be more ably and efficiently filled by men, who, from the sheer want of a patron, are curates in England on £80 a year, or are driven to reporting debates in the House of Commons. But a driftless cry of this sort will do no good to any one. There is nothing for it, but to examine the various plans for increasing the efficiency of the Civil Service, and see whether any of them will stand a test. We believe that, putting aside for the present Lord Ellenborough's plan of recruiting from the army, to which we shall advert presently, the specific means of attaining the desired object, which have been hinted at by various writers, may be summed up as follows. 1, To bestow a certain number of appointments on the great public schools. 2, To break down the wall of partition between the covenanted and the uncovenanted service. 3, To give one-half of the Indian appointments to natives. 4, To leave a larger proportion of appointments with the Crown, to be given to the sons of deserving officers, of widows, and of poor curates, or to qualified candidates, wherever they are to be met with in the friction and bustle of civilized and over-crowded professions. Of the above proposals, which we

believe to be those into which the whole cry against the present monopoly may be resolved, it appears to us that the first is the only one which will bear the test of a rigid examination. As to recruiting from the Universities, the experiment would be, in our opinion, dangerous and rash. Graduates of Oxford or Cambridge, generally speaking, would be too old for the work, and most certainly, though we might occasionally get a man with all the best spirit of Alma Mater strong in him, we should not catch many Wranglers, medallists, Smith's prizemen, or Ireland scholars. Nor, will it be said, is this the stamp of men we require. We want thoughtful, energetic, judicious workers. But granting that some such might be found at either University willing to come to India, are we to take one-half of our Civil Service, varying in age from twenty-three to twenty-six, and the other half at the age of nineteen or twenty? And is there no risk in tearing men away from England just at the very time when they are beginning firmly to link themselves with, and keenly to relish, all that is attractive and elevating in, the struggle for existence *at home*: the restless energy, the diversified information, the temperate desire for independence, the firmness, and philanthropy, the modest self-reliance, the quiet consistency and moral earnestness, all in short, which more or less exalts, refines, and adorns the natural character, as it is seen in some one of the thousand walks of English life? Have not men of practised judgment deemed it absolutely essential, that those who are to fill all the executive posts of importance in the internal administration of the East, should be reft from England, and land in India, just when their character has acquired some consistency and firmness, without losing all its pliancy: just when the habits have been sufficiently disciplined, while the adaptiveness to work out new ends, and to engage in totally new pursuits, has not been quite lost? We must not allow the civilian to land in India at too early an age, but we must not let him take too deep root in England. The tree should be transplanted before the fibres have clung lovingly to the soil. We must have men who are not too old to take kindly to Indian work, and who are not too young to have been unimpressed by all the best, most genial, and most purifying influences of English society and civilization. Thus, we have questioned the power of the Universities to furnish a sufficient complement of Indian workmen, and we altogether deny the policy of the measure, even if the power were unquestioned.

We next come to the union of the covenanted and uncovenanted services. There is something more plausible at first sight in this measure. Many men not in the Civil Service, it is allowed,

perform their work well. They are efficient in the revenue, the police, and judicial departments; they decide civil suits affecting questions of vast importance, and sums of money of great amount; they check smuggling and illicit traffic in salt: they are entrusted with large disbursements of money, and a very considerable responsibility, in the superintendence of the poppy cultivation. They know all the details in their several branches, and they are quite capable of grasping the important bearings of the whole. Why should these men, who bear so much of the burden, be debarred from the profit? Why should their conversancy with the working of the department, and their thorough knowledge of *minutiae*, debar them from the attainment of the chief places in their respective lines? Now, it is with no desire of depreciating the services of a valuable body of men, that we assert the Uncovenanted Service, as it is termed, to be composed of very diversified, and heterogenous, and uncertain elements. Of that body, it is well known, many individuals are natives, Mussulmans and Hindus of divers castes; many are East Indians, born and educated entirely in the country; and some few are Englishmen, who have obtained employment under Government by merit or favour, but, probably, after trying their hands at one or two other professions, only to meet there with failure or disappointment. It is not surely contended, that the barriers of exclusiveness should be at once thrown open, so as to admit a rush of aspirants from all quarters: East Indians and natives, men who have been rusticated from the Universities, briefless, but clever barristers, and adventurers trying their luck in one more cast for a livelihood. There must, we suppose, still be a constituted Service of some kind, the members of which shall all have passed through the prescribed course of examinations and trials, at home. To say that the service is an exclusive service—that no man can rise to eminence or independent control, who has not the words C. S. attached to his name—is to say nothing more than what is the case with every post open to officers in the Queen's and Company's armies, with the Royal and Indian Navies, with the legal and medical professions, with the church, with every constituted body in short, which is hedged in by definite barriers, graduated on fixed principles, and controlled by certain laws. Of course, it will be said in reply to this, that in the Civil Service there are no blanks, but all are prizes. Without the learning, the discipline, and the arduous toil of the law, without the science and the skill of the physician and surgeon, without the scholarship, the uncompromising devotion, or the ennobling eloquence of the sacred minister, members of this exclusive service, it will be said, are, from the hour

of their landing, relieved from all forethought as to their daily requirements, and provided with salaries amply sufficient to supply them with all the legitimate conveniences of life. Increased emoluments are simply the natural and unfailing consequences of good health and protracted residence : these emoluments are neither curtailed by inactivity, nor entirely stopped by sickness, nor always suspended by absence. In short, the whole aim and scope of the laws of this favoured service are to promote to high places or comfortable salaries the mediocrity which quietly slumbers within the service, and to exclude from the same posts, the undoubted merit and the acknowledged efficiency which hopelessly boils and ferments without it. There may be some occasional truth in all these objections, which are so constantly urged against the Civil Service, but they form no sort of argument for doing away with a Civil Service of some kind or other, or for breaking down the impassable barriers which must always hedge in any selected body of men, whose professional lives are devoted to one particular class of duties in the employment of the state. Moreover, in spite of all patriotism and noisy philanthropy, it may fairly be questioned, whether the men who cry out against the service, would be satisfied with anything less than admission within the pale on the same terms as are now the lot of civilians. And whatever means may be devised by that cautious wisdom, which seeks not to subvert but to improve existing institutions, in order to raise the standard of acquisitions generally, and to infuse vigour, earnestness, and energy into the mass, we shall maintain it as a fundamental axiom, necessary to a good Eastern Administration, that the members of the executive service shall be chosen at about the same age, shall be disciplined at the same English institution, shall pass through the same ordeal of examinations, attend the same course of lectures, eat commons at the same table, loiter in the same quadrangle, row on the same river, sport in the same cricket field, sleep within the same walls. It matters not whether the locality shall be just below Hertford Heath, or in some college on the banks of the Cam or the Isis, under that improvement on Haileybury, which has been suggested by some, for whose opinion we have great deference : but we maintain that, in spite of its tendency to generate exclusiveness and hauteur, to restrict ideas within a contracted sphere, and to narrow the range, or blunt the edge of the sympathies, an *esprit de corps* is, after all, to a certain extent, a necessary and a good thing. There may be faults in every system, but we prefer that plan which takes a set of young men at the most favourable age, places them together in a college as expensive, we may observe, to parents

as Oxford or Cambridge, where the aim and object of their lives is constantly kept before their eyes, which affords them opportunities of gaining knowledge literally unattainable elsewhere, preserves English ideas, excites emulation, inculcates discipline, and sets on each member the stamp and seal of a peculiar caste, to any plan which vaguely calculates on efficiently providing for the administration of the country from diversified materials, collected under no system, and which, in the end, could only be made up into a body devoid of unity of purpose, similarity of shape, and reciprocity of feeling. And to put aside all arguments on the merits or expediency of the case, do men really imagine that if the patronage of the Court of Directors were to cease, and the character of the Civil Service were to be materially altered to-morrow, the selection of candidates to fill the requisite number of appointments, would be quietly surrendered to Governors of Presidencies in India, or if so surrendered, would be characterized by that rigid impartiality, that absence of favouritism, and that search for genuine merit and sterling worth, which should stifle all objections, and lull all discontent to sleep? It is our firm belief, that one exclusive service would just be supplanted by another, possessing none of the good qualities of its predecessor, and more than the average of its faults and deficiencies. To recruit or repair the executive service effectively from an Indian source, seems to us not merely inexpedient, but impossible. It has been observed by impartial public writers, unconnected with the Service, that were four hundred civilians to die to-morrow, there could not be found four hundred men in India, qualified, on the instant, to step into their places. Nor, granting that a want creates a supply, can we be content to depend on chance for recruiting that body out here. For generations to come, its roll must be filled up from home. Can it be really supposed that a requisite staff of Europeans can ever be sown, grown, and nurtured out here?—and is it probable, that a number of good steady men would ever regularly, year by year, proceed to India for the mere chance of eventually obtaining employment under Government? An able and energetic public servant, not in the Civil Service, and debarred from high place, may be most unluckily situated, and one or two of the drones of the Service may be very lucky men; but this will hardly be deemed a reason for altering the whole frame and constitution of the administrative and executive staff. We have only to look at a Crown Colony, to see the results of the vague and indiscriminate fashion after which appointments to office are there made; or at the Ceylon and the Indian Civil Services, to recognize the comparative efficiency of one body, selected on no

principle, and subjected to no previous discipline, and of another body, trained and drilled with that scrupulous exclusiveness which is so often decried. In short, we do not doubt that we shall carry most readers along with us, when we resolutely maintain that provision for the filling of all posts, both high, of importance, and of average responsibility, in this country, must be made almost exclusively at home. We may clamour for higher qualifications, a more rigid ordeal, greater care in selection, a wider field for choice, a better material, a new vein of ore, but we must busy ourselves about all this, in England, and in England alone. As for the idea of admitting natives to the Civil Service, as Agents, Collectors, Magistrates and Secretaries, or Heads of districts and provinces, or Councillors, it will be time to consider this part of the plan in the review or periodical, or monthly magazine, or *Calcutta Daily*, which may be in existence in the year 1953.

We then fall back on the only proposals left us, those of leaving a larger proportion of nominations at the disposal of the Crown, or of giving two or three, or a larger proportion, to be competed for at each of the great public schools. There is, it must be confessed, something in the last plan which appears both plausible and sound. At the public schools, the selection is large, the system is uniform. These are places where emulation has been excited, discipline systematically enforced, a manly spirit inculcated, a reverence for law and a regard for rough equity, fair play, and substantial justice, been nurtured and cherished as a fundamental law. There, are marvellously united the training of the body and the training of the mind: the latter based on a system which has stood the test of centuries, modified only by the various requirements of an advancing age; the former, the spontaneous growth of the mere restlessness and activity of exuberant animal life. There, in short, are seen, side by side, now in harmonious co-operation, now in direct antagonism, the keen relish for physical enjoyment, the spirit of antiquity, influencing thought, forming the speech, guiding the pen, and the spirit of progress, the same which urges on the steam-ship, the telegraph, and the rail. Year after year some hundreds of boys there undergo that general training, which, though it does not, and cannot lead directly to any of the practical walks of life, renders its votary, from its comprehensive character and its solid foundation, calculated to grapple hereafter with the realities of any active or learned profession. Here, moreover, we have the advantage of making a selection when, the future destination being unknown or uncertain there are no ties to be severed, no wrenches to be undergone, and, compara-

tively, no violence to be offered to cherished faith and ambitious yearnings. Two appointments or so a year, offered to each of the public schools, might draw forth active competition, and secure, in all ordinary chances, two qualified and working men. It may be that the man of most exquisite and refined talent, of the keenest perception, the most brilliant thought, would not be attracted by the prospect of an exile in India: that the ripe and triumphant scholar of the day would look scornfully on a proposal to exchange his prospective Bishopric or college dignity, nay, his Exhibition, or Fellowship, or country living in the distance, for a laborious but lucrative life of toil in the East.

Cur vallo permutem Sabinâ
Divitias operosiores ?

Or it may be, on the other hand, that the successful candidate is not, after all, the kind of man we want: we may get a man who would have been excellently qualified to lecture, term after term, on the Nicomachean Ethics, or to expound the difficulties of the Integral Calculus, but who would be quite out of place in dealing with Zemindars or Panches, in catching dacoits and burglars, or in improving the course of vernacular education, or building drain-bridges and purifying bazars. But this is obviously one of these chances from which no plan will be entirely secure. And there could be no room for the exercise of partiality here. But any arrangement of this sort must, of course, be provided for by distinct and positive enactment. It would not do to leave it optional with the President of the Board of Control, or with the members of the Court of Directors, or of any new Council, to give an occasional nomination to some public school, after all the claimants on their bounty had been satisfied. The distribution must be provided for beforehand on equitable principles, and zealously protected by adequate security, and the bounty must flow with regularity, or it will not be appreciated. The *theory* of an arrangement of this kind is, we think, unassailable. It embraces all the points most calculated to supply the service with some good stock: a wide field for selection, an honest competition, absence of partiality, prejudice, or favour. The perfect success of such an experiment must obviously remain an open question, and some inconveniences, practically, might be expected to arise in this, as in every other scheme.

As regards surrendering a larger portion of the Indian nominations to the Ministers of the Crown, we should much like to see a statement of the manner in which such patronage has, in other instances, been distributed. Will any one say that livings at the disposal of the Lord Chancellor have always been

given to the hardest working and best qualified curates, or that Governors of Colonies, and Chief Justices in the West Indian islands, have invariably been selected on grounds wholly unconnected with electioneering interest, or past political service? Occasionally, we doubt not, the minister of the day has presented the widow of some old Peninsular officer with an appointment, or has inducted into some rich and comfortable living, a pious, fervent, and orthodox divine. But the Court of Directors will as confidently point to numerous instances where provision has been made for the sons of officers who had fallen in battle against the Afghan and the Sikh. We shall continue to believe, that of the plans proposed, the extension of crown patronage, selection in India, fusion of the covenanted and uncovenanted Services, and competition at great public schools, the last is almost the only plan which promises to add to the present efficiency of the Indian civil staff.

The great point after all, which must first be ascertained with some definitiveness, is the amount of talent, integrity, and effectiveness, now comprised in the eight hundred civilians, who fill all the important posts in the Peninsula. To a certain extent, all men, adversaries and partisans, are here agreed. In that body there are some real statesmen, and some worthless drones. Thus much will not be denied by thorough-going friends or virulent opponents. The fiercest declamation against the nepotism of the service is usually prefaced by some tribute to the splendid instances of administrative talent, which, in each generation, have shed a lustre over the whole body. The most diligent asserter of the vested rights and unalterable privileges of magistrates and collectors is compelled to admit the existence of sundry incapable individuals, whom neither exhortation, nor threats, nor diminished emoluments can rouse into energy, or shame into the semblance of virtue. Unscrupulous animosity can never slur over the brilliant statesmanship of a Metcalfe, the devotion of a Cleveland, the chivalrous daring and the irresistible fascination of a Clerk: nor can even Leadenhall-street itself refrain from an occasional lament over the hard fate of some thousands of ryots, whose temporal concerns may be entrusted to a civilian, who would have been almost unfitted for the place of a tide-waiter, or of third usher in a suburban academy. But the question will then arise—putting aside the extremes of talent and efficiency, which no body gainsays, are the drones exceptions, or are they a numerous and encreasing body? are they one-half, one-third, or a mere fraction of the Service? This is exactly the point on which,

out of twenty men, ten will have one opinion, and ten another; and we certainly shall not pretend dogmatically to solve the knot. Our own conscientious and deliberate opinion is, that the proportion of idle, heedless, and incapable servants is wonderfully small, and that the great body of the Service, owing to precept, example, excellent official training, and the mere love of work, which grows on men in this climate, acquire habits of business, promptness in decision, and care in execution, which are elsewhere unsurpassed. But other men, with fair opportunities of forming a judgment on the subject, will persist in reducing this description to a smaller circle; and hence the cry, consistently with such belief, for the opening of a new mine, and for more compulsory training. Of course no sensible man imagines that human foresight can ever devise a system of nomination, which shall ensure a highly competent and qualified person for every post, from that of a member of council to that of the assistant in charge of a sub-division. Under the best and purest distribution of patronage, there must be some mistakes in selection, some concessions to amiable weakness, family connection, and similar agencies. A late Governor of Bombay used to lament the actual *want* of sinecures. There were *not* enough places, he said, in which the number of incapables, which no great body is ever without, might rest in official insignificance and uninjurious ease. Undoubtedly it behoves all who have the welfare of India at heart to endeavour to reduce that number to a minimum; but this will hardly be effected by breaking down the barriers of any body, exclusive but regularly and systematically trained, in the hope that a higher and worthier material will come forth from some unknown quarter, or from all quarters, regularly stamped with all the outward evidences of efficiency and worth. Nor does it appear, on what principle ministers of the Crown should be more impartial in their selections than the magnates of Leadenhall in theirs, or why the stir and bustle of political action should result in the production of greater purity of intention than the comparatively quiet atmosphere in which Indian directors and claimants on India usually move.

A great deal has been said about the tendency of the present system of patronage to generate clanships in India, to divide a large number of appointments among brothers, cousins, and members of the same social circle, and to fill the Gazettes and the Directory with roll calls of names from the same parent-stock. The truth of these assertions is beyond all question. There are brothers two and three deep, fathers and sons, uncles and nephews, and cousins of divers degrees, all filling

appointments in various stages of the public service, at one and the same time. There are but few instances in which civilians have not some relation or connection of some kind in some one branch of the Indian services, or, at least, in which they have not had one in former years. These ties are still further cemented by marriage, and it has been jocularly said that a man marrying into certain families would have one-half of the covenanted branches for his connections. But even in this apparent anomaly, there are some points productive of real advantage, or calculated to mitigate the severity of censure. It is an advantage to secure for this country, active, honest, and willing workmen, who will take a pride in their profession, and devote thirty years of their lives to India, without indulging in vain regrets for a finer climate and a wider field in the West. Such men are naturally found in the sons and relatives of old civilians and soldiers. They come out to India as to a second home, and not to an exile. Their social sympathies, their household gods, their domestic charities, have all sprung from, and are kept alive in, the East. They are ready actively to embrace the duties of a profession in which their progenitors have won for themselves distinction, competence, or fame. They are *adscripti* to the Indian soil, but *adscripti* in the spirit of a free labourer and not in that of villeinage. It is not, we believe, in the nature of Englishmen, to be unimpressed with a sense of the duty and the responsibility entailed by paternal distinctions and transmitted worth: and that must be a rare case in which a young civilian, with much to bind him to India, with nothing strange, repugnant, or uninviting in the sound of an Indian career, shall enter on his duties in a heedless, discontented, or murmuring spirit. Again, take the equity of the present system of patronage. A civilian or a soldier comes out at an early age, spends thirty years in India, lays here the foundation of all his friendships, and must not wonder if, in the evening of life, he finds, at home, estranged faces, recollections only dimly surviving, and forgotten claims. It will be said that proximity to England by overland communication has done a great deal for old Indians. It has annihilated distance, reduced time and space, and removed a host of noxious prejudices. There is no reason why men in India should not now retain much of the freshness and keenness of their English feelings, why they should not be more at home on English topics of conversation, why, in short, they should be incumbrances by the English fire-side. No doubt rapid communication has done us all a great deal of good. English manufactures, apparel, domestic conveniences, books

of the newest stamp, periodical literature, objects of art, the latest utilitarian discoveries, the freshest Parisian fashions, the raciest bon-mots, are only two months older in India than in England. In all these things the rapidity and the certainty of regular communication by steam has proved of incalculable advantage. But no regularity of intercourse by letter—not even a daily electric telegraph—can give to men, who must toil for the best part of their lives in India, the power of securing for their sons and relatives a position in any of the constituted professions at home. Except in rare cases, a man exiled in a foreign country, can have no opportunities of strengthening his interest in the Law, the Church, or in the English mercantile community. The bi-monthly mail will hardly avail him here. If he has any substantial claims, any powerful advocates, or any patrons high in place, they must all be looked for in purely Indian circles. Is there then anything to call for very just or great indignation, if a man of this sort does succeed in obtaining one or two Indian appointments for members of his family? Can it be much wondered at, if, connected as men in India are by friendships, associations, or domestic alliances, the patronage of desirable appointments should flow much in the same channel? And is there not a sort of prescriptive right possessed by soldiers and civilians devoid of interest in England, to look for provision for their descendants in the country and in the services to which they have devoted their best time and ability? Of course it is easy enough to select vulnerable points in the distribution of patronage, which is sought to be justified by such reasoning. The attack indeed may be made from the most opposite quarters, and on the most inconsistent grounds. At one time it may be said that Indian appointments ought not to be retained, like a monopoly, or an estate within a ring-fence, in the hands of a few families, and be jealously shut to an immense portion of the English public, anxious and willing to send forth labourers in abundance to the field. At another it will be urged that the very plea of providing for the sons and relatives of old Indian officers, who have nothing else to expect, falls to the ground before the well-proved assertion that the most deserving claimants, the widow and the orphan, whose main support perished under the privations of some Indian campaign, or died nobly on the field of battle, have had to prefer their suit to the dispensers of patronage in dull and dreary succession, and have experienced all the bitterness that can be experienced by a sensitive spirit, in crushed hopes and uncourteous refusals. Now, it will be said that the circle of appointments is too narrow: now, that

it is not half narrow enough. If a seat in the Direction be gained by a man of large Indian experience, connection, and ties, the cry is that the name he bears will be disseminated half over India. If, on the contrary, the new Director be a man totally unconnected with oriental subjects, we shall be warned of the danger of allowing such ignorant persons to administer the affairs of India; and we may be told that his nominations may be made at the caprice of some Minister, or the bidding of some city Cæsus. It will be easy, in short, to plant a wound on some undefended or exposed part. Moreover, when a man's abilities have once met with their reward in some other profession, or, though acknowledged by his compeers, have failed to command success, it is easy to say that such a man would have done the State good service in India, and been much more than worth his salary. But unfortunately these things cannot be divined beforehand: and if candidates are to be selected at an early age, as most men agree they ought to be, and the selection is to be entrusted to any body of men, with human prejudices and ties, we had as soon that the patronage should flow from Indian sources into Indian channels, as that it should be entrusted to King or Minister, in the vain hope that hidden corners would be ransacked for merit, and talent be dragged into light.

We now come to Lord Ellenborough's great plan for recruiting the civil administration, in part or entirely, from the Indian army. The idea, we believe, has been taken up by other parties, and propounded in a different shape. It has been proposed to send all Indian nominees to one huge institution, and to distribute them, according to their merit, tested in a series of examinations, amongst the Civil Service, the Engineers, the Artillery, and the Line. In this way, it is said, there would be splendid competition, and the highest talent possible would be secured for the civil administration; for, of course, a principal part of the plan was that the first names in the examination should be told off as civilians, the next as engineers, and so on. The objection to such a plan is obviously this, that one sort of talent is required for the engineers, and another for executive or administrative duties; and while some of the best men in the Civil Service would be puzzled to take a sight or a level, some of the most skilled in the whole corps of engineers might be considerably out of their places, if set at the head of a large district or province. Moreover, the course of study required for each branch of the public service must differ so essentially, that it would be necessary to make the separation at a very early date; and the competition, which should

decide the fate of each candidate, would be limited to one or at most two examinations. This plan, we believe, though discussed at several periods, has never been seriously contemplated: and obviously it differs from that of Lord Ellenborough in merely widening the field of selection, and in simply taking the Civil Service from the best of a large body of young men, while Lord Ellenborough would take the Civil Service mainly from the army. If we understand Lord Ellenborough correctly, we understand him to assert that officers of the army, from their intercourse with the manlier and better kind of natives, their conversancy with the religious feelings and social habits of the soldiery, and their familiarity with the languages, must be singularly well qualified to administer justice in cases of assault or felony, to settle the land revenue, to decide complicated civil suits, and to carry on the minute details of various offices, wherein almost every thing is transacted by pen, paper, and ink. This, at least, is what Lord Ellenborough constantly asserted while in office in India, and by this axiom were many of his important measures guided. Repeatedly, in conversation and writing, in familiar intercourse and at public entertainments, did he maintain that officers of the cavalry, the line and the artillery, must, from the very nature of their duties and positions, be the best men to be placed in collectorates, magistracies and other civil posts. This opinion he has lately reiterated before the Parliamentary Committee. We feel ourselves compelled to differ from Lord Ellenborough, not indeed, as to the efficiency of many military men in civil duties, but as to the reasons given for that efficiency. We do this with some regret, because the late Governor-General is both honest and energetic, and, in many subjects, of great foresight and capacity. He is not one of Carlyle's Shams, and the *solve senescentem* is a warning as yet inapplicable to him. Lord Ellenborough would have us believe that military men make good civilians, *because* they have been in the army. We shall maintain, that if they do make good civilians, it is solely because they are taken out of the army, and put, as it were, into the civil service. Lord Ellenborough connects the good qualities displayed by such men in executive administration, with their original profession. We are bold enough to assert, that these good qualities, in such particular lines, are brought forward only when a man leaves his original profession, and that they are more developed the longer he remains away from his corps. In short, with Lord Ellenborough, a man is an embryo civilian while he is in the army, and with us, he is no civilian until

he gets quit of the army altogether. We trust that no person will, from this, suspect the *Calcutta Review* of an intention to throw discredit on the attainments and qualifications of Indian officers generally. The Indian army, we need hardly say, has been wonderfully productive, not only of those fruits which are the peculiar offspring of the military profession, but of others which would seem to belong to a different soil—not only has it given birth to innumerable instances of endurance in privation, of individual heroism, of consummate strategy, of successful daring, but it has created and sent forth officers who, with unexampled skill and exquisite tact, have conducted difficult diplomatic negotiations to the desired end. It has produced many distinguished orientalists; it has fostered science, art, antiquarian research; it has explored the remains of Hindu and Mohammedan dynasties: it has left many worthy monuments of Anglo-Saxon benevolence and utilitarian skill. But while we freely acknowledge that, when regularly trained to civil business, many officers of the army have shown themselves excellently qualified to discharge the duties of collectors and commissioners, we fearlessly assert that this excellence is solely due to their having left the army at an early period of their service, and to their having been regularly initiated into all the mysteries of office, from the lowest appointment to the highest. Civil business in India is just as much a trade or profession, requiring a study of the elementary principles, as any other. "There have been heaven-born generals," says Mr. Campbell pithily, "but never heaven-born collectors." To become a good magistrate, or an efficient revenue officer, a man, whether he be an officer in uniform or a *pequin*, must commence with the rudiments. He must tread in the acknowledged path and enter regularly at the door; nor can he expect to take a leap over the wall summarily, and find himself at once a proficient in all the revenue and judicial law and practice of the courts. Acting on these principles, whether openly or tacitly acknowledged, many military men have discharged the duties which usually fall to civilians, and which are known by the designation of civil, with marvellous ability and success. A good portion of the appointments in the Punjab are conferred on military officers. One member of the board of Lahore is a military man. Of the seven commissionerships under the Lahore Board, three are filled by officers of the army, and there is a fair proportion of the lower appointments filled by the same class. The administration of Assam, Arracan, and the Tenasserim provinces is, we may say, exclusively conducted by military men. The

Agency on the South West Frontier, and the Saugor and the Nerbudda districts, both have, it is true, a civilian for their chief, but the subordinate posts are almost exclusively filled by officers taken from the army. We will, however, venture to say, that if the members of the Board at Lahore, or others who have opportunities of forming a judgment, were asked to give an opinion, they would all admit that the efficiency of these military officers in civil employ is due entirely to their having early devoted themselves to revenue and judicial business, and to their prompt and regular initiation into the forms and fashions of the trade. If the cry has been raised, that the judicial training of the civilian is deficient, might not the same be said with equal truth of the military officer in civil employ, supposing Lord Ellenborough's plan to be adopted? The latter, in all the non-regulation provinces, constantly performs the functions of a civil judge. But the truth is that, provided he has had a sufficient experience of revenue details, he manages to get through the duties, to which are attached the imposing titles of judicial and civil, with considerable credit. And from this we shall venture to assert, that while the efficiency of military men, as district officers, increases generally in exact ratio with the length of their experience in their particular line, the qualifications of civilians, as civil judges, so far from deteriorating, owing to time spent in the revenue branch, thereby do attain to a higher and better standard. The mischief and folly of transferring men from police to revenue, from revenue to civil business, have been denounced by warning voices a hundred times. But in this very transfer, we can see nothing but great foresight and excellent judgment. The evil, to our thinking, lies partly in the misnomer—"collector of revenue." Men naturally conceive the term to imply duties exclusively connected with the mere collection of the land-tax, the care of a treasury, the disbursement of salaries, and the signing of bills. If the designation really denoted the other duties to which a "collector" devotes his time; if he were styled, what he often is, a *judge of land revenue suits*; if the immense opportunities afforded to him of gaining an insight into one important part of the business of a regular civil court, could be briefly and clearly detailed in his official title; if his functions as presiding in the court of wards and as administrator of the estates of minors, as judge in summary suits, as the divider of inheritances in real property, as registrar of mutations in the titles of estates, and occasionally, as settlement officer, even under a perpetual settlement, could all be stereotyped under one denomination—we should hear

much less of the cry raised against the want of judicial training in our civil judges. Moreover, those who have been loudest in this unfounded outcry, are quite blind to the fact that transfers as violent, and metamorphoses as strange as those unthinkingly decried by them, daily take place in every Queen's court throughout India. How common is the spectacle of a lawyer sitting at *nisi prius*, whose experience was gained at the Chancery Bar, or again, presiding on the Equity side, without ever having drawn a bill in equity, or sitting in the Insolvent, or the Admiralty courts, when his practice had been acquired at the Old Bailey, or at Common Law! It cannot be contended that the usual training of a lawyer, in these days of divided labour, can readily embrace all these various departments of a science, vast and extensive to a proverb, or that a man, who has regularly eaten his way into the Inner Temple, can, from that fact, or from any practice he may have acquired in any one branch, be fitted to administer the law in all its branches. We are glad to see that Sir Erskine Perry has admitted, in his reply to the Bombay Bar on their address, that of one branch of law he was "profoundly ignorant" on his arrival in India. But the truth is that the profession of the law, and the posts of eminence attainable in that profession, cannot, from their very nature, be made a mark to shoot at, like the vested and exclusive privileges of the Civil Service. No patriot could long gain any credit by following this course. The shafts are consequently aimed invariably at the defective training of the Company's judges. That training may, it is generally admitted, be weak in some points, in the law of bailment, in that of partnership, in mercantile law. But it is ample, if properly used, in all questions of real property, and this, too, from the very reasons on which its sufficiency is denied. One proof of this will perhaps be allowed to have weight. In the Bombay Presidency, the training of civil judges is, in some points, all that the most ardent and disinterested reformer could desire. The line between the revenue and the judicial branches is early drawn, broadly marked, and rigidly kept. The two professions are made quite distinct from each other. Of assistants out of college, some become assistant collectors, and collectors in the usual course. Others become assistant judges, and finally rise to the bench, after eighteen or twenty years' service in the subordinate grade. This, it may be said, is exactly what is wanted on this side of India. But what are the results? Simply these, that the Bombay Government is often too glad to single out a crack-collector, and thrust him on to the Bench, for the very reason that his revenue experience gives him an aptitude for

the decision of civil suits, which the judge, who has never been a collector, who has always remained what it is said he ought to remain, and who has never been what it is said he ought not to be—cannot be expected to possess. We shall leave this fact without further comment.

From this digression, to which we were led on by a discussion on the training of military officers, we return to say a few more words on Lord Ellenborough's plan. There will always be a good demand for the services of able military officers, inured to habits of discipline, and possessed of acknowledged talents. The administrative business cannot spare them, and in time of peace, they are not absolutely required with their corps. But have we not heard a good deal of the danger of drawing all the best men from their regiments, retaining them in civil employ for ten or twelve years, and then sending them in time of war to command men whose faces they have never seen, and of whose very names they are ignorant? Moreover, in spite of urgent demands for military officers, it is impossible to deny that in theory it is not correct to make talent, and the places that must be filled by talent, the direct and grand means of quitting the army? There are obviously many staff situations, exclusively military in their nature, in which the officer filling them, still retains much of his soldierly predilections, is devoted to business entirely bearing on the welfare of the army, where he raises irregular levies, or analyses the proceedings of courts martial, or furnishes supplies. But there are many in which captains and subalterns will not hear mention of regimental or military topics, from one year's end to the other. It is impossible to prevent this entire abstraction of a certain portion of the army from the duties of their profession, and it might be unwise to make the attempt. But, on the other hand, it would be equally inexpedient to enlarge the circle. Yet, if we understand Lord Ellenborough correctly, he would teach young men in the army that their sole object is not to stand by their profession, but to leave it; he would excite in them an unhealthy anxiety to be quit for ever of a soldier's duty and a soldier's ambition; and he would thus proclaim, in clear and distinct language, an axiom which no one, who honours and loves his particular occupation or calling, has ever yet thought it proper boldly to avow.

We shall close this somewhat discursive article with a few remarks on the nature of the petition presented by the British Indian Association to the Committee sitting on Indian affairs at home. This petition has been variously handled by local and periodical writers, in terms of censure, ridicule, and praise.

Though somewhat late in the day, we propose to point out one or two of the mis-statements with which the petition abounds. We pass over, without much animadversion, several points in the memorial: the characteristic self-sufficiency and obtrusiveness, which attacks the salary and travelling allowances of the Governor-General: the cool request that, out of seventeen of the highest appointments to be created in the state, twelve shall be expressly reserved for natives, who would thus run before they are even able to stand: and the arrogance which would tie the hands of the Governor-General in all cases where they ought to be most unfettered, would deprive the Home Government of the power of dismissing public officers, its own servants, and would, by vesting the legislative power and the power of the purse in the hands of this notable council, really grasp at the substance, and leave the Governor-General only the shadow of power. In all this, and in several other egregious suggestions, either the Association has proceeded on the well-known native principle of over-stating the case, and of asking for much more than is ever expected, or, its suggestions have been dictated by the most child-like simplicity. In the latter case, the public will be able to judge of the wisdom and the ability of the heads of the native community to remodel Government, make laws, and raise taxes; in the former, we can only lament that, after all our boasted civilizing influences, our scholarships, colleges, and our infusion of English ideas, the most wealthy and respectable Zemindars on this side of India should still be found essentially native in character; as much so as the aggrieved ryot, in whose piteous tale five or six men banded together, are described as a gang of one hundred, and a push and a blow are magnified into robbery, wounding and spoliation. Still, this grasping at place, this ignorance of public feeling and public parties at home, displayed in the modest wish, that one-half of the best appointments in India be made over to natives, the desire for enhanced salaries, the dexterous confusion of complaints of mal-administration, of proposals for reform, and of wishes of personal aggrandisement, sink into nothing when we remember that all this combination of puerility and ignorance, and this clumsy attempt at patriotism, are declared to express the feelings of the most intelligent of the native community all over the country! This spectacle of a set of Babús,—who have obtained, in position and influence, ten times more than they would have obtained under any other Government, Hindu, Mohammedan, or European,—pretending to represent the old Hindu and Mussulman families, and the

hard-working agriculturists, village communities, and tenant-proprietors, all over Upper India, is, we think, rather too much of a good thing.

Two statements in the petition require a little notice. The first relates to the duties and liabilities of Zemindars, the second to the cultivation of opium. In the first, the petitioners complain that they are frequently summoned on frivolous pretexts and charges of omission of duty, from the end of a district to the central magistrate's court. In this there is either the most grievous mis-statement, or the most discreditable ignorance. There is not a magistrate, there is not a native official, there is not a landholder, who knows anything of his business, who does not know perfectly well, that in all trivial cases, in all derelictions of duty, the personal attendance of landholders is *never* required. In this respect the highest Company's Court has been lenient to the verge of weakness. The appearance of a landholder in a magistrate's court, except to answer for very serious crimes, is utterly unknown: every Zemindar or Talúkdar has his agent or muktear at every court in the district, who is ready to file an answer to every charge or complaint that may be made against his employer. If a hot-headed magistrate should by any chance require the personal attendance of the great man on a trifling charge, or for neglect of duty in not aiding the police, or for not giving timely notice of extraordinary occurrences, an appeal to the Sessions Judge next door causes an immediate reversal of the order. But the truth is, that owing to long-established precedent, it is universally the practice in all Mofussil courts, not to endeavour to enforce personal attendance on the part of men of character and substance. The introduction then of this topic, as a grievance, into the petition, either proves a desire to mislead readers, or the most culpable apathy. We are unwilling to believe, that the petitioners deliberately lent themselves to a perversion of fact, and are therefore compelled to conclude, that every individual who subscribed his name to the petition, was, in this instance, kept by his agents or servants, in the most shameful ignorance of the real state of things in the Mofussil, or that he was so generally careless as to know nothing whatever of the practice of the courts, the system of zemindary management, and of everything, in short, which he most ought to know.

With regard to the opium monopoly, the petition states, that it is a source of vexation to the cultivators, who are thereby exposed to oppression. This affected regard for the condition

of the agriculturists about Patna and Ghazepore, is a piece of misplaced and spurious philanthropy. The real state of the case is this, and it will effectually dispel all fears on the subject. The ryots, who take advances yearly from the officials of Government, have their accounts squared regularly at the close of every season. There is no intimidation to force men to sign agreements, and there is no accumulation of arrears carried on from one season to another; an equivalent for the advances is returned in the shape of produce; increased weight or purity in the drug is carried to the account of the cultivator; and if there is any balance against him, it is either remitted, or in rare instances, is recovered by civil process. But so little is this expedient resorted to, and so partial are the ryots, from Patna to Ghazepore, to the cultivation of the poppy, that they would be ready to devote much more of their lands to the cultivation of this plant, were it not for the orders of limitation issued by Government. The real *grievance* to landholders is as follows, and hence arise their expressed fears for the welfare of the agricultural community. Landholders are not only forbidden to cultivate themselves, and are excluded from any share in the transactions between the ryots and the deputy or sub-deputy opium agents, but *by law*, they are forbidden to increase the rents of such lands held by their ryots, as are devoted to the cultivation of the poppy. Nothing comes more home to the heart of landholders than the chance of raising the rent of some hard-working individual, who devotes himself to a species of cultivation, requiring a larger disbursement of capital, and a greater amount of skill. It may, therefore, be readily conceived, with what invincible dislike and repugnance a genuine native landholder must look on a system, in which the benefits fall wholly and directly on the ryots: a system in which he is not allowed to have the smallest participation: a system which raises the condition of the peasantry: stimulates them to something of vigilance and industry, procures them advances on which no interest or commission is chargeable, holds out to them the prospect of making a fair profit, and protects them from the intervention of the great man's oppressive retainers and unscrupulous *naibs*, and from the rapacity which seeks to benefit by the care and assiduity of others.

We are unable to follow the British Association any further in its schemes for the regeneration of the administrative system of this empire, and we regret that want of time prevents us from according much space to the petition of the Calcutta

Missionary conference. We shall, therefore, only say that this latter memorial, while it is far more dignified in tone than that of the Bengal British Association, is in several points the far more practical document of the two, and is often eminently fertile in useful suggestions. It refers to topics which it would take a volume to discuss ; but in all that it says of the prevalence of dacoity, the disorganisation of the police, and the necessity for a separate Government for Bengal Proper, it will be found worthy of deep and mature reflection. Of the Bombay Petition, it has been well remarked that, while less noisy and better drawn up than the Bengal document, it betrays an equal ignorance of the state of feeling and parties at Home. The petition of the Christian inhabitants has reached us too late for detailed notice. We are therefore unable to discuss its object: to enquire how many of those residents in Calcutta, who may sign it, are persons who can know anything at all of the Mofussil, and how many of the Mofussilites, who may sign by proxy, belong to the class of " Europeans, who are not permitted to do as they like;" or to ask what knowledge each subscriber thereto may have of the laws which he arraigns, and of the general system which he condemns. There is, unquestionably, much to be provided for, in the future renewal of the Charter, for the better government of India ; and though we shall not point out the details by which this object is to be secured, we may sum up the crying wants of India, as laid down by the most impartial and least exaggerative writers, somewhat as follows. We want in India provision for an unencumbered, systematic, Executive Government in all the Presidencies, which shall unite two things difficult to be united, a due amount of subordination to one central and supreme power, and a due amount of free play and energy in its various subordinate members: we claim a relief from vexatious interference, while we yield assent to the exercise of a proper supervision ; we concede the propriety of keeping the Supreme Council informed of every measure of importance, while we resolutely protest against that delusive and pernicious system, by which cart-loads of statements, and endless references on trivial and minor points, are weekly and monthly reviewed by a quorum sitting a thousand miles off. We demand for the heads of Presidencies, whether they be Governors in Council, or Lieutenant or Deputy-Governors without any such encumbrance, a greater power over the purse, and a more unfettered liberty of action. We call for some yearly adequate provision for increasing the facilities of communication, for regular expenditure in public works, for the promotion of sound, general, education,

and for the conservancy of large towns. We should wish to see something like an union of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, or an arrangement whereby the Directors or Councillors shall no longer be elected by the holders of India Stock, while they shall not become entirely dependent on the ministry in power. We require—now, that the practical education of the juniors in the Civil Service is, in the Bengal division at least, admirably provided for—an uniform and regular training for the higher judicial posts. We protest on behalf of the intelligent and deserving of the Uncovenanted Service, against that unjust policy which will neither increase the personal allowances of laborious and efficient men in the body, nor admit them to certain offices in the administration, to which civilians can have no valid or exclusive claim. We call, next, for a more active police, and greater severity in the punishment of normal crime, and on the other hand, for a cessation of that senseless clamour which blames the Government for not effecting in a century a complete reform in the morals and manners of Hindus and Mussulmen, with as much reason as a censor might blame an eloquent London preacher for not having summarily reformed, by his sermons, the morals of every practised *roué* at the West end; and, lastly, we pray earnestly, that in all deliberations which may have for their object the renewal of the Charter, either in a modified or an integral shape, we may be favoured with a great deliverance from Patriots and from Shams.

ART. VII.—*Observations on Surgery ; by Benjamin Travers, junior. Lately Resident Assistant Surgeon at St. Thomas's Hospital and Lecturer on Surgery. London. 1852.*

HERE, as with the Indian mechanic, we have the son following the trade of his father ; but not much farther does the comparison hold good, for while the poor native artizan toils on, fashioning his work after old models, and operating with the same rude tools used by his ancestors for generations, the modern surgeon, without discarding the lessons of past experience, applies all the new lights and discoveries of science, in the pursuit of what Mr. Travers has truly called it, "our noble art." Noble it is, if an art at all: but we might here come to issue with Mr. Travers, and say that surgery is not an art, but a science. Let us compromise the matter, and say that it is the glorious appliance of mechanical skill and mental intelligence, to the cure of disease and the relief of suffering; art and science working in combination. Somewhat of the old school ourselves, we confess that we respect the motives of Mr. Travers in dedicating his work to his father. There is too little of this paternal reverence in young England.* To introduce any work on surgery, no name could be fitter than that of the elder Travers ;—*Clarum et venerabile nomen*—one of the last of the Romans—a worthy competitor, in the early race to fame, with John Abernethy and Sir Astley Cooper, the author of standard works on surgery. Mr. Travers, too, was for many years one of the surgeons of St. Thomas's hospital, and there it would seem that his son has not thrown away the ample opportunities afforded by a great Metropolitan hospital and school. Noble institutions are these great London hospitals, and suggestive of many thoughts. In respect of the wealth and humanity of their founders, citizens of the world's Metropolis—the great amount of their revenues and expenditure—the sum and the variety of human suffering they exhibit, and the pain and the want which they alleviate, they are unparalleled in the world. And, speaking professionally, let us think of the many great names in surgery which are associated with these institutions. In fact, there are few schools of equal mark for the learning and teaching of surgery ; and any lover of the profession may envy, without blame attaching to him, the great privileges of acquiring knowledge enjoyed by those who are immediately attached to these great

* As the Rev. Dr. Cumming has remarked in one of his lectures, "that beautiful, that musical sound *father* is being banished from England's homes, and that horrible importation from France '*our Governor*' is being substituted in its place."

establishments, and the immense field for observing disease and for practising surgery and dissection, in which they labor. As already mentioned, Mr. Travers, junior, seems to us not to have thrown away his high opportunities; and we particularly admire in his work the sound and philosophic application of scientific knowledge to practical purposes. "Above all," he says in his preface, "it has been my endeavour to avoid the language of theory and vague hypothesis, which, to use the words of that ingenious writer, Mr. Samuel Sharp, have never done any considerable service to the practice of surgery; nay, for the most part, have misled young surgeons from the study of the symptoms and cure of diseases, to an idle turn of reasoning, and a certain style in conversation which has very much discredited the art amongst men of sense."

In proceeding to notice the several subjects embraced in the work of Mr. Travers, and in venturing to criticize his doctrines and practice, we are chiefly guided by the light of a long Indian experience; albeit we have endeavoured to keep up our knowledge of what is doing at home. By comparing Mr. Travers's principles of treatment, and the foundations upon which he rests them, with the present state of surgery in India, we may hope to give a local interest to this review of his work, and, at the same time, to recommend it to the profession in India; for it treats of subjects coming daily before them.

FRACTURES.—Indian surgeons, particularly those who are attached to Civil stations, see a good many cases of fracture, and for that reason it is of course very desirable that they should be acquainted with the approved principles of treating them successfully. There are two essential objects to hold in view in treating fractures; the first, to retain, as far as possible, the natural movements of the injured parts; the second, and more important, to watch the constitutional effects of the local injury. Mr. Travers has not separately considered the nature of the various forces which produce fracture. His work is limited in size, and we may excuse the omission. These will be, of course, dependent on the habits and occupations of a people, and we imagine, must greatly influence the kinds of fracture met with, and the amount of their danger. A blow from a bamboo stick, or the twist of a limb in machinery, may each, for instance, cause a simple fracture, but the first injury will be simple in all respects compared with the second. But upon the whole, the Indian surgeon has one great disadvantage in the treatment of compound fracture, which is, that such grave cases are often sent in to him from a great distance, while many

of the causes originally producing them, make their character dangerous. We may notice falls from trees, sword-cuts, blows from sticks, &c.

Mr. Travers treats separately of transverse, oblique, comminuted, and, lastly, of compound fractures. He points out, with regard to the first, that they are less dangerous than oblique solutions of continuity, the bone out of its place being less pointed, and so less liable to injure soft parts. Another practical remark which he offers, and which is verified by our own experience in the case of a sepoy at Dinapore with fractured thigh bone, is, that when the broken ends of the bone are much separated from their attachments, there is great difficulty in keeping them in direct apposition.

We are also reminded of the following case, by what Mr. Travers says of the difficulty sometimes experienced in detecting a transverse fracture when it is near a joint. It goes moreover to illustrate the advantage of applying common sense and general principles to individual cases. We were sent for from a distance of thirty miles, to see an old lady who had just met with a severe accident. We said to the gentleman who brought the express, "oh, she has broken the neck of the thigh bone;" our friend's reply was, "there are two medical men already with her, and neither of them can tell the nature of the accident." We could see we were thought a rash man for pronouncing a hasty judgment, nor when we reached, would either say what he thought the injury was. One of them had a high testimonial from Sir Astley Cooper, but was not in the service. Before we saw the case, we thought it very likely that an old lady meeting with a bad fall from off a wall, and having to be carried to her bed after it, had fractured the neck of the femur.

When we did see the case, there was shortening with eversion of the foot, and without much trouble we detected crepitus. The progress of this case was tedious, and a source of great anxiety; but the last fright we got about it was on seeing the old lady dancing a reel!

The varieties of comminuted fractures are clearly and plainly laid down; and the usual process of cure stated to be by the separation and discharge of pieces of bone, with suppuration. We recollect in our own practice, a very interesting case, where though a part of the humerus was minutely comminuted, a cure took place without any separation of bone. A party of sportsmen in the Nepaul forest had been firing at deer, hogs, &c.; on coming to the end of their beat, they found a man lying under a tree with a ball through his arm. The poor man was

sent to us for treatment ; we could feel the bullet lying on the humerus, which was minutely comminuted. The ball was fixed, and the parts painful and swollen. We applied a large poultice, and, after a free discharge of matter, succeeded in extracting the ball. The wound healed up without a bad symptom, because the periosteum had not been much injured, nor the pieces of the fractured bone been displaced.

Treating of compound fracture, Mr. Travers has well described the various lesions of the soft parts which enhance the danger of these formidable injuries,—incision, laceration, contusion, extravasation ;—but we must carry him on to the general principles of treatment he lays down ; and see how far they are suited to Indian practice, and how far they tally with our own experience. Mr. Travers, in the treatment of simple fracture, lays great stress upon the necessity of keeping the fracture undisturbed, by having the parts constantly bound up in splints, and by using direct pressure at the seat of fracture. The practice we have found most successful is, in the earliest stages, and until the usually occurring inflammation is subdued, to prevent motion, by fixing the joints above and below the injury, with splints laid along the limb. Above all, the remote extremity of the limb must be kept fixed and in symmetrical position, using cold lotions to the immediate seat of fracture, and as soon as there is no further risk of too high action, applying direct or immediate pressure. Gum or starch splinting, or plaster of Paris casting about the part, we do not think would answer in this country ; and common splints padded, or even those made after the native fashion, with slips of flat bamboo joined by strings, answer very well. To fix splints properly, we have found nothing answer so well as a bandage made by spreading mercurial plaster over a common roller. We cannot, from the result of our own experience, agree with Mr. Travers, that any harm occurs from undoing any apparatus applied to a fractured part, if care be taken to prevent motion by propping and by fixing the limb above and below the seat of injury. We have ourselves found great advantage from occasional re-adjustment of the splints, and have never met with a case of non-union.

We first became aware of the little injury done by undoing the dressings of fractured limbs, from having to report upon cases sent in to a Civil station from the interior. It was necessary, in a medico-legal point of view, to ascertain the exact injury, and we found no harm arise from it. The local and constitutional treatment of compound fractures involves points of the highest interest. Well has Mr. Travers observed, that

mere operative surgery is soon acquired, while what he calls medical surgery, or the rest of its practice, is the study of a life. Mechanical dexterity and good nerve are the essentials of the one ; keen close observation, resulting from experience and sound common sense and sagacity, are the requisites in the other. And, although it is true of the best practical and consulting surgeon, as of the poet, *nascitur non fit*,—we may, nevertheless, lay down plain and practical rules which may be found generally useful. Also, we may observe, that study and observation are required, as well as natural sagacity, to form a good surgeon.

The first question we have to deal with, in cases of compound fracture, is that of amputation, when the bones are much shattered, or the injury to the soft parts extensive. Are we to remove the injured limb, the first shock from the injury being got over, or are we to hope to save life and limb together? *A priori* we might take for granted that this was the time when a capital operation was most likely to be successful ; and Mr. Travers, though he does not say much on the subject, would seem to be an advocate for primary amputation ; nevertheless, there are many advocates for secondary amputation, and some of them give figures to prove its greater success. But mere figures require to be taken with caution, and with a full knowledge of all concomitant circumstances ; one reason for a high rate of mortality in primary amputation, undoubtedly is, that it is performed after the worst injuries, such as seem hopeless by any other means. It is, perhaps, correct to say, that in Military practice, where the wounded may have to be carried, primary amputation is to be preferred in all cases of serious injury ; while in Civil practice, we should be far more reluctant to remove a limb, if there seems to be even a chance of saving it. We have three chances to come and go upon : first, the limb may be finally preserved and become more or less useful ; second, we may amputate at what is called the intermediate time, that is, after the inflammation has ended in sloughing or extensive suppuration ; and, thirdly, if we find the constitution giving way, we may yet save life by removing the limb. When we do not operate, according to our experience in the treatment of compound fracture, and it has been pretty extensive, the great desiderata are, after setting, and removing sources of irritation, to fix the limb well distad and proximad to the injury, making also some extension above and below, by dressing the wound very lightly, applying cold water dressings, and by keeping down inflammation,—but without depletion, for we have to meet a long struggle.

We hear much of what natives bear in the shape of injury, how much better they recover from wounds than Europeans do, but this, like most general assertions, requires qualifications. There is less inflammatory action after injuries, but they bear the immediate shock of an injury badly, and they are far more apt to sink under sloughing and extensive discharges or separations of bone. Mr. Travers's remarks on the constitutional effects of fracture are well deserving of perusal; and we cordially agree in what he says of the use of opium, not used, as many use it, as a *dernier ressort*, when the symptoms are all but mortal, but in the earlier stages of all severe compound fractures. It "allays," says he, "the hyper-irritability of a flagging system by procuring sleep, and so inviting further a disposition to take food; and it is effectual in restraining the excess of a draining secretion going on in the part, where the injury is complicated with wound or abscess." We proceed next to

INJURIES OF THE HEAD.—The greatest of uninspired writers has drawn thought and philosophy from the supposition of the dust of Cæsar passing through a key-hole.

"Imperious Cæsar dead and turned to clay
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away."

What a subject would it have been for him to handle, that a great mind, yet dwelling in its organic tabernacle, may be quite dead to the external world, nay more, be unconscious alike of inward emotions as of external impressions. We shall suppose—and we hope there is no approach to *lèse majesté* in the supposition, that Mr. D'Israeli, after preparing all his strings of figures for his late Budget, and the cunning speech which introduced them, had, on his way to the House, received a blow on his head that depressed a small portion of the skull. He might have been carried into the house, the pulse and the breathing going on as usual, but all the workings of the intellect would, for the time, be stayed (and in this way men have lived on for months). No abominable customs; but, perhaps, a little snoring, not a very uncommon custom, we believe, among the selected wisdom of the nation; no excise, but the excision we shall presently subject him to; no pressure from direct taxation, save the direct pressure taxing his brain; but cut down upon and raise the little bit of depressed bone, and Benjamin is himself again, ready to convince you, that all the taxes he has been railing at for years, as unjust and unnecessary, cannot now be dispensed with!! On injuries of the head, Mr. Travers advocates the doctrine that it is good surgery to trepan, if the bone be depressed, although no symptoms of compression be existent. On this point of

practice, the profession would seem yet to be divided. Liston, a great authority on all practical questions, holds the view argued for by Mr. Travers. Mr. Fergusson only recommends the bone being raised or removed, in case of the wound admitting of it. It must be left an open question; for though the use of the trephine be neither difficult nor dangerous, there are numerous recorded cases, where a depressed bit of bone has not been succeeded by any mischief; perhaps to operate is the best course. The next thing that strikes us as new in this part of Mr. Travers's treatise, is his strong advocacy of the use of mercury in certain cases of injury of the head. In cases of blows on, and wounds of, the head, with or without fracture, and where there is neither laceration nor compression, but which are usually attended by symptoms of commotion, irritability of the brain and nervous system persists, and will run to congestion, inflammation and fatal effusion, unless in addition to local depletion, &c., we push mercury to salivation. Injuries of the head being exceedingly common over India, this part of Mr. Travers's work is highly worthy of attention, especially as we observe that mercury is fast going out of fashion; and yet, as Mr. Travers observes, from the use of what other medicine do we see lymph become absorbed in the eye?

There is a third point upon which Mr. Travers appears original in the treatment of head injury, and which we think deserving of notice. The matter may be stated in his own words, and may, besides its direct application, offer a hint to those who have to treat that formidable disease, the heat-apoplexy of the Indian European hospitals.

“ With regard to bleeding, abstraction of blood from the arm is, of course, at times indispensable; but often the slow oozing obtained by good leeches, is not only more effective, but by far the safer practice. This more gradual operation of the depleting agent tells with great effect upon cases where the reaction is disposed to be tardy or incomplete. Patients slowly open their eyes and recover consciousness, after trickling leech bleedings, who had been previously bled copiously from the arm without any evident good effect; and if the heart is too rapidly impressed by venesection *pleno rivo*, along with faintness, there supervenes increased congestion and fresh loading of the sinuses. The respiration, under such circumstances, becomes more and more impeded, or a fresh fit of violence comes on—excitement without power. Put by your lancet in such a case, or your patient will die if you persevere. Watch especially the venous circulation, where the

‘ pulse will bear the pressure of the finger ; order an application
 ‘ of six leeches to one or both temples ; (I have laid them on
 ‘ one by one) ; bathe the wounds so made, with hot water, and
 ‘ now look narrowly to the breathing, the countenance, and
 ‘ the pulse.”

OBSERVATIONS UPON PUNCTURE OF THE BLADDER.—Mr. Travers's object is to show, that there are cases of retention of urine, where it is better practice to perform the simple operation of puncturing the bladder than to cut into the perineum for the purpose of passing on a catheter. There is a very interesting and successful case given in illustration. We are able to deal with this question after some experience. We have punctured the bladder above the pubes, and found the operation itself simple and safe. The puncturing of the rectum we have seen done. It is simple when the prostate is not enlarged, but always requires a skilful direction of the instrument. Some years ago, a Bengal surgeon (Mr. Brander we think) proposed to puncture the bladder through the symphysis.

Twice in cases of retention, where we could not pass an instrument, we have cut into the perineum, and succeeded both times in getting a catheter into the bladder. In both cases the hæmorrhage was violent, and, in other respects, we found the operation formidable and difficult. In our humble opinion, Mr. Travers has fully proved his case here, though the occasional preference of puncture, leaving the urethra *in statu quo*, has not been sufficiently, if at all, recognized by Liston, Fergusson and other high authorities. Where the symptoms are immediate and urgent, with the powers of life prostrate, as in the case given by Mr. Travers, it is obvious that our surgical means cannot be too simple. A severe cutting operation cannot be borne, and even forcing a passage with the catheter will, probably, destroy life. We were once called into consultation in a similar case ; we decided to puncture the bladder by the rectum, which was done with great and immediate relief ; but the urethra had already given way in this case, and the patient died from sloughing, although free incisions were made. But Mr. Travers goes farther than this, and gives a letter from another surgeon, Mr. Cock, to prove that the practice may be extended even to old chronic cases of stricture, where the use of the catheter is difficult and painful. Such cases we have met with in our own practice, where the use of the catheter, though unavoidable for the purpose of drawing off the water, was throughout productive of great pain, and the event was death. It now suggests itself, whether puncture would not have been the

better practice. It would assuredly have given less pain, perhaps have averted the fatal issue. In practice, too, we have found, that the advice to leave the catheter in the bladder often cannot be acted upon. It frequently causes great pain and irritation, and at other times it is forced out. We are surprised at Mr. Travers warning surgeons against mistaking ascites for distended bladder. Surely the history of a case and the symptoms would suffice. We once met a case of retention, where, on passing the catheter, no urine escaped. There was evident fluctuation above the pubes. We plunged a trocar in, and an enormous quantity of urine escaped from the peritoneal cavity. This man lived so long, that it suggested to us at the time whether ascites might not be cured by injection. We now see this has been successfully done.

OTHER DISEASES OF THE URETHRA, STRICTURE, LITHOTOMY AND LITHOTRITY.—In the matter of stricture we come to immediate issue with Mr. Travers. He says:—"In spasmodic stricture instruments can never be advisable:" we know that their use sometimes deadens that irritability of the mucous membrane, upon which the spasmodic stricture is occasionally dependent, a different condition to the inflammatory and painful spasm, where instruments prove hurtful. Is it true, moreover, as Mr. Travers asserts, that a permanent stricture cannot be cured, only alleviated. If ever cured, they are certainly most apt to return; but if the morbid condition depends upon deposit, why should it not be removable by absorption? If stricture always be what Mr. Travers says it is, a permanent change of tissue, perhaps we must concede the point.

In a late debate in the House of Commons, when Lord John Russell argued, that no changes were necessary in the Government of India, because it is now better than that of Turkey (he might have thrown in France), and when Mr. Herries pointed out, or tried to do so, what has been done for India during the currency of the present Charter, one or both might well have alluded to the spread of medical education in India; and not only education, but the practical results of it, in giving to the people, and that too, now even in the interior of districts, the benefit of the medical knowledge and the surgical skill acquired by their countrymen.* Changed, indeed, is the state of things since the early days of our Indian experience, when the

* The present reviewer may well feel pride in thinking, that ere the Medical College had existence, he was among the first, if not indeed the very first, to advocate the extension of the benefits of medical skill to the people of India. On none of its acts can the British Government of India look with greater pride and gratification than on what in this respect it has done.

common dictates of humanity forced us to have a small dispensary of our own, and it was necessary to have a lithotomy staff and forceps made up by a common blacksmith! There are now dispensaries all over the country, supplied liberally with instruments and medicines. The results are highly honorable to Indian surgery, and, especially so, we believe, in the matter of lithotomy. Our readers will feel surprise when they learn that in the lately elected Bengali professor in the Calcutta College, Ramnarain Doss, there is the same individual, who, at Budaon, in the course of less than four years, performed two hundred operations for stone in the bladder. We are unable to state the exact results, but we know the success was great; and we can say, from having seen it, that the Babu is a very dexterous operator: nor is this a solitary instance. In many of the dispensaries, this and other important surgical operations are now being constantly performed by the European superintendents and sub-assistant surgeons. The statistics of Indian lithotomy must altogether be highly satisfactory; one reason for which we believe to be, that all the instruments are simple, and the gorget, blunt or cutting, is never used, as far as our knowledge goes. There is nothing new or requiring remark in what Mr. Travers has said on lithotomy. We too, have seen the operation done where no stone was found.

LITHOTRITY.—Mr. Travers does not say much in favour of stone crushing. To judge from our own limited experience in the matter, we are induced to think that it is no practical boon to humanity. It may be safely done by careful and dexterous manipulation, but the pain of frequent sittings and crushings, or drillings, must be fearful—an entire permanent cure always doubtful. In a few cases, where the urethra is wide, and the same patient happens to be nervous and timid, it may be advisable. Many years ago we tried Lestranger's instrument in the case of a seemingly healthy middle aged man. The mere passing of the instrument, for we did not succeed in seizing the stone, brought on very violent inflammation of the urethra. There was another man at the time in our little hospital, just recovering from the cutting operation; our present patient said "why don't you treat me in the same way?" We took him at his word, and he made a brilliant recovery. Later in the day we came nearer the actual performance of lithotritry, in a dispensary of which we had temporary charge; there was a young man with stone, who had a very wide urethra; a friend,—we wish we might name one so promising, indeed so distinguished already in the profession,—fixed the stone in

Lestrangle's instrument, but there was bleeding, and the scale gave so large a stone, that after some deliberation, it was resolved to perform the lateral operation. Well that it was so, we ourselves operated quickly, and in every respect successfully; but the man very nearly died, and we are quite sure that if we had tried to crush the stone, the result would have been fatal.

There are other subjects treated of by Mr. Travers, and they are well handled; but we must be content with just glancing at a few points suggested by the perusal of this part of his work; we mean the two concluding chapters, which treat of local inflammations and diseases of the joints. With reference to erysipelas, we are not aware that an attempt has ever been made to explain why, as an idiopathic disease, it is all but unknown in India; very rarely too is it seen to attack stumps or other wounds made in surgery, but we have seen that form of it in cases of even trifling wounds, where the cellular substance under the skin becomes infiltrated, and unless free incisions be made, will suppurate or even slough, the skin above being also destroyed. Mr. Travers advises that the incisions should not be too deep, for fear of too much bleeding. Carbuncle is a serious disease, and we do not seem to know yet why the destruction of so small a portion of a comparatively useless part of our organization should destroy life.

The two last kings of Lucknow have died of this disease,—symbolic of the state of the kingdom which they have left to be so shamefully misgoverned by its present ruler. There is plenty rotten material to be got rid of. Mr. Travers tells us, that in the physical carbuncle it is not well to cut too deep. In the moral one of Oude, we are persuaded that the boldest measures are required.

We offer as an interesting subject for discussion, the prevalence of boils in India in some seasons more than others, and the nature, causes and treatment of the Scinde and Hansi boils, which are so obstinate, and so evidently connected, in some way, with malarious deterioration of the blood.

On the diseases of joints, the Indian reader may, perhaps, feel surprise to find Mr. Travers an advocate for the use of mercury, and stating that it is especially well borne by the scrophulous; but for this and all his opinions, Mr. Travers offers us sound and deliberate reasoning, as well as cases in point. Certainly, we have ourselves never seen the repairing process go on in the human body so rapidly as under the use of mercury. The removal of deformity and loss of

movement by the fraena and contractions in burns, is the last subject to notice. Mr. Travers has lately seen wonderful cures by ingenious mechanical extension in preference to the old practice of excision. We cannot see why a quicker cure might not be effected by combining the two methods, as we have ourselves done,—excision first and then extension.

Having thus concluded our remarks upon Mr. Travers's valuable and practical treatise, we cannot but feel that their natural place would be in the pages of a Medical Journal—but where is it? This Presidency is full of professional talent, and the field for observing disease is absolutely without limit—all varieties of climate—Civil and Military hospitals without number—yet no place to record results, save the shelves of the Medical Board Office, where the white ants feed on them. Is it true that medicine is with us passing from a profession to a trade? Or is the cause of our Literary apathy to be found in the fact, that even the members of a scientific body now only reap reward for the performance of military services? These services in the field, be it observed, are seldom voluntary. With him who engages in the difficult campaigns of professional study, the case is different. But if there be no reward, there is a victory; for as one of the greatest of conquerors said, the greatest of all victories, and those which leave no regret, are those which we obtain over ignorance.

ART. VIII.—*Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords, appointed to enquire into the operation of the Act III. and IV. William 4, chapter 85, for the better Government of Her Majesty's Indian Territories, and to report their observations thereon to the House; and to whom were referred the petitions of G. J. Gordon, respecting education in India, and of C. H. Cameron, respecting the establishment of universities in India; and to whom were also referred several papers and documents relative to the subject-matter of the enquiry; together with the Minutes of Evidence, and an Appendix and Index thereto. Ordered to be printed on the 29th of June, 1852.*

THE Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons not having reached India, at this time of writing, we need hardly say, that the volume now before us, is the most important that has come within the scope of our criticism, since the first establishment of this *Review*. We have read it with the strongest feelings of interest, and not without some emotions of pride. When some nine years ago we, who now write, drew up the prefatory "advertisement" contained in the first number of the *Review*, we said: "We desire to apply this work to the purposes of a vast commission, in the records of which will be found a greater mass of information—of information, which at such an epoch as this, it is desirable, above all things, widely to disseminate among Englishmen—than in any single work extant." And now, in looking back upon what we have done, and comparing the result of our labors, not only with the performances, but the promises of the Committee of the House of Lords (and, doubtless, we shall, in due course, be enabled to express a like measure of self-congratulation with reference to the Report of the other House), we cannot but perceive that we have played the part of Commissioners with good effect, and have left no important subject of enquiry uninvestigated in these pages.

The Committee of the House of Lords, in this initial Report, state, that they have resolved to divide the important subject referred to them under the following heads:—

1st. The authorities and agencies for administering the Government of India at Home and in India, respectively.

2nd. The income and expenditure of the British Indian empire, showing the produce of the territorial revenues, and of all other sources of income, and the modes of assessing and levying each, in the respective Presidencies and districts; also the progress of trade and navigation in India.

3rd. The military and naval establishments of India—character, extent, and cost.

4th. The judicial establishments of British India, European and native; the modes of administering justice, civil and criminal, and the working of the system, as exhibited by tables of trials, appeals, and decisions.

5th. The measures adopted, and the institutions established and endowed for the promotion of education in India.

6th. Works of local improvement executed, in progress, and now under consideration.

7th. Ecclesiastical provision for the diffusion of Christian spiritual instruction.

8th. Miscellaneous topics of enquiry.

We do not think that we have failed to make repeated investigations into any one of the topics here specifically enumerated; and it will be admitted that, in the “miscellaneous” department, we have pushed our enquiries without stint. We may add, too, that in many cases the opinions expressed, if the names of the respective writers had been appended to them, would have carried scarcely less weight than those openly and authoritatively enunciated by the able and distinguished men examined in the Committee Rooms of the two houses.

But, although we hope that, in such a juncture as this—at the threshold of our examination of the great parliamentary enquiry into the present condition of India—this brief self-gratulating retrospect may be deemed natural and excusable, we do not intend that it should detain us any longer at the gate. We would transport ourselves at once, from the little room on the banks of the Hooghly, in which the idea of this Journal first took shape and consistency, to the spacious chamber on the banks of the Thames, in which certain members of the House of Peers assembled last spring, for the purpose of examining certain gentlemen supposed to be experienced in Indian affairs. And in doing so, with the reader for our companion, we would first direct his attention to the classification of subjects given above; and remind him, that it is only in relation to the first head of enquiry that the Committee profess to have examined the witnesses summoned before them. It is only in the nature of such investigations—investigations, in the course of which any member of a numerous Committee is competent to put any question to a witness—that more or less discursiveness should obtain. The latter half of the examination, for instance, of Sir George Clerk, in the present volume, interesting and important though it be, is, in relation to the subject immediately under consideration, a specimen of

discursiveness easily to be accounted for by the natural desire of one of the members of the Committee, to make out that the annexation of Scinde has not been the grievous failure which it is generally supposed to be. But with due allowance for these almost inevitable deviations, the first Report of the House of Lords exhibits little more than an enquiry into "the authorities and agencies for administering the Government of India, at home and in India respectively."*

The Committee seems to have assembled on fourteen different days, ranging between the 3rd of May and the 26th of June inclusive. The witnesses examined were Mr. J. C. Melvill, Secretary to the East India Company; Sir Herbert Maddock, late Member of the Supreme Council, and Deputy Governor of Bengal; Mr. Wilberforce Bird, ditto ditto; Mr. Frederick Millett, late Member of the Indian Law Commission, and of the Supreme Council of India; Sir George Russel Clerk, late Governor of Bombay; Mr C. H. Cameron, late Member of the Indian Law Commission, and Legislative Member of the Supreme Council; Mr. T. C. Robertson, late Lieutenant-Governor of the N. W. Provinces; Mr. L. R. Reid, late Member of Council at Bombay; Mr. J. M. Macleod, late Member of the Indian Law Commission; Mr. R. K. Pringle, late of the Bombay Secretariat; Mr. J. S. Mill, Assistant Examiner in the India House (Political Department), and Mr. D. Hill, in the Judicial Department of the same office.

Looking at it as a whole, the evidence is extremely creditable both to the India House Officials, and the retired Civilians, whose names we have above transcribed. Indeed, the amount of intelligence here exhibited is, in itself, no insignificant testimony to the efficiency, if not of the administrative system, at least of the administrative body; and we should be wanting in candour, if we were to refuse to admit, that the latter, in this, as in all similar cases, is a close reflexion of the former. No system, inherently vicious, could have produced such a growth of able Administrators as have graced the Company's service. Nor, if the system had been vicious, and all this intelligence and integrity had been developed in spite of it, would such men have been among the most earnest of its upholders.

We do not propose to examine *seriatim*, the evidence of the different witnesses contained in this Report; but rather to select one or two especial topics for illustration, and to cite such passages as immediately bear upon them. We must remark,

* It would seem, however, that the idea of this methodical investigation did not occur to the Committee at starting, for on the first day they addressed themselves wholly to the subject of finance.

however, *in limine*, that it is pleasant to find that we start from the same common point as the witnesses now before us, and are working towards the same end. When Mr. Melvill, the very able Chief-secretary of the Company, says, "I think the great object of any constituent body for the election of Directors is to provide as good an instrument as possible for the Government of India, and for the promotion of the happiness of the people of that country," we feel at once that we understand each other, and that though we may differ on some minor points, there is little chance of our falling out by the way. Mr. Mill, too, is equally clear upon this point. Indeed, he is one of the last men living to put forward any thing but the *maxima felicitas* of the people of India, as the great end of our Government of the country. He admits, that it is in the very nature of things that our Government should fall short of this great end; but he thinks that we have attained an approximation to it, which could not be reached under any other system.

"It is next to impossible," he says, "to form in one country an organ of Government for another, which shall have a strong interest in good government; but if that cannot be done, the next best thing is to form a body with the least possible interest in bad government; and, I conceive, that the present governing bodies in this country, for the affairs of India, have as little sinister interest of any kind as any Government in the world."

In this we readily concur; but when Mr. Mill proceeds to state more in detail what he conceives to be the chief causes of our success, we cannot quite endorse all his premises.

"The present constitution of the Government of India," he says, "has been very much the growth of accident, and has worked well in consequence of things which were not foreseen, and were not in the contemplation of those who established it; in a great measure, from causes not provided for in the received theories of Government. So much of the good working of the present Government, being the result of accident,—accident would, probably, have a great share in determining the operation of any new system which might be substituted for it; but it would be necessary to keep in view, in any alteration, the circumstances, so far as they can be assigned, which have been the causes of the beneficial working hitherto. Among the first of those seems to me to be, that those who are sent to administer the affairs of India, are not sent to any particular appointment; they go out merely as candidates; they go out when young, and go through the

' necessary preparation in subordinate functions, before they
 ' can arrive at the higher ones. That seems to me the first es-
 ' sential requisite for the good Government of India. A
 ' second great advantage of the present system is, that those
 ' who are sent out as candidates to rise by degrees to the
 ' higher offices, are generally unconnected with the influential
 ' classes in this country, and out of range of parliamentary
 ' influence. The consequence is, that those who have the dis-
 ' posal of offices in India, have little or no motive to put unfit
 ' persons into important situations, or to permit unjustifiable
 ' acts to be done by them. Any change in the Government
 ' of India, which would bring the appointments of the Indian
 ' officers into the ordinary channels of political or party influ-
 ' ence would, I think, take away one of the chief causes of
 ' whatever is beneficial in the present working of the Govern-
 ' ment of India."

We think that the assertion here put forth, to the effect that
 those who come out to hold office in this country, are uncon-
 nected with the influential classes at home, must be taken with
 some qualification. For, although, doubtless, the appointments
 do not pass through "the ordinary channels of political or
 party influence," there is sufficient connexion between the reci-
 pients of India House Patronage, and influential parties, both
 here and at home, to have a sensible effect, directly or indi-
 rectly, upon the distribution of Indian patronage. Indeed,
 another witness (Mr. Reid) gives, as the results of his own ex-
 perience, testimony to a very different effect :—

" 2733. Are not, to a certain extent, the Civil Servants
 ' very much composed of friends and connexions and clients of
 ' the Governors at home ?

" To a certain extent they are.

" 2734. Therefore, to a certain extent, the Government are
 ' personally interested in the advancement of those persons ?

" Yes, and sometimes, perhaps, in defending them, when
 ' they ought not to be defended.

" 2735. Is there not a dead weight of incompetency in the
 ' Civil Service ?

" There is a dead weight of incompetency, but one that
 ' could easily be got rid of, by means of which advantage
 ' might be taken to a much greater extent than is the case at
 ' present. Every Civilian, who has served twenty-five years,
 ' is entitled to a pension of £1,000 a year; if a servant so
 ' entitled, be not fully competent for his work, I think the Go-
 ' vernment ought to require him to take his pension and retire."

This relates to the Bombay Presidency, and, doubtless, the

personal connexion existing between the Company's servants and the Governors, is greater in the minor Presidencies than at the seat of the Supreme Government; but even the Governor General of India has often connexions in the services, and, at all events, may be wrought upon by the aristocratical influences of friends at home. A considerable number of those who come out to India in the services, are sufficiently connected with the influential classes at home, to be able to find some link of connexion between themselves and our Local Governors. When found, it may be of no use to them. That depends upon circumstances. But that there are in this country, as in every other, men who owe their professional advancement mainly to their influential friends, is not to be denied. Still the independence of the Governors is infinitely greater than it could ever be under a system, which rendered the diffusion of the initial patronage a matter of political contingency. If the appointments were previously bestowed by the ministry of the day, it would be difficult to conceive the extent to which the evil, glanced at in Mr. Reid's evidence, would extend. The present system has reduced the evil pretty nearly to a *minimum*; under *any* system it must exist. It is only under Utopian Governments that "interest" is a dead letter.

But we have so fully, in a former paper, examined the whole question of India House patronage, that almost everything on this subject, which the *Blue Book* before us suggests, and much of the information it contains, has already been anticipated. The subjects to which we propose, chiefly, to confine ourselves in the present article are, *firstly*, the machinery and powers of the Home Government, especially with regard to the relations subsisting between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control; *secondly*, the employment of natives in the Indian Administration; and, *thirdly*, the character of the local press, and the asserted antagonism between it and the Government of the country. Other important topics of enquiry will come before us, when the Commons' Report reaches us, and they shall meet with due consideration.

Entering upon the subject of the Home Government, and the connexion existing between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, we cannot do better than preface our enquiries with the following comprehensive extract from the evidence of Sir Herbert Maddock—for it not only explains the existing system, but glances at some of its defects:—

"2179. Are you aware of any defects in its working, that you wish to state to the Committee?"

“ From what I have been able to understand of the system, and the working of the Home Government of India, nominally under the Directors of the East India Company, but virtually subject, in all respects, to the control of the India Board, it has appeared to me, that the system might be usefully modified, so as to simplify the transaction of business, without prejudice to the authority of the Board of Control, or injuriously diminishing its responsibility. As the Government is at present constituted, all the business in all departments connected with the civil and military administration of India, is supposed to be conducted by the Directors of the East India Company; and all matters of a political nature are supposed to be managed by a Select Committee of the Court of Directors; but in reality, the Court of Directors are unable to issue any order of their own, which has not the previous sanction and confirmation of the President of the Board of Control; and they are under an obligation to issue any orders, whether according to their own judgment, or contrary to their own judgment, which may be dictated to them by the Board of Control; and, though the correspondence with Indian Governments on subjects of a political nature, and touching peace and war, is all carried on in the name of the Secret Committee, the members of that Committee are, in fact, only the organs of that member of the cabinet, who is held responsible to parliament for the administration of India. It has only lately, I believe, been popularly understood, that such is the real state of the powers apparently exercised by the Court of Directors and their Secret Committee; and it has struck me, that if any important alteration is made in the present footing which exists between the authorities of the Board of Control and the Court of Directors, the political correspondence with India might, as well, be carried on directly in the name of the President of the Board of Control, either through or not through the Secret Committee. And I think that with regard to all the ordinary business of the administration of India, more might be left to the discretion of the Court of Directors, independently of the control of the Board of Control. Supposing them to be precluded, as at present, from deciding on any question of importance, or introducing any new principle or organic changes of system without previous reference to the Board of Control, and that all their proceedings are constantly open to the supervision of the Board, and, if necessary, that abstracts of all their proceedings are periodically submitted to the Board, there can be no advantage, that I can perceive, in attempting further to

‘ control the Court’s authority over the Civil Administration of India.

“2180. Is there not this advantage in the present system, on the supposition, that the persons forming the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, are really acquainted with the affairs of India, that in the event of the President of the Board of Control directing them to send a letter in a certain sense to India, if they differ from his views, they have an opportunity of remonstrating and stating why that letter should not be issued; whereas, if there were no Secret Committee, it would be necessary for the Board of Control to send them the intended letter, and there would be no opportunity of obtaining a second opinion with respect to the propriety of issuing it?

“I did not propose to abolish the Secret Committee or its intervention; and as to a limitation of the interference of the Board of Control, I alluded only to matters of detail in the administration, in which I thought it would be unnecessary that the Board of Control should ordinarily exercise any interference.

“2181. Would there not be great difficulty in drawing a line of demarcation between those matters that were important, and those that were not?

“I should think not; and I have been informed that, in fact, there have been instances where the President of the Board of Control has, of his own authority, exempted the Court of Directors from submitting some branches of their business and some of their orders to him for confirmation.

“2182. Supposing the persons in the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, at the time when the letter was issued through them to India, approving of the intentions of Lord Auckland to prosecute the war in Afghanistan, had entertained objections to the intended operation, and had stated those objections, is it not possible that the statement of those objections might have tended very much to alter the views entertained by the Board of Control?

“Certainly; but the alterations which I have ventured to suggest do not go the length of supposing that the President of the Board of Control would not have the assistance of the advice of the members of the Secret Committee of the Directors.

“2183. In what way do you propose that he should advise with them, if not by sending to them the letters which he proposes to transmit to India?

“It appears to me, that virtually the members of the Secret

‘ Committee become the colleagues and co-adjutors of the President of the Board of Control, in carrying out his views, and in advising him upon the subject.

“2184. Does not the origination of measures rest with the Court of Directors?

“By law it would appear, that every act, political and administrative, in India, proceeds from the Court of Directors. Every thing is done in the name of the Court of Directors; treaties are made, and war is declared in the name of the Court of Directors, and the Court of Directors are as ignorant of the transactions as any private individual can be. What I meant to hint was, that the present form of the Government of India, by the Court of Directors, is a fiction, and I wished simply to suggest the possibility of getting rid of that fiction, and substituting some form which is more consistent with the fact.

“2185. Is it a pure fiction at present; practically, does not the opinion of the members of the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors exercise considerable influence over the despatches upon diplomatic and political matters in India?

“They are the authors of them; we only know that the despatches are signed by them, but I alluded rather to the Court of Directors. I wished to point out the fiction, that every thing in India is done in the name of the Court of Directors. The Court of Directors are held responsible in public opinion for every act of the Government proceeding from the Home authorities; whereas, in all questions, important and unimportant, of a political nature, the Court of Directors are actually ignorant of the correspondence on the subject, and have nothing whatever to say to the Government of India in that respect.”

We pause here, desiring to make a few observations on the weighty matters touched on in these passages of Sir Herbert Maddock's evidence. If we understand Sir Herbert aright, the drift of the above remarks is to show that the power of the Court of Directors, in respect of ordinary matters of internal administration, should be increased, but that in regard to our external relations, to matters connected with “peace or war,” in short to all political (*anglice*, diplomatic) affairs, the authority of the Board of Controul should be more open and direct—more absolute it can hardly be. The whole subject of India House administration is embraced in these important considerations. Let us take the two questions in order—dwelling, first, upon the *general* business of the Court of

Directors; and, then, upon that which belongs to the Secret Committee of the said Court.

It is essential to a right understanding of the matter, that both the law and the practice of this double system of Government should be clearly stated. And we do not know that we could do this in any better way than by citing the following passage from the very lucid evidence of Mr. Melvill:—

“ 187. What is the law with respect to despatches to India?

“ The Court of Directors having transmitted to the Board of Commissioners a draft of the proposed despatch to India, the Board of Commissioners are required, within two months, to return it, either approved or altered; and if altered, to state their reasons at large for the alteration.

“ 188. Each alteration?

“ For each alteration. The Court of Directors then take into consideration those alterations, and as I have before stated, fourteen days is allowed to them to remonstrate, if they think fit, against the alterations. The Board of Commissioners, after receiving the remonstrance, give the final orders; and the Court of Directors are then required to despatch the letter to India. In the event of the Court of Directors, in the opinion of the Board, neglecting any subject, or the Board seeing occasion to treat any subject connected with India, which the Court of Directors have not brought before them, the Board may write to the Court, and call their attention to the circumstance, and desire them to prepare a despatch. If the Court of Directors fail to prepare such a despatch within fourteen days, then the Board of Commissioners may themselves write a despatch and send it to the Court to be transmitted to India. This is the only case in which the Board of Commissioners have the initiative with respect to despatches to India.

“ 189. Having stated what the law is, will you now state what is the practice?

“ The practice is for the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, in the first instance, to prepare a draft of a despatch, and to send it in what is called ‘previous communication’ to the President of the Board; and the President of the Board, in due time, returns that previous communication, with his observations upon it. The Chairman and Deputy Chairman then either adopt the alterations wholly or partially, or reject them; and in the state in which they finally approve the draft, it is submitted to the Committee to which it belongs. The Committee alter it, if they think fit, and send it to the Court of Directors; the Court of Directors then consider it,

‘ and after they have approved it, it goes to the Board officially; and then the Board deal with it in the manner which I have explained.”

“In the manner explained”—that is, the Board of Control return the draft so prepared by the Court of Directors, either approved or altered, before the expiration of two months from the date of its receipt.

The Board of Control may alter the Court's despatches to any extent—their alterations may extend to the introduction of new matter, entirely at variance with the sentiments of the Court. There is no limit to the Board's power of revision. The Court initiate every measure connected with the domestic administration of the country. But the Board may cancel what they like in the Court's despatches, and introduce any fresh paragraphs of their own. The despatch, in point of fact, may be returned to the Court, like the school-boy's knife, with a new blade and a new handle, or like the Scotchman's gun, with a new stock, a new lock, and a new barrel, without a passage of the original document remaining, or a glimpse of its original spirit to be caught.

But it may be said that, although legally this may happen, practically it is never the case. But practically it is sometimes the case. We mean that the Court's draft-despatches, on matters of purely civil administration, have been returned to the Court so altered—so many passages erased, and so many new ones inserted—as to convey altogether a distinct meaning from that contained in the original—a reversal, indeed, of the declared sentiments of the Court.

It might be supposed, for example, that on matters affecting the governance of their own servants, the Company might be allowed to carry out their own views, and to express their own opinions, without the interference of the Board of Control. But even here the Board have stepped in, and so revised the draft-despatches of the Court, as to make them convey sentiments the very reverse of those entertained by the Directors themselves. It is known, that on the subject of Lord William Bentinck's measures for the supervision and control of the Civil Service, as set forth in his minute of the 15th of January, 1834, the Court of Directors were at variance with the Local Government; and, subsequently, (in 1836) directed the discontinuance of the system introduced by the late Governor-General. The draft-despatch ordering this discontinuance was, in due form, forwarded to the Board of Control, and the Board adopted the suggestion. But whilst concurring in opinion with the Court, that the measures adopted by Lord

William Bentinck were ill-suited to the object in view, and therefore advising their discontinuance, the Board made such free use of the emendatory power, that when the despatch was returned to the Court, it was found to contain certain general reflections on the character and conduct of the Civil Service, utterly at variance with the sentiments of the Directors, and extremely distasteful to them; whilst almost everything that the Court had written in favor of the existing system had been carefully erased. The Court of Directors thus stood committed to a vague general condemnation of their own servants, which they believed to be essentially unjust. They had, at all events, experience on their side. They knew the character of the Civil Service far better than the Board of Control could possibly know it; and they were far more likely to be right. Yet, although the despatch was to bear the names of the Directors, and was to contain reflections, in their names, on the character of their own servants, they were compelled to pass a resolution adopting the despatch, to sign it, and to forward it to India. They had the power of recording a remonstrance; and *did* record it. But, however consolatory this may have been to their feelings at the time, such protests are mere moonshine, and have no practical effects.

But we have not stated the whole case. In the draft-despatch, of which we are speaking, the Board of Control introduced a specific plan for the supervision, by the Revenue Commissioners, of "the whole of the Judicial Department." The scheme was altogether preposterous and impracticable, and had its origin only in an entire ignorance of the working of the judicial system of the country. But the Court had no alternative but to adopt the suggestion, to sign the despatch, and to leave the project to take its chance of falling to the ground under the pressure of its own impossibility.

But a still more striking instance of the Board's interference in details of domestic administration, elicited a strong remonstrance from the Court, a little later in the same year. Many of our readers remember the proceedings in Purneah, in connection with the case of Mr. Charles Reid. Charges were brought against certain members of the Civil Service, and were transmitted, through the regular channel, to the authorities at Home. The Board of Control took up the case, not only with much earnestness, but much acrimony, and resolved on the condemnation and punishment of the accused civilians. A despatch was accordingly sent up to the Court for signature, full of detailed assertions and imputations, unsupported either by proof or by fair inference, and urging the punishment of three

members of the Civil Service, upon charges from which they had never had an opportunity of exculpating themselves. The civilians in question may, or may not, have deserved punishment; but the Court had no information before them sufficient to justify even condemnation; and, accordingly, a powerfully worded remonstrance was recorded against the arbitrary proceedings of the Board. But although the Court has power to remonstrate, it has no power to prevent the despatch of letters containing matter of which its members utterly disapprove. All that the Directors can do, in such cases, is to protest and submit.

We have cited these particular instances, because they relate entirely to those detailed matters of civil administration, questions affecting the character and conduct of the members of the Service, either as a class or as individuals, of which the Directors may be supposed to be especially cognizant, and with which any interference on the part of the Board is especially uncalled-for, vexatious and injurious. In these cases, it appears to us, that the Board exceeded the powers intended by the Legislature, if they did not (as is, by no means, clear) actually exceed the powers prescribed by the letter of the law. For they either originated the despatches, or introduced into them such new matter as in effect constituted an original despatch, and, in the former of the two instances, struck out a large quantity of important matter from the Court's draft, without assigning any reasons for the alterations; although it appears from Mr. Melvill's evidence, that the Commissioners are bound to afford a reason for every alteration they make. It is clearly not the intent of the Legislative enactment defining the powers of the Board of Control, that they should originate instructions to the Local Governments, on matters of internal administration, in opposition to the wishes and opinions of the Court of Directors. The act allows the Court of Directors a fortnight to come to a decision on the emendations of the Board of Control. But the Board of Control are allowed two months to decide upon the suggestions of the Court of Directors. The inference is that the emanations of the Court are supposed to be original propositions, calling for matured consideration, whilst those of the Board are no more than slight amendments upon the Court's propositions, demanding no deliberate consultations—no protracted enquiries into their merits. It is very certain, at all events, that if the Board are to originate instructions, on matters of domestic administration, a fortnight is not sufficient time for the Court to bestow upon them their final consideration. It was not, it appears to us, the intention of the Legislature, that the Board should be as absolute in the domestic Government

of India as they are in matters of foreign policy. It would be desirable, therefore, in the new act, to define more clearly the extent to which the interference of the Board in the general internal government of India may be carried. It is our own deliberate conviction, that their powers should be greatly restricted. On all subjects of internal administration, the Court of Directors, consisting as it does, for the most part, of very able members of the Indian executive, are infinitely more competent to form correct opinions and mature just decisions, than the Board of Control, no one working member of which has probably any Indian experience at all. There may,—as in the case of Mr. John Elliot, an old Bengal civilian, who was one of the Joint Secretaries under the Russel administration,—be exceptions to this rule: but in the Court of Directors there are a dozen retired civilians, so even the exceptional case does not carry much weight.

On political questions, however—questions of “peace and war” (we now come to the second point of enquiry)—there may be better grounds for the interference of the Board of Control. Here the Court of Directors, as a body, have no power. The chairman, the deputy-chairman, and the senior member of the Court constitute the Secret Committee, and father the despatches which are originated by the Board of Control. The members of the Secret Committee, or rather the chairman, may sometimes offer suggestions, and doubtless opinions are in this way quietly insinuated: but beyond such insinuations the power of the Leadenhall Street body does not extend. The Secret Committee is, in effect, only a mask. Behind it the Ministry of the day go masquerading as conquerors and spoliators; and, without any compunction, pick John Company’s pocket. They treat John Company, indeed, very much as *Autolycus* treats the *Clown* in the *Winter’s Tale*:—they get him to help them out of the mire, when they are embroiled in difficulties, and take advantage of the assistance he is rendering them, quietly to pick his pockets:—

Autolycus. O, help me, help me... .. I am robbed, sir, and beaten; my money and apparel ta’en from me, and these detestable things put upon me.....

Clown..... Lend me thy hand, I’ll help thee—come, lend me thy hand (*helping him up.*)

Autolycus. O! good sir; tenderly—oh!

Clown. Alas, poor soul!

Autolycus. O, good sir—softly, good sir: I fear, sir, my shoulder blade is out:

Clown. How, now; can’t stand?

Autolycus. Softly, dear sir (*picks his pocket.*) Good sir, softly—you ha’ done me a charitable office.

Now, we put it to any one who has any knowledge of the manner in which the Afghan war was made and *paid for*, whether the conduct of the Queen's Government, in this case, is not very exactly represented by that of the rogue in the play. They pretended to get into some foolish scrape in Persia. They were robbed and beaten, or otherwise ill-treated, they said, in the person of a messenger, somewhere in the Persian dominions. They quarrelled with Persia, found themselves in a difficulty, and called upon the Company to help them. The Company lent a helping hand. Behind the mask of the Secret Committee, the Foreign Secretary and the President of the Board of Control then made war upon Afghanistan, to help them through their Persian difficulties; and whilst John Company was thus lifting them out of the mire, they deliberately picked his pocket. Sir John Hobhouse publicly declared that the Afghan war was made by himself, and yet the East India Company have been compelled to pay all the expenses. The Company have never foregone their claim upon the Home Government for a portion of these expenses; and we believe that they keep up a fiction of periodically requesting payment. A certain amount, due from the Home Government on account of the Afghan war, is entered among the assets of the Company. But it is known to be a bad debt, quite as irrecoverable as many of the sums due to the unfortunate Union Bank.

Sir Herbert Maddock says, that the Secret Committee is itself a mere fiction. And so in one sense it is. But in another, it is any thing but a fiction, for a fiction does not pay millions of money. The Secret Committee is the Court of Directors, or not the Court of Directors, just as the Crown Ministers choose to make it. The despatches are signed by three members of the Court, and are dated from the India House. Still the existence of the Leadenhall Street element is ignored when the ministerial body desire to claim credit for anything that has been done by the Secret Committee. There is a curious instance of this afforded in a "note" appended to the last number of the *Quarterly Review*, which has reached this country. The reviewer, in an article on *Kaye's War in Afghanistan*, contained in the previous number, had claimed credit for the Court of Directors, on the score of certain letters of 1840-41, quoted in the work, suggesting the expediency of abandoning the ruinous occupation of Afghanistan. These remarks seem to have excited the anger of a certain "statesman," whom we may fairly assume to be Lord Broughton, a "statesman" who, as Sir John Hobhouse, was President of the Board of Control, when these letters were written ;

and the editor of the *Review* was accordingly "honored" (think of the *Quarterly Review* being "honored" by the receipt of a letter from that John Cam Hobhouse, whom it had aforetime tarred-and-feathered so remorselessly!) setting forth, that as the said letters emanated from the Secret Committee, and were therefore originated by the Board of Control, it was incorrect to speak of them as the work of the Court of Directors. The members of the Secret Committee have nothing to do but sign the despatches. Although their names are appended to them, they must not claim credit for any good that is done under their name. They are only permitted to suffer. Suffering is the badge of their tribe. Their names are used and their purses are used. But beyond this, they have no material existence. The Court of Directors only make "war or peace," when the expenses are to be paid. *Then* they are a reality—a substantial reality. At all other times they are a mere fiction—*nominis umbra*: the shadow of a name.

Whether history has, or has not, any right to treat of despatches dated from the India House, and signed by three members of the Court of Directors (including the two chairs or representatives of the Court) as the despatches of the Court of Directors, we shall not now pause to enquire. But we think it time that an effort should be made to render this form of double Government something more than a mere sham. It is not enough, in our opinion, that the names of certain members of the Court should be used, for no other practical purpose than to commit the Company to a legal participation in measures, of which perhaps they may not approve, and so compel them to pay the expenses. If the design be merely to fix upon the Company certain pecuniary responsibilities, let the fraud cease at once, and the real nature of such transactions be clearly revealed. Let it be known that the Queen's Ministers make war in India, and compel the Company—or rather the people of India—to pay for them. We would make the power of the Court in the war department a reality, because we know, that if it were so, there would be less chance of India being entangled in costly and disastrous wars beyond the frontier. But if this cannot be done—if ministerial jealousy determine to keep all the real diplomatic power in the hands of the Crown officers—we agree with Sir Herbert Maddock in thinking, that it would be better that things should be called by their right names, and the exploits of the Board of Control be openly blazoned as such. There would be something then to control the Board of Control;—*self-control*, when a Hobhouse is at its head, not being one of its virtues. It would, at all events, if things were done in its own name, be responsible

to public opinion, which it is not, whilst it goes masquerading about in the guise of a "Secret Committee of the Court of Directors." We do not mean, in any view of the case, that despatches emanating from the Board of Control should be sent out to India without the cognizance of the Secret Committee, but that, if they are really the despatches of the Board, they should be dated from Canon Row, and should bear the President's name. The power of issuing orders, absolutely and uncontrolled, in other men's names, appears to us to be a very dangerous power; but apart from this, we hold it to be extremely desirable that the people of England and India should know how the latter country is governed. They have been mystified and deluded enough already by masks and disguises. We would make the power of the Directors in the Secret Committee a real operative power; but if we cannot do that, the next best change would be to call things by their right names. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, we cannot advocate the perpetuation of shams.*

The general tendency of the evidence, already given before the Lords' Committee, is in favour of an extension of the powers of the Court of Directors. It has been seen, that the Directors have no political (diplomatic) powers, and that their administrative powers are liable to be restricted, even in matters relating to the internal management of their own services. To limit their power still further, or even to leave them as they are, and at the same time to deprive them of the power which they now enjoy, and have exercised, of recalling an obnoxious Governor, would be to reduce them to a mere

* Whilst this paper is ready for the Press, the Commons' Blue Book has reached us, and in it we find a passage—it is part of Lord Hardinge's clear and sensible evidence—so illustrative of this part of our subject, that we cannot forbear from quoting it:—

"2384.—*Chairman.* Is your Lordship prepared to give any answer to the latter part of my question, which was, whether you would recommend any change in the relation which exists between the Board of Control and the Court of Directors?

"I do not know that I would propose any change, but at present it is a mystery not understood by the public, why the Board of Control should give an order to the Secret Committee. I believe, it is not quite clear, whether the Secret Committee can, or cannot, resist any such order, but I think it might be made more clear, so as to prevent any collision for the future. I recollect an instance, in which an officer of very high position and ability in India, had written a letter to the President of the Board of Control, in which he had, in somewhat indignant terms, complained of the Secret Committee: the letter which had come out to him being signed by the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman: this officer felt amazed, and wrote his letter to the President of the Board of Control. When I heard of it, I wrote to him:—'I hope you have not sent the letter, for, though the order was signed by the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman, it in fact came from the President of the Board of Control,' with whom this officer was on friendly terms. This officer did not understand the mystery of the President of the Board of Control being in fact the Secret Committee; it is, however, a convenient arrangement."

It is doubtless, "very convenient" to the President of the Board of Control to write letters under other people's names,—and to use their cheque-book at discretion.

name. And why a governing body, consisting mainly of able and experienced men, thoroughly acquainted with all the matters brought under their review, should be reduced to this state of nullity, it is not very easy to determine. That an attempt would be made to prove, that the power vested in the Court of Directors, of recalling a Governor-General, is a dangerous weapon in their hands, and that it is necessary to good government that the Company should no longer exercise such a prerogative, was something more than conjectured. We are not, therefore, surprised to find that some of the witnesses before the Lords' Committee were questioned closely on this head—nor are we surprised to find that the balance of evidence is in favor of the continuance—in the hands of the Directors—of the right of recall.

Sir George Clerk was very explicit on the subject. There was no beating about the bush. He went direct to the point:—

“1771. If the nomination and appointment of the Governor-General necessarily requires that he should possess the confidence both of the Court of Directors and that of the Crown, is it your opinion that each separately should have the power of recall?”

“I think that there should be the power of recall—whether separately or not, is another question. I take it for granted, that the power of recall rests with the Crown itself; and with regard to the Court of Directors, I should think, if that body is to exist, it ought, in order to render it efficient, to have also the power of recalling the Governor-General.

“1772. Ought the Court of Directors to have that power separately or jointly with the consent of the Crown?”

“I think the Court of Directors ought itself to have that power; because, in looking at the Government of India, the Court of Directors is the only body well known there, and to them is ascribed the merit of any good measures for the administration of India; and on the other hand, it is the authority which is blamed for everything which is considered unsuitable to the institutions or the Government of India.”

The evidence of Mr. Reid is equally direct:—

“2642. The Court of Directors has the power of recalling all its servants from India, from the highest to the lowest?”

“Yes.

“2643. Including not only the Governors of Bombay and Madras, but the Governor-General of India?”

“I believe so.

“2644. Have you considered the question, whether you

' would think it important, that in any renewal of the Charter Act, the Court of Directors should retain that power ?

" I have considered it, and I think that the power ought to be retained ; I think it is very necessary to uphold the powers of the Court of Directors, who really possess very little power."

Mr. Reid took up his ground firmly and resolutely, but an attempt was made to drive him from it. Mark how the cross-examination proceeded, and what was its result :—

" 2645. You are aware that the political affairs are carried on between the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors and the President of the Board of Control ?

" Yes.

" 2646. So that the Court of Directors have not necessarily any knowledge of them ?

" No.

" 2647. Therefore, the Governor-General might be recalled by the Court of Directors upon certain grounds, of which they had no official knowledge ; that is to say, they might recall the Governor-General upon an opinion with respect to some thing which had been done, as to which they had really no official knowledge ?

" I am not aware how that could occur, because the Court of Directors could not act, unless under complete knowledge of the facts. I cannot conceive that they would act solely on the representation of the Secret Committee.

" 2648. The Court of Directors see that the Governor-General has performed some act which is displeasing to them, but cannot tell whether that act has been done of his own accord or under instructions from the Government in England ?

" In such case I do not think the Court of Directors would ever exercise the power to recall ; they certainly ought not to exercise it, unless they had all the means before them of forming a proper judgment on the subject.

" 2649. Inasmuch as everything that passes with the Secret Committee may not be communicated to them, may not a great deal have passed of which they know nothing ?

" If, while anything important was uncommunicated and unknown to the Court, they exercised the power, then the only opinion could be that the Court acted wrongly.

" 2650. Supposing the Queen's Government in England, and the Governor-General through the Secret Committee, to take a certain political line of conduct, which is not approved by the Court of Directors generally, do you think it expedient that the Court should have the power, independently and

‘ against the will of the Queen’s Government, to recall the Governor-General ?

“ I think upon principle, I would say not ; that is, in cases where the measure in dispute is known only to the Secret Committee and not to the Court of Directors.

“ 2651. But supposing there was a collision of opinion between the Queen’s Government and the Court of Directors ?

“ In that case the collision being with the Court of Directors, and not merely with the Secret Committee of that Court, the case would be different.

“ 2652. Supposing the information to be complete upon both sides, and that upon a deliberate review of the subject to which the information related, the Court of Directors had one opinion and the Queen’s Ministry had another opinion, do you think it proper or not, that in such a case, the Directors should have the power in question ?

“ I think that in some way the Court ought to have a concurrent authority ; and that supposing the information to be perfect on all points, such authority ought to rest with the Court of Directors, as it does with Her Majesty’s Government.

“ 2653. You think they should have a concurrent power of recall, but not a sole and absolute one ?

“ I mean that either party, independently of the other, should have the power of recall, either the Crown or the Court of Directors ; both of them have the power at present.

“ 2654. You recommend the continuance of the power ?

“ I should recommend the continuance of the power as it is at present.

“ 2655. You do not mean that the concurrence of the Crown should be necessary to the exercise of the power of recall by the Court of Directors ?

“ No ; I mean that either party should have that authority, independent of the other.

“ 2656. You mean that, as the concurrence of both is necessary to the appointment, so the concurrence of both should be necessary to the continuance ?

“ Certainly.

“ 2657. That the concurrence of both should be necessary to the continuance of that authority which required the concurrence of both for its original creation ?

“ Precisely.

So all this questioning only brought Mr. Reid to the *certainly, precisely*, with which he concluded his answers on the subject.

Mr. Mill gave his evidence to the same effect:—

“ 3045. Do you think it is as important, for the maintenance of their (the Court's) authority, that they should have the power of recall ?

“ I think it is proper and necessary.

“ 3046. Are there not circumstances under which the nomination of the Governor-General will fall to the Crown ?

“ If the Court of Directors make no appointment within two months.

“ 3047. Would it be desirable to place modifications of the same nature upon the power of recall, that is to say, by requiring certain notice of the intention of the Court to exercise the power ?

“ I see no particular advantage in that ; because, it is not to be supposed that the Directors would seriously contemplate a recall, unless they intended to persevere in it ; it is not probable, that they would raise the question, unless their opinion was thoroughly made up.”

Nothing can be more obvious than this. The recall of a Governor-General is so extreme a measure, that there is no likelihood whatever of the privilege being exercised, except upon the strongest grounds, and after the maturest deliberation.

There is every reason in the world, why the Court should exercise such a privilege in the most cautious and forbearing manner. Ever since the power has been in their hands, they have only brought it into action on one occasion. Only one Governor-General has been recalled by the Court of Directors throughout this long series of years. It is true that one interrogator, whom it is not difficult to identify, endeavoured to make it appear that the Court wished to recall Lord Wellesley, but though the fact may be established, the inference to be drawn from it is precisely the reverse of that which was intended to be deduced.

“ 3050. Are you under the impression that the Court of Directors never wished to recall Lord Wellesley ?

“ I am under the impression that they did wish, but not so strongly as to take a measure which they knew would be extremely disagreeable to the Government of the time.

“ 3051. It must rather be a strong Government that of Mr. Pitt, at that time, was it not ?

“ It was.”

The drift of this is very obvious—but we are not sure that the interrogator did not defeat his own purpose. At all events, the inference is that the Court of Directors do not always exercise the power, when they “ wish ” to do it—in other words,

that they sometimes sacrifice private feelings to public considerations. They may have wished to recall Lord Wellesley, for he was insolent and insubordinate—and his proceedings embarrassed the King's Government almost as much as they annoyed the Court of Directors; but they knew that he was a great man; it seemed probable that his abrupt removal from office would be injurious to the public interests both in India and in England; and they were induced, therefore, to stifle their animosity, and to abstain from exercising the power in their hands. But the case of Lord Ellenborough was different in some of these essential features. He was insolent and insubordinate; but the Court did not conceive him to be a great man, and by no means believed that his recall would jeopardize public interests at Home or abroad. Hence it appears, on a review of these two cases, that the Company are discriminating and forbearing—that they are by no means likely to sacrifice the public interests to any feelings of offended personal dignity, but on the other hand will submit to what is extremely distasteful to them, if they believe that an opposite course will, in any way, be prejudicial to the public welfare. Indeed, it would be impossible to advance anything in favor of the retention, by the Court of Directors, of the power of recall, more cogent than the very significant fact that they recalled Lord Ellenborough and did not recall Lord Wellesley.

The evidence of Sir Herbert Maddock, on this subject, is of a more qualified and conditional character; in the House of Commons, being more closely questioned, he declared more distinctly against the right of recall, but the following is the substance of his evidence before the Lords' Committee :—

“ 2207. You are aware that the Governor-General is nominated by the Court of Directors, subject to the approval of the Government, and that he can be recalled by the Directors alone, without the approval of the Government ?

“ Yes.

“ 2208. After stating, as you have done, that the Government of India is virtually subject to the Board of Control, and not to the Court of Directors, do you consider that that power of the Court of Directors is advantageous or otherwise ?

“ I have expressed generally a decided opinion, that it is an inconsistent and anomalous position of affairs, that the Court of Directors, though they are not empowered by law to exercise any other independent functions of Government, and are in every other respect, excepting their patronage, subject to the control of an officer of the Crown, should possess the

‘ power of recalling a Governor-General contrary to the will of the Crown.”

The anomaly may exist, but its existence appears to us an argument rather for the extension of the power of the Court in other directions than for its curtailment in this. It will hardly be contended that, on the whole, the Court has too much power. The fact is, that it has too little. If, then, the power of recall is inconsistent with the general impotence of the Court, it would be well to remove the anomaly by extending their general power. The unsightly excrescence should be removed by building up to it, not by knocking it down.

The evidence of Mr. Bird was cautiously given. It abounds in conditions and reservations, and the real meaning of the witness is not very apparent through the mist. The only thing that is very clear is, that Mr. Bird, speaking from experience, pronounced the sudden recall of a Governor-General to be very inconvenient and embarrassing to the public servant, on whom the temporary charge of the Government devolves:—

“2285. You are aware that it is in the power of the Directors of the East India Company to recall the Governor-General without asking the permission of the Government; will you have the goodness to state whether you think that the power is consistent with the general relations between the Home Government and the Court of Directors and the Government of India; and also, whether, in your opinion, it is a power which it is advantageous the Court of Directors should retain?

“I think it very undesirable that, on a question of so much delicacy and importance as that of the recall of the Governor-General of India, there should be any public disagreement between the Home authorities, which may lead to set the one in open opposition to the other; such a collision of opinion would necessarily lead to one of a corresponding description throughout the community of India; and if it is supposed that the recall is likely to be followed by any sweeping change of policy on the part of the general Government, it might be attended with very serious consequences. I think, also, that it places the functionary, on whom it devolves to take temporary charge of the office of Governor-General, in a very painful and embarrassing situation, as, however anxious he may be to discharge his duty, it is next to impossible that he should be able to give entire satisfaction to both parties. I think, therefore, to prevent such a collision, it will be very desirable that all discussions between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control on that

‘ subject should be conducted in secret, and the Court’s decision
 ‘ be carried out, if the law remains as at present, with the con-
 ‘ currence of both authorities, or else that the law should be
 ‘ altered; anything in the shape of a struggle between the
 ‘ authorities, whether at Home or abroad, must, in such a coun-
 ‘ try as India, be attended with serious inconvenience.

“2286. By weakening the Government?

“Yes.

“2287. You can hardly speak of public disagreement, for
 ‘ nothing of the struggle is known till the event takes place?

“It was very well known in India; I am speaking of what
 ‘ actually took place. I think, that as every thing else of
 ‘ importance, such as the determination of war and peace, &c.,
 ‘ &c., is conducted in secret, between the Board of Control and
 ‘ the Court of Directors, it would be desirable, as long as the
 ‘ law continues as it is, that the consultations should be held
 ‘ in the Secret Department, and the result appear with the
 ‘ concurrence of both authorities; and the one should not
 ‘ openly act in opposition to the other.

“2288. Is it your decided opinion that it would be better
 ‘ to withdraw from the Court of Directors the power of recall-
 ‘ ing the Governor-General?

“I have not seen the discussion which led to that power
 ‘ being reserved. I have lately understood that there were
 ‘ discussions on the subject, and that it was seriously deli-
 ‘ berated upon at the period of the last Charter. Not having
 ‘ seen those discussions, I cannot, without further considera-
 ‘ tion, give an opinion absolutely one way or the other; but
 ‘ I think the present state of things is injurious. It is desira-
 ‘ ble that whatever decision the Court may finally come to,
 ‘ it should not appear, as far as the public are concerned, that
 ‘ the Board of Control is opposed to it; and if that cannot
 ‘ be done, I should say that the law had better be altered.

“2289. You speak of two authorities, but is it not the fact
 ‘ that there would only be one authority if that power were
 ‘ withdrawn from the Court of Directors?

“If it were withdrawn, there would be only one. The Board of
 ‘ Control is paramount, I believe, on almost all other subjects.
 ‘ India is placed in trust on the part of Her Majesty to be
 ‘ governed by the Court of Directors, but in point of fact the
 ‘ whole of the Government is ruled and controlled by the
 ‘ Board of Control, with this solitary exception.

“2290. Do you consider that the intention originally was
 ‘ to give concurrent authority to the Board of Control and to
 ‘ the Court of Directors, and that if you were to deprive the

‘ Court of Directors of the power of recall, it would be practically taking away that power out of their hands, and placing the unwieldy and sole Government of India in the hands of the Board of Control?

“ I have not seen the discussion which took place upon the subject, and I cannot tell what led the Government of the day to acquiesce in that provision. I should like to be allowed to see that discussion first. Without seeing it, I am not competent to give an opinion; but I do not think the question should remain as it is. I think the publicity, which was given to the disagreement between the Board and the Court, very injurious in India. India is not like England; it is very desirable it should appear that we are united among ourselves.”

The inconvenience of such collisions, as those to which Mr. Bird refers, may be admitted. But we do not very clearly see, that to avoid such collisions, in future, it would be expedient to place all the power in the hands of the Department that is least likely to be right. When the Court of Directors, in opposition to the Queen's Government, recall a Governor-General, there is the strongest possible presumption that they have proceeded wholly upon public grounds; but when the Board of Control oppose the recall of a Governor-General, there is at least a very strong probability that they think as much of their party as of the public. It is a heavy blow to the Ministry to be discredited in the person of one of their nominees, perhaps a leading man of their party—and they are little likely, under such circumstances, to come to a decision resting wholly upon public considerations. Their party must be upheld—they must stand by their order. If there be nothing else to be said in favor of the retention of the power of recall in the hands of the Directors, there is quite enough in the very obvious suggestion that it acts in some measure as a check upon the intrusion of party into the administration of our Indian affairs. To place the authority wholly in the hands of the Board of Control would be to substitute accident for principle—to make the good Government of India more dependent than ever upon a faction-fight or a bed-chamber-intrigue.

But let us hear further what Mr. Bird says upon the subject—especially with reference to Lord Ellenborough's strong point, the evils attending the anticipation of the recall of a Governor-General. We may fairly presume that his Lordship is the interrogator, because the questions suggest what he stated more directly in his own evidence before the House of Commons:—

“ 2298. May not an expectation generally diffused, through

‘ India, that a Governor-General will be recalled, in consequence of the known hostility of the Court to him and his measures, produce a much more injurious effect in weakening the Government, than the actual recall of the Governor-General when it takes place ?

“ I am not able to answer that question, because I only know of one instance which was followed by a recall. What would have been the effect which is supposed in the question if the recall had not followed, I cannot say.

“ 2299. Have you any recollection of a report, received from Gwalior, of the intention of the Gwalior Government, not to accede to the terms proposed by the Government of India, in consequence of an expectation from public rumour that the Governor-General would be recalled ?

“ I have no recollection of hearing that report, but I do not think it at all unlikely that such was the case. It may have been prevalent at Gwalior, without having reached Calcutta.

“ 2300. Have you any doubt that a Governor-General, weakened and discredited by the expectation of his recall on the part of the public, would be utterly insufficient to carry on the Government of India ?

“ I am not prepared to say that he would be utterly insufficient to carry on the Government of India ; but it would certainly be very embarrassing, and attended with great inconvenience.”

“ 2301. Might it not practically create very great embarrassment in the Council itself, if it were understood that the Court of Directors, having the power of recalling the Governor-General, were disposed to exercise that power : might it not lead to opposition to his measures in the Council itself, and to very great difficulty in carrying on the Government ?

“ No doubt it might, if it was supposed that the Governor-General was likely to be recalled ; it might deprive him of support, and thereby weaken his authority.

“ 2302. What would be your opinion of the effect of a change in the law, which should exclusively vest the power of recall of the Governor-General in the Board of Control, and the Court of Directors acting jointly ?

“ I am not prepared to answer that question.

So it comes at last to this, that Mr. Bird is not prepared to say what would be the effect of a change in the existing law, —as regards, however, this matter of the *anticipated* recall of the Governor-General, it would hardly seem that the evils here suggested would be removed by the withdrawal of the power

of recall from the hands of the Directors. If it were necessary that the Board of Control and the Court of Directors should act jointly in this matter, there would still arise differences of opinion; and the collision between the two authorities, though it might not break out into open action, would, probably, be well known amongst us. The result of the conflict would then, in our minds, be dependant upon the permanence of the Home administration. The expectation of the dissolution of a Cabinet would have the same effect, under such circumstances, as the expectation of the direct recall of the Governor-General; and India would be governed by party instead of principle.

As regards the particular case alluded to in this passage of Mr. Bird's evidence, and more directly in the evidences of Lord Ellenborough himself, before the Committee of the House of Commons, as his Lordship said most distinctly that he had information from the Court of Gwalior, to the effect that the expectation of his recall led to the resistance of the Government of that place to the reasonable demands he had made upon them, we are bound to believe that the fact was so. But it would have been more satisfactory to those who are acquainted with the state of parties at Scindiah's capital at that time, if they had been informed upon which party, and in what manner, the expectation of Lord Ellenborough's recall had this effect. It was the impression amongst us, not that the Government of Gwalior had resisted the reasonable demands of the Governor-General, but that the mutinous soldiery, too strong for the control of the durbar, had marched out to give us battle, in the hope of preserving themselves from the threatened extinction of their influence; and certainly Lord Ellenborough's subsequent proceedings at Gwalior (distinguished, as they were, by a moderation which we greatly commended at the time), were not calculated to fix an impression on the mind that he had been contending against the resistance of the Government. The illustration, therefore, needs to be rendered somewhat more clear and explicit. We may add, too, that as far as our own reminiscences go, the recall of Lord Ellenborough took us in Calcutta somewhat by surprise. If it was anticipated at Gwalior, it was not anticipated within the Mahratta Ditch. Indeed, if we are not mistaken, Lord Ellenborough had told us, or pretty plainly hinted, only a little time before, that he had beaten down all opposition.

To the evidence already referred to in this article, on the subject of the recall of the Governor-General, might be added

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that of Mr. Millett and Mr. Willoughby, two of the ablest men who have ever gone out to India, before the Committee of the House of Commons. Both gentlemen were very distinct in their declarations, that it would be inexpedient still further to restrict the power of the Court of Directors, by removing from them the right of recall. And, indeed, we are at a loss to conceive why any one, not desiring to reduce the Court of Directors to a mere conclave of appointment-givers, should desire still further to mutilate the very limited authority which the Legislature has left in their hands. There is little, indeed, except this power of recall, to stand between India and the great curse of party. If we do not desire to hand over India bodily to the tender mercies of Whig or Tory faction, we must unite to uphold the authority of the Court of Directors. It is obvious, that if the Governor-General and Board of Control between them may set the Company at defiance, the sooner the Company cease to exist, the better. The Court of Directors is composed of members of a variety of shades of opinion, almost all being men of Indian experience and Indian repute. It is not known, in the case of the greater number of them, beyond the limits of the India House, hardly indeed within it, to what section of the political circle they belong. They are a permanently established body, not goers-out and comers-in, to be overthrown by any gust of circumstance, by the unexpected coming on of a debated question; by a fashionable assemblage of irresistible temptation; or by the laches of a bungling whipper-in. Their measures, therefore, are distinguished by something like consistency: the same leading principles seem to permeate all the opinions they express. It is hard to say into what folly, or what wickedness, the curse of party might not have driven the Ministers of the day, but for the intervention of the Court of Directors. If it can be shown, that when the Court of Directors and the Board of Control have been at variance, the former have been uniformly, or even generally in the wrong, it may be desirable to limit the powers of the Company. But history tells us altogether another story. Tried by such a standard as this, the Crown Ministers would cut but a sorry figure. An appeal to reason, and an appeal to fact, would be equally in favor of the Company.

We may now leave this important subject, and turn to other matters of leading interest. The question of the extent to which native agency may be advantageously employed in the administration of the Indian Government, seems to have been carefully considered; and a considerable mass of evidence

relating to it, is to be found in the volume before us. Foremost is that of Mr. T. C. Melvill, who was the first witness examined in both Houses :—

“ 563. Are you aware of any instance in which a native has been appointed a writer in the service of the East India Company ?

“ No such appointment has ever been made.

“ 564. Do you think there would be any objection to a native receiving that high appointment ?

“ Yes, I think there would ; and if the Committee will allow me, I will take this opportunity of explaining the grounds of my objection, and showing the distinction which now exists between the European and native servants of the Government. England must be regarded as holding India for the benefit of the people of that country, and our first and chief duty is to provide them a good Government ; all our systems of administration should be framed with a view to the advancement of the happiness and prosperity of the natives of India ; if the natives were competent, from their moral qualities, and from education, to fill offices under the Government, their exclusion would be a practical wrong ; first, because the natives of a country have the first claim, when qualified, to share in the administration of its affairs ; and secondly, because native agency must always be more economical to the state than foreign agency. I have already stated to the Committee, that up to a comparatively late period, it was considered unsafe to employ the natives in any offices of trust, owing to a serious defect of moral character. The removal, in part at least, of that prejudice, combined with the impossibility of providing a sufficient amount of European agency, led to the arrangements commenced in 1827, and since largely extended, for committing magisterial and judicial functions to natives ; and now, as I have before said, the principle in progress, throughout the civil administration of India, is *native agency and European supervision and control* ; this principle is maintained by the distinction between the covenanted and the uncovenanted services ; and the time has clearly not yet arrived for breaking down this partition, which would be the immediate effect of putting natives into the covenanted service ; the salutary deference now paid to Europeans would thereby be weakened, if not annihilated. In the case of the Army, the principle which I have mentioned is maintained in the distinct classification of European and native officers ; the admission of natives as cadets would destroy the distinction, and, ultimately, involve

‘ the placing of regiments under the command of natives—a
 ‘ result for which we are certainly not yet prepared ; the ques-
 ‘ tion seems to me to be one only of time ; any attempt unduly
 ‘ to accelerate it, might be prejudicial to the natives themselves,
 ‘ and injurious to the Government. The encouragement now
 ‘ given to the employment of natives in situations of trust,
 ‘ affords, I think, ample evidence, that there is no disposition
 ‘ to exclusiveness, further than what is necessary for the public
 ‘ good.

‘ 565. Will you state what is the distinction with respect
 ‘ to moral character, which, in your opinion, fits the natives
 ‘ at this moment for the discharge of duties of a judicial cha-
 ‘ racter, and at the same time renders them unfit for the duties
 ‘ of covenanted servants of the Company ?

‘ I think that the natives, however employed, still require
 ‘ the check of vigilant European superintendence ; a man may
 ‘ discharge public duties well, when he knows that he is sub-
 ‘ ject to efficient control ; but the period has not arrived for
 ‘ committing the whole Government of India to the natives,
 ‘ which might be the result of throwing open to them the
 ‘ covenanted service.

‘ 566. Is the office of a judge more subject to European
 ‘ superintendence and inspection than the office of a Civil
 ‘ Servant of the Company ?

‘ Yes ; it is the Europeans, members of the covenanted
 ‘ Civil Service, who superintend the natives.”

‘ 567. Are not the sudder amíns always superintended
 ‘ by Europeans ?

‘ They are generally so superintended.

‘ 568. Although you do not think the natives are now so
 ‘ qualified, you still think that the time may come when they
 ‘ will be qualified to act, without any detriment to the interests
 ‘ of British India, as covenanted servants of the Company in
 ‘ any grade ?

‘ I do ; I think the question is only one of time.”

We are of opinion that the question is here very fairly stated.
 It is simply a question of time. The position assumed by the
 East India Company is this. The services are open to all
 qualified candidates for employment ; but the natives of India
 are not yet qualified for employment in the covenanted branches
 of the service. When the provisions of the last Charter Act
 threw the services open to the natives of India, the Court of
 Directors, writing out to the Supreme Government, with their
 suggestions relative to the general interpretation of the new Act,
 dwelt at some length on this especial Clause (87), by which it is

provided, that no person, by reason of his birth, creed, or colour, shall be disqualified from holding any office. Touching upon this subject, the Court, in December, 1834, expressed an eager desire that the spirit and intention of the Legislature should be transfused through the whole system of administration; and they interpreted the general scope and tendency of the clause into a declaration, that thenceforth there should be no governing caste in British India—that whatever other tests of qualification might be adopted, distinctions of race and religion should not be of the number, that no subject of the British Crown, whether of Indian, or British, or mixed descent, should be excluded either from the posts usually conferred on their uncovenanted servants in India, or from the covenanted service itself, provided that he were otherwise eligible, due regard being had to the rules and conditions observed and exacted in both cases.

After thus clearly enunciating, what they conceived to be the proper construction of the general intent of the 87th Clause, the Court proceeded to speak of the more particular application of the principle laid down. It would chiefly, they said, fall to the share of the Local Governments to apply it to natives of whole or mixed blood; that as regarded the former, they continued, the provisions of the Legislature had, to a considerable extent, been anticipated. That it had been previously the wish of the Court to employ natives in situations of trust, as freely and extensively as a regard for the due discharge of their functions permitted, and that many important offices had been conferred on them, partly, doubtless, from considerations of economy, but partly also on the principles of a liberal and comprehensive policy—still, they said, as a line of demarcation had been practically maintained, certain offices had been appropriated to the natives, from certain others they had been debarred, not because these latter belonged to the covenanted service, and the former did not, but professedly, upon the ground that the average amount of native qualification could be presumed only to rise to a certain limit. This line of demarcation the new Charter Act proposed to remove, or rather to substitute another for it, wholly irrespective of the distinction of races. Thenceforth fitness was to be the only criterion of eligibility.*

To this altered rule the Local Governments were instructed

* Or to render this somewhat more clear. Under the old Act, it was presumed, that natives of India could not qualify themselves for office in the covenanted branches of the service, and upon this presumption, they were legally excluded; but under the new Act, this presumption was ignored, and there was no legal exclusion. It was presumed that they might qualify themselves, and when qualified, they were to be admitted within the precincts of the covenanted service.

to conform, both in their acts and their language. It was assumed, that practically no great change would take effect for some time. But the Court, fully recognizing the importance of enabling the people of India to meet successfully their European competitors, emphatically insisted upon the liberal policy of promoting every design for the improvement of the natives, whether by conferring on them the advantages of education, or by diffusing among them the treasures of science, knowledge, and moral culture. In short, their interpretation of the new legislative enactment was simply this. Henceforth there is to be no governing caste. Fitness for office is to be the only test of eligibility. The natives of India are not yet qualified to hold the highest offices under Government. It is our duty, therefore, to do our best to qualify them to compete successfully with Europeans, by promoting education and diffusing knowledge among them.

Mr. Melvill's evidence seems to embody this view of the question. It is "merely a question of time." In 1834, the Court of Directors were of opinion, that the natives of India were not qualified to hold the highest offices in the State, but that it behoved the Government to render them so, with the least possible delay. Unquestionably, since that period, education has been promoted, and knowledge has been diffused; and the natives of India have been, and are, increasingly participant in the loaves and fishes of the Executive Government. But it is not yet admitted that the natives of India have been raised to such a standard of qualification as to enable them to compete successfully with Europeans, for the higher appointments now held exclusively by the latter.

The opinions of all the most experienced men, who have given their attention to this subject, are opposed to the belief, that the covenanted services may yet be practically opened to the natives of India, with advantage to the State. The admission must be gradual. Every year their claims are more and more acknowledged, and they have a larger share in the general administration of the country. The progress in this respect, has, we think, been sufficiently rapid, and we could hardly counsel any larger reformatory strides than those which have been made in the right direction, during the last quarter of a century. Mr. Mill truthfully observed that there is a growing desire to admit the natives to all offices for which they are considered sufficiently qualified: but before passing on to this gentleman's evidence, we must give another passage from Mr. Melvill's, which seems to meet the point very fairly:—

"615. If the objections which you have suggested to the

Committee are adopted, how are they ever to be departed from at any future time, and if at all, under what circumstances?

"When the natives generally shall have greatly advanced in civilization and intelligence, and their moral qualities shall have improved, all which could not fail to be the case, if it should ever happily occur that Christianity were universally diffused throughout India.

"616. But unless a beginning be made, by introducing the natives into the inferior offices, to test their power and to test their fidelity, can they ever be prepared to enter into the higher offices?

"But I submit that there is that beginning, and that principle has been extensively acted upon since 1827, when Lord William Bentinck was Governor-General.

"617. Are you aware of the existence of any feeling of soreness on the part of the natives, at not being admitted into the covenanted service?

"I am not.

"618. Are not many of the higher appointments now held by the natives, very much superior in importance and in profit, to the lower offices held by the covenanted servants?

"Many of them are.

"619. Would not your principle exclude all the natives from any covenanted office, till every native is fit for every covenanted office?

"That would be an extreme application of the principle, which I should be sorry to see.

"620. Can you show the Committee in what way, upon the principle which you are adopting, you fall short of that?

"I think the Government, acting upon the principle which I have mentioned, would be the best judge of the time when it should be adopted.

"621. You have expressed the opinion that the time may shortly arrive, when the natives may be employed in all situations; would it not then be desirable that they should be introduced gradually, without laying down any general rule with regard to their being limited to certain classes of appointments?

"It is being introduced gradually, but without breaking down the distinction which, I think, should be maintained so long as it is deemed essential, to preserve European supervision and control."

No one will suspect Mr. Mill of taking a narrow view of such a question as this. He looks far into the future, and even

contemplates the time, when the natives of India may again take the Government of the country into their own hands, and “do without our assistance” :—

“3111. Is not a native rendered eligible for any appointment under the last Charter Act?

“The last Charter Act took away all legal disabilities; but there is a practical exclusion, and so there must be, until the natives are very much improved in character.

“3112. But legally, a native of India is eligible for any appointment?

“He is.

“3113. He is not excluded because he is a native of India, but he is excluded because he has not passed through Haileybury?

“That would exclude him from the covenanted Civil Service.

“3114. Do you think that the natives of India are admitted to as large a share in the Civil Government of the country, as they ought, in their present state of education and knowledge, to possess?

“There is a great and growing desire to admit them to all offices for which they are considered sufficiently qualified in point of trustworthiness. Hitherto, they have not been admitted to any situations in which there is not a controlling European authority over them, but there is hardly any situation admitting of that control to which they are not now eligible; or if there be any such, there is a constant tendency to open situations to them. They have now, especially in the Bengal and Agra provinces, almost the whole of the administration of justice in the first instance, subject to appeal to Europeans. They are also largely employed as deputy collectors, that is, in the branch of the Government, on which the prosperity of the country depends more than on any other; and those situations are sought for by natives of the highest rank and connexions. There was a remarkable proof of this some years ago in the North West Provinces. When the Nawab of Rampūr died, who was the descendant of Fyzūlla Khan, the chief who ruled over the portion left in existence of the Rohilla power, which was crushed by Warren Hastings,—when this Nawab died, leaving no direct heirs, the collateral, who was next in succession, was a deputy collector in our provinces, and two other near relations of the deceased Nawab happened to be deputy collectors also. The new Nawab went from being a deputy collector under our Government to succeed to his own principality, and he immediately commenced introducing the improvements which he had learned under our system.

“ 3115. Have those native officers of the Government, Europeans placed under them?

“ As deputy collectors they have no Europeans under them as subordinate officers, but only natives.

“ 3116. If the natives of India were to occupy a very large portion of the higher civil and military appointments of the country, do you suppose that we should continue to maintain the dependence of India upon this country?

“ If the natives were allowed to wield the military force of India, I think it would be impossible to maintain British ascendancy there; but I think it would be perfectly possible to open to them a very large share of the Civil Government without its having any such effect.

“ 3117. Without having any European supervision?

“ I do not think you could make a native Governor-General, but I think natives might in time be appointed to many of the higher administrative offices.

“ 3118. Do you think they might be members of Council?

“ Not, I should think, at present; but in proportion as the natives become trust-worthy and qualified for high office, it seems to me not only allowable, but a duty to appoint them to it.

“ 3119. Do you think, that in those circumstances the dependence of India upon this country could be maintained?

“ I think it might, by judicious management, be made to continue till the time arrives, when the natives shall be qualified to carry on the same system of Government without our assistance.”

This, it is to be remarked, is the evidence of an India House official. It is obviously Mr. Mill's opinion, that when the natives of India shall have reached a height of qualification for self-government, which would render their exclusive administration of the empire advantageous to the general happiness of the people, it will be our duty to leave them to govern themselves “ without our assistance.” This is what Lord Ellenborough calls a danger which it may require all the wisdom of Parliament to meet. “ The Committee must recollect,” he said in his evidence before the Commons' Committee, “ that there are new dangers opening upon us, which may require all the wisdom of Parliament to meet. There is a strong desire to extend education among the natives. I recollect having had a visit from Dwarkanauth Tagore, who was the most intelligent native that ever appeared in this country, and one of the most intelligent in his own country. I had

‘ read in the newspaper that morning a speech which Dwarka-nauth had made on the subject of the education of the natives of India, and when he called upon me, I said, ‘ I see you have been making a speech about education.’—He said, ‘ Have they printed it ?’—I said ‘ Yes ; they print everything—but you and I know, in this room, we need not talk as if we were talking for publication, but we may say exactly what we think. You know that if these gentlemen who wish to educate the natives of India were to succeed to the utmost extent of their desire, we should not remain in this country three months.’—He said, ‘ Not three weeks ;’ and perfectly true was his judgment. Now, endeavours are made not only to educate the natives and to give them European knowledge, which is power, and to give them European ideas ; but at the same time to raise them in the Civil Service, for it is now proposed to give them covenanted situations, and practically hereafter to delegate to them almost the whole of the Civil Government of the country, and it is proposed to put the natives in possession of the great civil offices, at a time when the press and increasing railways and electric telegraphs will enable them to communicate and co-operate. How is it then possible that we can, under our present most defective, or, indeed, under any institutions, retain our hold over that country ? It is contrary to all reason. No intelligent people would submit to our Government. These things must be considered ; and great care must be taken by Parliament in determining what shall be the future Government of India.” And then Lord Ellenborough proceeded to argue on the advantages of the direct Government and authority of the Crown.

It is instructive to contrast the language of Lord Ellenborough with that of the India House officials, and, indeed, of the Court of Directors themselves, on this most important subject of the diffusion of education among the natives of India. His Lordship discourses of the dangers of native enlightenment, and though he does not say *totidem verbis* that he would limit the educational efforts of the existing Government, that is plainly the tendency of his remarks. If we let the natives of India know too much, we shall very soon lose India. He says this is a danger to be met. It can only be met by teaching the natives less ; and to this end, it seems, that he would transfer the Government of India to the Crown. The inference then is, that, in Lord Ellenborough’s estimation, the Crown Government would either be more likely to repress the

educational tendencies of the age—to keep back the natives of India, as they endeavour to press forward along the paths of knowledge—or that being a stronger, a more vigorous Government, with larger resources at its command, it would be better able to repress the revolutionary out-bursts, which too much enlightenment may occasion from time to time, whilst the process of education is going on, and to govern India wholly by his Lordship's favourite sceptre, the *sword*.

But the language of the Court of Directors is this—"In every view it is important that the indigenous people of India, or those amongst them who, by their habits, character or position, may be induced to aspire to office, should, as far as possible, be qualified to meet their European competitors. Here, then, arises a powerful argument for the promotion of every design tending to the improvement of the natives, whether by conferring on them the advantages of education, or by diffusing among them the treasures of science, knowledge, and moral culture. For these desirable results we are well aware that you, like ourselves, are anxious; and we doubt not that in order to impel you to increased exertion for the promotion of them, you (the Supreme Government of India) will need no stimulant beyond a simple reference to the considerations we have here suggested. While, however, we entertain these wishes and opinions, we must guard against the supposition, that it is chiefly by holding out means and opportunities of official distinction, that we expect our Government to benefit the millions subjugated to their authority. We have repeatedly expressed to you a very different sentiment. Facilities of official advancement can little affect the bulk of the people under any Government, and, perhaps, least under a good Government. It is not by holding out incentives to official ambition; but by repressing crime, by securing and guarding property, by creating confidence, by securing to industry the fruits of its labour, by protecting men in the undisturbed enjoyment of their rights, and in the unfettered exercise of their faculties, that the Government best minister to the public wealth and happiness. In effect the free access to office is chiefly valuable, when it is a part of general freedom."

Now these are no fictitious words, put into the mouths of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, after the manner of Mr. Landor, in his *Imaginary Conversations*. The passage, as we have given it word for word (having already quoted the substance of a portion of it,) is part of an actual

despatch, sent out by the Court to the Supreme Government, after the passing of the last Charter Act. It were well, we say, that this language should be contrasted with that of Lord Ellenborough; it were well that the spirit and intent of the two passages should be contrasted. That which in the estimation of the Court is a *desideratum*, Lord Ellenborough esteems to be a danger. The Court are profoundly impressed with the conviction that it is their duty to promote education, and to diffuse knowledge among the natives of India to the utmost extent of their ability. Lord Ellenborough is of opinion, that the promotion of education and the diffusion of knowledge are such dangerous things, that they require all the wisdom of Parliament to "to meet," i. e. to counteract them. And he says, that under our present defective system, we cannot maintain ourselves in India, against the progressive advances of knowledge. But we put it to our European readers, we put it still more earnestly and emphatically to our native friends, whether that system of Government can be so very defective in which are inherent such principles as those laid down in the above passage of the Court's despatch, not a common despatch upon some casual, accidental topic, with a stereotyped "tag" attached to it, as a matter of course, but a despatch such as is written only once in twenty years, reviewing earnestly and solemnly the whole system of Indian Government, and expounding their views of the intentions of the British Legislature conveyed in the Act under which India is governed. We put it to our native friends, whether it is in the Court of Directors, who take this liberal enlightened view of their duties, and lay down these principles for the guidance of their servants, or in Lord Ellenborough, who is eloquent on the dangers of education and the perils of enlightenment, that they may more safely repose their confidence.

In our inmost hearts, we believe that, under no form of Government, directly subject to the Crown, can the natives of India have more steady and consistent friends than they now have in the Court of Directors. That India can ever be governed for the benefit of the people, whilst costly and disastrous wars, and the constant annexation of new territories, dry up the very springs of well-doing, is clearly impossible. But have these costly and disastrous wars been made by the Court of Directors? The natives of India may be assured that the greatest evil, which they can ever have to encounter, is a tendency to war-making. These constantly recurring wars are the calamities which most afflict the people of India, and

most retard their social and political advancement. But every step towards a greater infusion of what, for want of a better mode of designation, we may call the Crown element, into the Government of India, is sure to expose the people more and more to the chances of new wars, and the necessary recurrence of those financial difficulties, which annihilate all domestic improvement, and press so heavily upon the resources of the people. Surely we are not flying in the face of written history—of demonstrable fact—when we say that judging by the past, the future welfare of India is dependent not upon the enhancement, but upon the diminution of the power of the Crown ministers in the Councils of India. It is by governing India, upon considerations of Indian policy, not of English policy (which is only another name for *party*), that we may best promote the welfare of the millions committed to our rule.

We purpose to insist more urgently upon this point, because we believe that the matter is very imperfectly understood by our native friends. Even the best-informed of our native readers have a very obscure conception of what *party* is in England. They are told that it would be better for them to be governed by the Crown, and, perhaps, they have a clearer idea upon the whole of a King upon the throne than of a "Company" in Leadenhall-street. But they who talk to them about the Government of the Crown and the Crown Ministers, and tell them nothing about *party*, grossly deceive them. England is governed, not by the Queen on the throne, but by a *party* in Downing-street. But the Government of England is a representative Government, and the people are stronger than party. If they do not like the party in power, they turn it out, and replace it by another more to their taste. The remedy, therefore, to a certain extent, is in their own hands. But the people of India would have no such remedy against bad Government. India would be a tool in the hands of a party more or less scrupulous and honest. It would be a stalking horse for embarrassed politicians. It would be turned to all sorts of party uses. And the people of India would have no remedy. All sorts of motives, entirely unassociated with any idea of the happiness of the people of India, would be continually at work. The measures of one Government would be revoked by another. There would be a constant building-up and pulling-down—a pulling-down and building-up again. If the great battle of party were not fought upon Indian ground, there would be frequent disastrous skirmishes upon it. We speak here of political warfare—of party strife.

But the getting up of actual wars, with all their concomitant waste of blood and treasure, solely for party purposes, is no new thing in the history of nations. It is not pleasant to write this. It is not pleasant to speak in such terms of the statesmanship of our own country. We write it with a melancholy conviction of its truth. The war in Afghanistan—the greatest and most disastrous iniquity of modern times—was a party war. The East India Company had nothing to do with it,—but the payment of the cost.

And only imagine what mighty benefits might have been conferred upon the people of India, if the money spent on these ruinous wars had been at the disposal of the East India Company for purposes of domestic improvement! The first Burmese war cost fifteen millions of pounds sterling.

The extraordinary military charges since the commencement of the Afghan war have amounted to thirty millions, besides five millions and a half of increased interest on the debt. That debt has risen from 29,832,299£ in 1836, to 46,908,064£ in 1850, and the present Burmese war will raise it to a still higher figure. The interest payable on the debt amounted, in the last of these years, to nearly two millions and a quarter per annum, little short of a tenth of our total revenue. The penalty, which we are paying for the Scinde war, amounts at the present time to about twenty lakhs (£200,000) per annum. To that extent it is computed, that the reduced charges of the province exceed the receipts. This is exclusive of the expense of the regular troops of the Scinde division of the army, which is estimated at twenty lakhs more. In the eight years, from 1843-44 to 1850-51 inclusive, the excess of outlay over receipts, on account of Scinde, has amounted to nearly three millions of money. These are a few of the financial results of wars undertaken in spite of the East India Company. And there is nothing upon which the natives of India should keep their eyes more steadily fixed, than upon the enormous military expenditure resulting from the prosecution of unjust wars. These wars have, in almost every instance, been undertaken, by what may be called the English party—that is, by English statesmen and soldiers acting together, in known disregard of the wishes of the East India Company.

Now Lord Ellenborough is of opinion, that it would be expedient to diminish the Indian interest, and to make the English interest paramount in all departments of the administration. "I think," he says in his evidence before the House of Commons, "that it is desirable that all those who serve the Government

' in India should have, as much as possible, the most intimate connexion with England, be dependent upon England, and have no interest that can be by possibility separated from that of this country. The higher the class from which you take the officers of the Indian Government, the greater the security for the constant connexion between India and England." In other words, Lord Ellenborough is anxious to fill the services with English aristocrats. The reader will do well to turn back to Mr. Mill's evidence, quoted at the commencement of this article. The contrast is a curious one. Mr. Mill is of opinion, that our best security for good Government in India is the absence of this, the very aristocratic element which Lord Ellenborough desires to infuse more largely into our administration. Mr. Mill may have somewhat overestimated the extent to which we are emancipated from these aristocratic influences, but we do not doubt the soundness of the principle inculcated in this passage of his evidence. Lord Ellenborough's scheme is nothing more than a plan for the surrender of India, bound hand and foot, into the hands of party. As it is, we have nothing to do with party politics. Lord Hardinge, in his evidence before the House of Commons, adduced an illustration of this, which is worth quoting—"The great object of the Governor-General," he said, "when he goes to India, is to select the best men he can find for the offices he has to bestow in the country. There is nothing like party feeling or political influence known. I had a gentleman on my staff, who had been Lord William Bentinck's Military Secretary, and Lord Auckland's; he had been also employed by Lord Ellenborough; he was at the Military Board, which corresponds with our Ordnance Board; when I went up the country, taking with me the offices which were necessary for fulfilling the duties of Governor-General, I took this officer with me, and after he had been with me two years, I found in some discussion after dinner with my staff, that he was very liberal in his views, approaching to a radical in this country, upon which I expressed my astonishment, never having heard a word of politics from him, during the time we were together. He is now in this country, and well known to the Honorable Member for Ripon; that officer is Colonel Benson. I may say of that officer, that he is as able as he is brave in the field, and I cite this instance to show that we know nothing of party politics in India."

Should we be able to say this, if the connexion between England and India were strengthened, as Lord Ellenborough proposes, by the sale of appointments to Young English

aristocrats? We are free from party influences now, because the majority of our public servants in India belong to those classes in which party feeling is little operative, or not at all. They are members of families in which a change of Ministry is a public event, not affecting their individual interests, to be discussed, perhaps, during an idle half-hour, and then settled down under perfect unconcern. But the men whom Lord Ellenborough proposes to send out to India would be members of families, with whom the rise and fall of parties are matters of grave account. They would go out as young Tories or young Whigs. They would fight the battles of their party on Indian soil. The Governor-General and the Home Ministry would be every thing to them, for evil or for good. The Company would be held of no account. But as Lord Ellenborough desires, that the entire constitution of the Court of Directors should be a *tabula rasa*, this matter, perhaps, ought not to be taken into consideration at all.

We think that we have written enough to show that the tendencies of the Government of the East India Company are infinitely more liberal and large-minded than those of the system which Lord Ellenborough and his supporters would substitute for it. The latter would anglicanise the Indian Government more and more—would check the diffusion of knowledge among the natives of India, and curb the propensity which now exists to open to them more freely the doors of official employment—and worse than all, would open the flood-gates of party politics upon us, and remove the only barrier which stands between the people of India, and the tender mercies of a faction beyond the reach of popular control.

We have now discussed the principal topics which we had proposed to ourselves in the present paper, reserving others for investigation, in our next issue, when the *Blue Book*, emanating from the other House of Parliament, comes formally under review. But before we bring our article to a close, we must say a few words regarding the following passage relating to the Indian Press, contained in the evidence of Mr. Mill:—

“ 3151. Do you see any difficulties likely to accrue from the unlicensed liberty of the press ?

“ I think both the dangers and the advantages of the free press in India have been very much over-rated ; that the dangers were over-rated is proved by the fact ; it was anticipated by many people, that if full license were allowed to the press, it would drive us out of India altogether.

“ 3152. Do not you believe that there is this difference in

the character of the Indian press, as compared with the press of this country, that whereas in this country, the tone of the press is decidedly superior to that of ordinary conversation on the subjects of which it treats, in India it is the exact reverse of that; and that if any one were to form an opinion of the general state and tone of European society from the comments made by the Indian press, he would form a very unfair estimate of the general character of European society in the country?

"I cannot speak from much actual knowledge of the Indian press; my impression certainly is, that the English newspapers in India are of very little use to good Government, except in promoting enquiry, and drawing the attention of Government to facts which they might have overlooked. From the little knowledge I have of the Indian newspaper press, I should say that its comments are seldom of any value.

"3153. Is not the style such as does not prevail in good society; would not it give to those who read habitually the leading articles in those newspapers an impression that the tone of society is very inferior to what it is?

"I am not sufficiently acquainted with the Indian press to be able to answer the question.

"3154. Are you aware that in point of fact, the tone of society in India is as good as it is in this country?

"I know nothing to the contrary.

"3155. You said that not only were the dangers that were expected to accrue from the establishment of a free press in India exaggerated, but also that the expected advantages were exaggerated. Is that your opinion?

"It is. As long as the great mass of the people in India have very little access to the press, it is in danger of being an organ exclusively of individual interests. The English newspaper press in India is the organ only of the English society, and chiefly of the part of it unconnected with the Government. It has little to do with the natives, or with the great interests of India.

"3156. Does not the Government of India labour under this particular disadvantage, that they have no means of defence against unworthy imputations which the press throws out, not being represented in the press?

"Certainly. It is the practice of the Indian authorities, both in India and in England, to look on, while their proceedings are the subject of unmeasured obloquy by the

‘ newspapers and in public discussions, without taking any means of getting a correct statement made of their measures, and of the grounds upon which they have been adopted.

“ 3157. Is there not this difference in India as compared with England, that whereas in England, if an attack is made upon the Government, there is a Government paper that undertakes to rebut it: in India, there is no such opportunity of stating the truth ?

“ I think the same observation applies to attacks upon the Indian administration in this country ; it is very seldom that any portion of the press takes up the cause of the Indian Government.”

We do not conceive that such incidental references as these, or others to be found in the yet unpublished evidence of Mr. Willoughby before the Committee of the House of Commons, are of any very great importance. They are rather to be regarded as collateral illustrations of other topics, than as evidence in any way affecting the future prospects of the press itself. The freedom of the press is a *fait accompli*. You might as well think of closing our ports again, and restoring the Company's old monopoly, as of re-establishing the censorship. We shall not, therefore, write a line on the general subject of the freedom of the Indian press ; but we may remonstrate against the tone of contempt in which Mr. Mill has spoken of it. The Indian reader will perceive at once that the India House official is here discoursing upon a subject, with which he has practically but slight acquaintance. This, indeed, he himself admits. “ From the little knowledge,” he says, “ I have of the Indian newspaper press, I should say that its comments are seldom of any value.” It is because he has only this little knowledge that he has arrived at such a conclusion. “ A little knowledge is a dangerous thing.”

We admit that there are newspapers in India, whose comments are “ seldom of any value.” There are newspapers of this class—scores of them—in Great Britain. But it would be no more just to take one of the least worthy of our local journals as a type of the Indian press, than to try the respectability of the English Press by the Holwell-street *Standard*, or its intelligence by that of the paste-and-scissors literature of an obscure provincial journal. There may be in India public prints both stupid and disreputable. But are there no stupid and disreputable journals in England ? And is the general respectability and intelligence of the press to be denied, because there are unworthy members of it ? Every profession

has its black sheep. Literature is not free from the taint.

We are speaking of the better class of Indian journals when we say that the general intelligence and propriety of the press in this country is by no means below the average of these qualities discernible in the general mass of Anglo-Indian society. It is hardly "in the nature of the case"—to use one of Mr. Mill's favorite expressions—that a stupid and ludicrous press should be supported by an intelligent and decorous public. Even in a society so limited as that of the English in India, the demand for any description of literature will soon produce the supply. It is not to be said that the Anglo-Indian public only tolerate the press, as it is, for want of a better. No public journal could exist for any length of time under this contemptuous toleration. It could only be under some overwhelming necessity, that the members of our Anglo-Indian community would combine to support a press below their own standard of intelligence. Mr. Dickens's imagination has conceived a description of literature so hopelessly dreary, that Robinson Crusoe on his lone island would turn away from it in despair. But we are sceptical about this. Where there is an overwhelming necessity to read Mr. Pardiggle's tracts or nothing, we conceive that the tracts would have the preference. But we know no overwhelming necessity of this kind, that can reconcile our intelligent Anglo-Indian community to a periodical literature, which does not in any way reflect the general intelligence of the reading classes.

This, in a few words, is the theory of the question; but we desire to take a more practical view of it. The tone of the Anglo-Indian press is not below the tone of Anglo-Indian society, because the members of the press, as individuals, are often among the most intelligent members of that society. A considerable number of the most intelligent members of both services—Civil and Military—have contributed largely to the Indian press. If a man leaves his regiment to conduct an Indian journal, it may be assumed, though the act itself should be injudicious, that he is not the greatest fool in his corps. Members of Council are supposed to be the *élite* of the services. But it is not very long since it was stated, and not untruly, that, some ten or twelve years ago, many of the minutes of one of the members of the Supreme Council of India were written by the Military Editor of the *Englishman*. The extensive local knowledge of the Editor of the *Friend of India*, to which Mr. Willoughby has borne testimony, is unsurpassed

by that possessed by any member of the service. The principal writers in the *Hurkaru*, for many years past, have been gentlemen at the head of our Government Educational Institutions; and our Principals and Professors are not chosen from among men below the general intellectual standard of Anglo-Indian society. As in England, so in India, the local press owes much to the legal profession. Among the contributors to our journals, past and present, are some of the most distinguished members of the Calcutta Bar. One of our best Police Magistrates was taken from the Editor's chair. We take our illustrations from the circle of our own immediate neighbours, but many of equal cogency might be gathered from the recent annals of the Bombay and Madras presses. And we cannot help thinking, that this *argumentum ad hominem* is more conclusive than any other. If the principal writers for the Indian press are men generally esteemed for intelligence, and, indeed, publicly and officially recognized as men of superior intelligence, there would seem to be little likelihood of their writings reflecting an amount of intelligence below that possessed by the general mass of Anglo-Indian society.

It is very clear, *e necessitate rei*, that the larger the community, the larger the amount of available talent, and that, as with the legal or medical, so with the literary profession, the intelligence manifested in so limited a community as this must, necessarily, fall short of that which manifests itself in the larger sphere of British social life. As we have had no Erskines and Broughams in the legal, and no Coopers and Abernethys in our medical professions, so it must be conceded that the literary excellence of the *Times* newspaper is quite unattainable in this country. Here the sphere of selection is necessarily limited. We cannot infuse into any journal that constant succession of new talent by which only it can be kept up to the point of vigour which the *Times* alone, perhaps, of all our home journals, continually maintains. But when we come to consider the relative intelligence of Indian and English journalism, we must take into account the fact, that whereas English newspaper-writers imported into this country invariably fail, there are instances of our journalists taking at once a fair place as conductors of, or contributors to, English journals, and, perhaps, obtaining higher literary repute in England than they ever obtained among ourselves. If it be said, that the instances are few, it may be added that the experiments have been few. But they bear at least a fair proportion to the amount of success achieved by members of the Indian legal or medical

professions at home; and this would not be the case if the intelligence of the Indian press were below that of general society.

Another error into which Mr. Mill has fallen is, that our Indian journalists are not in communication with Government servants, and that the latter never correct the errors into which the former are betrayed. But, in point of fact, nothing is more common. The conductors of the better class of Indian journals are in constant intercourse with the servants of Government, and in the constant receipt of information from them. False statements seldom appear without receiving contradiction more or less direct, more or less authoritative. Every Indian journalist of experience and repute has received, in his time, hundreds of letters from Government servants, either supplying or seeking information relative to statements which have appeared in his columns. And we believe that there are few, if any instances, of Indian journalists closing their columns against such contradictions or explanations. Sometimes a Government servant supplies the necessary information to a rival journal, and even then the antidote, if the original statement be shown to be false, is generally supplied by the newspaper which committed the mistake in the first instance—a stretch of candour and fair-dealing seldom to be met with in the English press. Indeed, we believe that there are no journals in the world so habitually open to contradictions and explanations afforded by competent parties, as the journals of British India. If a servant of Government, seeing a false statement in a local journal, that is calculated to do mischief, desires to disabuse the public mind of the pernicious error, he has only to write a private note to the conductor of the journal, in which the false statement originally appeared, to secure the immediate dissemination of the truth.

We have confined ourselves strictly to the points touched upon by Mr. Mill. It is possible that, on a future occasion, we may glance at Mr. Willoughby's statement relative to the general hostility, as regards the acts of the local administration, of the Indian press. But before we quit the subject altogether, we may say a few words regarding the final observation contained in the extract which we have quoted from Mr. Mill's evidence. He says that the Indian administration at home never notices the attacks made upon it by the English press. "It is very seldom," he adds, "that any portion of the press takes up the cause of the Indian Government." And this we really believe to be true. If the Indian press be generally antagonistic to the Government of the Company, the

English press is still more sweeping and unscrupulous in its antagonism. The difference between the two is, that the former deals in specific, the latter in general, charges. The former is more precise, the latter is more declamatory. By the latter the entire character of the Indian Government is wholly misunderstood. The statements of any mob-orator, or travelling-lecturer, or any obscure paper or periodical, are believed, so long as they are only vituperative enough. Virulent denunciations of a system, of which no intelligible account is given, make striking articles, easy to write and pleasant to read. Every body who writes, knows that the easiest style of writing—that which requires least expenditure of thought, and least selection of words, is the abusive. John Company has long been the “best abused man” in all England. Something of the declamatory energy of Burke seems to have descended, in a diluted state, to the English press. Not long ago we read in an English Review an article headed “THE TRADER SOVEREIGN AND THE HINDU SLAVE.” It is so easy to condemn, in round terms, a great public body; and you are sure to find readers for your abuse, if you lay it on thick enough. General impressions are easily carried off; but facts are difficult to remember. A defence of the East India Company is an array of facts, and not very intelligible facts. They burden the memory, are uncomfortable things to deal with, not to be retained without difficulty, and, on the whole, better to be ignored. But a few strong epithets, or even a few brief stereotyped sentences of declamation, are readily kept in store. They are the stock in trade of ignorance. They cost little, are always available, and are easily to be communicated. Indeed, a copious use of hard names saves a deal of trouble, both to writers and readers; so we are not surprised that it is resorted to in place of a laborious enquiry into facts.

Whether the Court of Directors have not carried the *intégral virtute me involvo* system a little too far, is a matter which, we think, may fairly admit of a doubt. Indeed, we believe that we are not wrong in saying that among the Directors themselves there is a difference of opinion on this important subject. The determination to *live down calumny* may be taken as a proof of conscious rectitude. The acute author of *Friends in Council* says, “that we should not be too eager to enter into ‘explanations of our conduct, that in doing so, we often trouble ‘ourselves unnecessarily, for that things will right themselves ‘in time.” But Mr. Helps is here speaking of individual conduct; and men may deal with their own characters as they

please. But the East India Company is not an individual, or a collection of individuals, but a great historical fact. It may be questioned, therefore, whether the mists of gross error and prejudice, which have long surrounded it, ought to be suffered to accumulate without an effort to disperse them. The cause of truth demands, that the character of the East India Company should not be enveloped with an atmosphere of lies.

But although the Court of Directors have held themselves aloof from all direct connexion with the periodical press, and have concocted no sustained measures for the vindication of their character, before the eyes of the public, we do not believe, on that account, that they are ignorant of, or insensible to, the importance of one of the greatest motive powers in the world. They cannot regard so mighty an agency with contemptuous unconcern. And yet such has been asserted of them. A very able weekly contemporary, in an article on "the Government and the Press," characterized by considerable truth and candour, recently said, "We speak with great regret, when we remark that the Court appear to have considered it a duty to 'treat the periodical press with the most lofty contempt, as utterly beneath its notice.'" But we have been informed on authority, which admits of no question, that there is in the great Leadenhall-street mansion hardly a committee-room, a department office, or a Director's private room, in which the yellow cover containing the last issue of this journal is not to be seen. And what is of more consequence, we believe, that the contents of the yellow covers are very extensively read. We believe, too, that our cotemporary's own lucubrations are not treated "with lofty contempt" by the India House officials, but that, on the other hand, very soon after the arrival of the overland mail, they are in pretty general circulation throughout all the labyrinths of that great building.

The "lofty contempt" of which the *Friend of India* speaks, is confined to an entire abstinence from all external connexion with the press, either in India or in England; but that the Court of Directors are ready, at any time, to avail themselves of important information or valuable suggestions, which reach them through a medium, by no means considered contemptible, and that, so far from being angered by any discreet communications made by their servants to the periodical press, they have approved of such intercourse, and indirectly aided it, are facts for which vouchers may readily be found. If we may be allowed to say a word about our own experience;—it must be perfectly well known at the India House, that a

large number of the articles contributed to this *Review*, ever since its establishment, have been the works of members of the two services ; and it must be equally patent to every member of the Direction that the materials on which many of these articles have been founded, could have been obtained only through official channels. But we are not aware that any of the articles written under these circumstances have given offence to the Court of Directors. The result, if we may believe well-informed London correspondents, is precisely the reverse. Certainly, our official contributors have not gone back in the world since they began to contribute to our pages. If the connexion to which we owe so much of our own success has had no effect in advancing theirs, we are certain that it has not retarded it. In estimating these facts, it ought to be borne in mind that, of all the respectable Indian periodicals, the *Calcutta Review* is, probably the one that has from time to time contained the strongest and severest articles in condemnation of various features of the Company's administration.

We readily acquit, therefore, the Court of Directors of a lofty contempt for the press, and a perverse hostility to it. They have, certainly, taken a vast deal of abuse in a very quiet contemptuous manner, and much of the virulent mendacity with which they have been assailed, is deserving only of contempt. But to despise the ignorance or malevolence of those who deal out wholesale charges which they either know to be false or do not know to be true, is not to despise the press. Still, perhaps, they carry to an undue excess their outward indifference to the calumnies with which they are so freely assailed ; for, although these calumnies may be despicable in themselves, they are not always despicable in their results. The result, indeed, is a general misapprehension of the character of the Company's Government. And it is always worth our while, whatever we may think of it, to strangle a popular lie.

There is, of course, great compensation in the conviction, now justified by the fact, that when their doings come to be scrutinized and investigated by the highest tribunal in the land, the verdict will be in their favor. But for this verdict they have to wait twenty years, and a lie of twenty years' growth, which has been all that time striking deep root in the public mind, is not easily eradicated. The public do not care to read gigantic blue books ; and if they did, these ponderous piles of evidence read once every twenty years, would not efface the impressions produced by the "continual dropping" of highly seasoned invectives against the Company's Government, the drift of which

is so easy to understand, and so easy to remember. Lords and Commons may both report, as in the volume before us, that the general tendency of the evidence taken by them, is "favorable to the present system of administering the affairs of India;" and the general verdict of the legislature, as declared in their acts, may demonstrate, that, in the opinions of the representatives of the people, the East India Company have given a good account of their stewardship; but still the people may not be convinced. The press alone can persuade the people. Now, in our estimation, it were well worth the Company's while to consider whether the traditional errors relative to the misgovernment of the Company, to which the English press cling with so much tenacity, might not advantageously be exploded. If the enemies of the Company had not been much more active than their friends, these traditional errors would not have attained to such respectable longevity.

We had not purposed to make further allusion to the evidence taken before the Commons' Committee, but having touched upon the subject of the press, we cannot refrain from quoting the following passage of Lord Hardinge's evidence:—

"2406. (*Mr. Baillie.*)—Do you think that, with a country so absolute in its Government as that of India, there is any danger in the existence of a free press?

"I am of opinion that a free press may, and sometimes is, dangerous in an eastern country, but I cannot say that it has hitherto produced a bad effect. It has frequently detected improper matters which would not bear the light, and has done, in that respect, some good; but in India there is an English feeling in the European community, to have a newspaper every morning at their breakfast table. A great number of Europeans contribute to those newspapers, and the consequence is, that there are frequently very improper and libellous matters contained in those papers, and in that respect it operates, I should say, prejudicially to the general tone of society. In a war, if there was any lengthened struggle, it might be very prejudicial indeed; so much so, that it would be necessary, in many instances, to suppress the discussion of military operations during the campaign; the number of troops moving up, particularly now that railways are to be established. Officers of the army very frequently write to their friends at the Presidencies, informing them what the operations are; those letters appear in the papers next day, and would be in forty-eight hours, back again in our camp and that of the enemy. Great inconvenience might result in such a case

‘ from the liberty of the press ; but at the same time, at the present moment, I may say, it has done much good in detecting and correcting a good deal of evil ; and there are several papers most honourably and ably conducted.

“ 2406. My question had reference principally to the effects that might be produced upon the natives hereafter, considering the great extension of education which is going on in India ?

“ I have no doubt that the press may be, whilst the people is in a state of transition, a dangerous instrument in times of excitement ; at the same time I do not think it so at present, in quiet times.

“ 2407. (*Chairman.*)—We are told that it was not allowed to officials in India to answer any article which appears in the papers in India ?

“ No, nor is it permitted here to our officers, except on personal affairs. The difficulty is this : if I, as the Governor-General, were attacked, and if I think it very important to deny the accusation, and I have the means of proving how ill-founded the libel is, if I do it in one case in which I disprove the charge, I must do so continuously in other cases, or it will be inferred the charge is true. As regards officers of the army or Civil Servants, up to the higher ranks, the members of Council, and even the Governor-General himself, if they once begin to vindicate their acts, there is very great difficulty in not pursuing the same course when the attacks are repeated. Information on any public measure, tending to correct an erroneous impression, or to convey useful knowledge, is resorted to with good effect, and the respectable papers are always ready to give their assistance in circulating it.

“ 2408. You think it would be inconvenient to allow Civil Servants to answer attacks made upon the Government ?

“ Yes, the publication of reports upon the progress of the civilization of the country, the cultivation of lands, and the matters of revenue and excise, are very useful to the officers of the Civil Service ; and a great deal of good might be done in that line by publication ; an officer of the Civil Service goes to an out-station, and has not above two or three Europeans with whom he associates for two or three years. He also associates with the natives ; thus isolated, he should be kept informed of all that is passing at a distance, and periodical papers conveying the information and news of the day are almost a necessity.

"2409. Is it your opinion that any publication should be submitted to the Government of the Presidency before publication ?

"Certainly, Mr. Thomason publishes periodical statements of the revenue, and other matters connected with his Presidency. Those publications are attended with very good effect.

"2410. (*Mr. Wilson.*)—Is it not the case that that portion of the press which is most noted for its libellous character has very little influence ?

"It has very little influence, but it causes a very great deal of annoyance ; courts martial are more frequent, and ill blood arises between individuals ; for instance, an officer may be reprimanded justly by his commanding officer ; the commanding officer is attacked in the newspapers, discipline may be relaxed, if the commanding officer is deficient in moral courage to brave these libels.

"2411. But those attacks in the papers in which they are put, have been attended with very little practical evil, from the small influence that those papers have ?

"As regards the Persian newspapers, into which matters of the most importance are translated, many of them go to Afghanistan, and thence to Bokhara ; they inform the people of those countries, that there is a hope that the British troops may be beaten in an encounter with the Sikhs, or when the account of a misfortune at the Cape is received, it is immediately translated into the Persian language, and it travels into Afghanistan and Bokhara, and Herat ; so that the system of allowing a free press extends very rapidly, not only throughout India, but through the countries adjacent to India ; and when railways are established, and education becomes more extensive, it is difficult to say what may be the result of a free press in our eastern empire.

"2412. But the information in Cape papers and English papers might be translated in the same way ; and, therefore, if the press were restricted in India, it would not stop the evil which you apprehend from such information being translated into the languages of the native states ?

"I do not suppose it would altogether.

"2413. (*Mr. Hume.*)—You have been asked a question respecting the danger of the press in India. Has it come within your knowledge that many abuses, both civil and military, have been noticed indirectly and directly in the newspapers, before those facts came to the knowledge of the official authorities ?

“I cannot recollect any particular instance at the present moment : misconduct on the part of those in power can be brought to light by the press.”

There are few, we believe, of the more respectable members of the Indian press, who will not cheerfully assent to the greater portion of this. It is fair and candid, and, for a Governor-General, extremely liberal. We may admit, too, that there is something in what he says about the danger of free publication, when our intelligence may travel back, along iron roads, within a few days, to the enemy's camp. But may not this argument be applied to the question of a Free press in all countries? May not the evil exist nearer home?

Lord Hardinge's evidence is, in many important reports, an answer to Lord Ellenborough's—we shall speak of it more in detail in our next issue. He believes that the present system of Government is that which is most likely to promote the welfare of the people of India ; and we trust that we have done something, in this article, to show that this is no mere conjecture, but a substantial fact.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

A Dictionary, English and Sanskrit. By Monier Williams, M. A., Professor at the East India College, Haileybury, formerly Boden Sanskrit scholar in the University of Oxford. Published under the patronage of the Honourable East India Company. London. W. H. Allen and Co. 1851.

RATHER more than five years ago, we had occasion, in our Number for March, 1847, to notice an elementary Sanskrit grammar, compiled by Mr. Williams, who, well aware of the difficulties encountered by a beginner in this copious and flexible language, had undertaken to make crooked ways straight, and to render easy the access to the great temple of oriental literature. Acting on the principle, that, whatever a man finds ready to his hand to do, he should do it with all his might, Mr. Williams has, for the last eight years, been employing a great deal of his time in the compilation of a Dictionary, from English into Sanskrit, and the results of his labours are now before us, in a goodly volume, more ponderous than Riddle, more imposing than Donnegan, and fully equal in size to Shakespeare's Hindustani dictionary, or to the Sanskrit and English Dictionary of Mr. H. H. Wilson. The reasons for the employment of so much time and talent, on a work of this kind, are conveyed to us in the preface, and may be summed up as follows. To know a language thoroughly, is to be able to compose in it with accuracy and ease. But the attainment of facility in composition is not to be expected without the usual aids. Now the students of the East India College, who are required to compose in Sanskrit, have long been destitute of any such aids; and Mr. Williams, having come to their assistance, thus places before them a volume which should leave them no excuse, if they cannot, by its assistance, compose Sanskrit slokes with something of the same fatal facility that characterises the performances of boys in the sixth form, at public schools, in regard to Greek Iambics and Latin Hexameters.

This laudable desire to facilitate the study of a difficult language, for the students of a college where the author himself is a Professor, has led Mr. Williams, for the last eight years, to ransack all sorts of Dictionaries, to collect, and collate and transcribe, and to undergo an infinity of toil, which can only be appreciated by those who have laboured in the same department of knowledge. The tribute of praise justly to be awarded to Mr. Williams, for his research and diligence, may be considered quite independently of the question of whether Sanskrit is, or is not, a useful part of the Haileybury curriculum. In this, indeed, Mr. Williams will find few advocates, at least in India. The fallacy of imagining that any knowledge of Sanskrit,

whether profound or superficial, is positively indispensable to the Civil Servant ; that the time spent in the acquirement of that knowledge, whatever be its amount, is not time misspent, inasmuch as it defrauds other branches of learning of that attention which is really their due—has been demonstrated a dozen times, from past experience and present examples, by some of the ablest writers on this side of the Peninsula. Were the aids to the attainment of Sanskrit so multiplied, by the talents and judicious research of men like Mr. Williams, that this toughest of eastern languages should become as easy as Spanish or Italian, we should still exclaim against the policy which made the study thereof compulsory at the East India College. But so long as it is compulsory, so long as a man may lose his Term, and be thrown back for six months, because he has not mastered the proper quantum of the Mahābhārata or the Hitopadēsha, so long as high honorary distinctions are given for proficiency in Sanskrit,—a work, such as the present, should be gratefully acknowledged. Here is the writer's own account of the manner in which he proceeded in the compilation of the Dictionary.

“ It will not be necessary for the Compiler to dwell on the many difficulties he has had to encounter in pursuing his solitary labours, unassisted by the native Pandits and transcribers, who lighten the toil of the lexicographer in India. Those who understand what it is to be a pioneer in any work of lexicography, to be, as it were, the first to break and clear the ground over an untrodden field of enquiry, will, doubtless, in their candour, appreciate at its full value the labour he has undergone in carrying this volume to its completion. They will also be prepared to expect inequality in the execution, especially of the earlier pages, and many defects and inconsistencies throughout the whole body of the Dictionary, agreeably to the inevitable law of expansion and improvement, to which such a work must be subject in its progress through the press. No apology need, therefore, be made for these imperfections. But a brief account of the method in which, during nearly eight years, the Compiler has prosecuted his labours, would seem to be expected of him, and is, in fact, rendered necessary by the entire novelty of his work.

“ He commenced by transcribing carefully, and then arranging in alphabetical order, all the English words, with their Sanskrit synonyms, contained in the Kosha of Amara Sinha, edited by the late Mr. Colebrooke. His next step was, to have copied, in nearly two thousand pages of large folio paper, with suitable intervals, all the English words in Riddle's English-Latin Dictionary, known to be very useful in Latin composition. Having thus prepared a kind of thesaurus, or repository for the collection of words and phrases, he proceeded to insert therein, in their proper places, all the words of the Amara Kosha, above referred to, as well as all those contained in the Hitopadēsha, the selections from the Mahābhārata, edited by Professor Johnson, the Meghaduta, the Anthology of Professor

Lassen, and all the roots, with some of the examples, comprised in that most learned and admirable compilation, the 'Radices Linguae Sanskritae' of Professor Westergaard.

"A sound and solid foundation of useful household words being thus laid, the Compiler commenced reversing the second edition of Professor Wilson's Sanskrit and English Dictionary, incorporating in his thesaurus all the new words as they occurred, and omitting only those which represented ideas or things having no approximate equivalent in English. This was a process of much time and labour, requiring a very attentive perusal of the Dictionary, accompanied by much transcribing, collating, arranging, and inserting of words and phrases. It might be hastily inferred, that having accomplished thus much, considerable advance had been made towards the completion of the work; and if the object of the Compiler had been to compose a good vocabulary, reversing the senses of the words in the Sanskrit and English Dictionary, and nothing more, such would have been the case. But a complete Dictionary, which was intended to offer an effectual help to the student in practising translation, was not merely to be compiled by collecting words and reversing meanings. It was to be continuously composed, with a thoughtful consideration of the best Sanskrit equivalents for modern expressions and idioms, and a careful disposition, under each English word, of its several equivalents, in their proper order, and in their proper connexion with its several shades of meaning. In fact, the real business of writing the Dictionary had now to be commenced. Having procured the latest edition of Webster's English Dictionary, in which are contained all the words of Todd's Edition of Dr. Johnson, with many modern additions, as well as all the participles and adverbs, the author proceeded to translate it systematically into Sanskrit, either gathering his materials from his own collection of classical words, or assisting his memory by suggestions from the Bengali Lexicon of Ram Comul Sen, and omitting only those expressions which seemed obsolete or obsolescent, or of which no classical equivalent could be found or suggested."

But the labour was not yet over. Omissions became apparent as the labourer warmed to his work. An appendix was commenced on: the Sanskrit and English Dictionary of Professor Wilson was reperused. The code of Manu, the plays of Kalidāsa, parts of the Raghuvansa, the poem of Bhatti, and the two great Epic or Heroic poems, were attentively studied. Extracts were made from modern Sanskrit treatises, and from the works of Bopp, and the practised scholarship of Professor Johnson was indented on for words collected by that indefatigable orientalist, in the course of his long and varied reading. When we add to this, that Mr. Williams reversed a considerable part of Captain Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary, and hunted for scientific terms amongst the works of Major Candy, Dr. Ballantyne, and the late Dr. Yates, we may have given our readers some idea of the labour involved in the preparation of a work of this kind.

An obvious criticism on the above remarks is, that an immensity of time and trouble has been taken for a set of young men, one-half of whom will never value the work ; and that were the East India College to be swept away by some Resolution at the expiry of the present Charter, there would remain no one institution in England where the compulsory study of Sanskrit could render such a Dictionary essential, or even valuable. But we are happy to say that the character of the work is such that it may be of real service to all who, from whatever cause, devote themselves to the study of Hindu antiquities, or Hinduism in any shape ; to the laborious philologist who, at Bonn or Heidelberg, sighs for new fields of science to be invaded, and for additional languages to be conquered : to the historian who attempts to re-construct the frame-work of Eastern society, as it existed even before the days of Manu : to the philanthropist who seeks to recruit or improve, from the great parent language, the off-shoots of Mahratti, Bengali, or Hindi, or other dialects : to the missionary, who in the very stronghold of Brahmanism, and in the heart of the Sacred City, is desirous of contending with learned Pandits on the most subtle and recondite doctrines of Hindu philosophy. "It has been the desire of the Compiler," says the preface, "to make this volume not only a thesaurus of synonyms and phrases, but a repository of much useful information in connexion with such subjects. In illustration of this, the reader may turn to the words Water, Fire, Hand, Lotus, Vishnu, Siva, Indra, Veda, Scripture, Rite, Sacrament, Manes, School, Marriage, Measure, Planet," &c., &c.

The expectations excited by a perusal of the above passage, have been abundantly fulfilled by a reference to the explanatory details appended to the above words, as well as to several others. An ample store of information is there available on many of the most important topics of Hindu mythology, social intercourse, and religious observance. The avatars of Vishnu, the exploits of Krishna, the books which contain the older and the later faith of orthodox Hindus, the peculiar ceremonies observed on every great event in the life of the Grihastha, the seasons of the year, the varieties of the lotus, the different kinds of minerals, the doctrines of the schools—on all these topics there is a fund of knowledge grouped together, which will gratify the curiosity and aid the researches of all enquirers, whether their attention be directed to the study of Indian antiquities, or to the study of Indian botany or zoology, or even to the "mere pliancy and malleability" of the Sanskrit, and "its amazing power of expressing exotic ideas, by the employment of an infinite variety of compound words." On this latter ground alone, the work possesses great value ; and as it places the almost inexhaustible resources of the parent language of so many other Indian spoken dialects at the absolute disposal of any student, it may be consulted with great advantage by all men, who wish judiciously to improve any of the vernaculars, and to give to prose composition therein richness without pedantry, and variety

without obscurity. We hope that the work may be translated into German, and meanwhile that it may be consulted by all oriental scholars. In fact, it is on the general utility of the work, as an aid to the acquirement of Sanskrit, and as a book of reference on many peculiarities of the Hindu system, that Mr. Williams will rest his hopes of obtaining a wide and honourable reputation. We have little doubt that his Dictionary, though obviously not a work calculated for a drawing-room table, or even for every study, will be gratefully acknowledged by orientalists of every shade and character, on the Continent, in India, and at Home. And though conscientiously differing from Mr. Williams in his estimate of the value of Sanskrit as a preparation for the career of the future Civil Servant, we are glad to have this opportunity of recording our admiration of the author's powers of research and combination, of the lucid order which characterises the work, in spite of its having far outgrown its original dimensions, of the accuracy and beauty of the type, and of the happy union of classical usage and judicious innovation, which characterises the whole.

A Vocabulary, Bengali and English, for the use of Students, by the late Mohan Prasad Thakur, Assistant Librarian in the College of Fort William, Third Edition. Calcutta. Sanders, Cones and Co. 1852.

THIS is a reprint of a little work, published forty years ago, and dedicated to Dr. Carey. It is fitted to be very useful to all students of the Bengali language; and to them we cordially recommend it. By committing a page of it to memory every day, they will, in the course of half a year, acquire a knowledge of all the vocables of the language that are in common use. But as the arrangement will allow each student to omit the words belonging to such subjects as he is not likely to have occasion for, any one may acquire, in a much shorter space of time, a competent knowledge of such words as he will probably meet with in the course of his reading, or as he will probably have occasion to use in the course of his conversation or composition in the language. For example, any one, except a medical man, may omit the twelve pages devoted to the subject of *Materia Medica*; and so with other students and other subjects.

We wish the publishers, in bringing out this new edition, had corrected the faultiness of the Romanizing. We have also, in running our eye down the pages, detected a few typographical errors in the Bengali; but these will not very materially detract from the usefulness of the work.

It will give our readers some idea of the exceeding copiousness of the Bengali language, if we select from the section on "Kindred and Affinity," the different relationships which in this language are expressed by different words. We have *father, mother, son, daughter,*

brother, sister, brother of the whole blood, sister of ditto, father's father, father's mother, mother's father, mother's mother, father's elder brother, father's elder brother's wife, father's younger brother, father's younger brother's wife, mother's brother, mother's brother's wife, father's sister, father's sister's husband, mother's sister, mother's sister's husband, father's elder brother's son, father's elder brother's daughter, father's younger brother's son, father's younger brother's daughter, father's sister's son, father's sister's daughter, mother's brother's son, mother's brother's daughter, mother's sister's son, mother's sister's daughter, brother's son, brother's daughter, sister's son, sister's daughter, husband, wife, husband's or wife's father, husband's or wife's mother, child's wife's (or husband's) father, child's wife's (or husband's) mother, daughter's husband, son's wife, wife's brother, wife's sister, wife's sister's husband, husband's elder brother, husband's elder brother's wife, husband's younger brother, husband's younger brother's wife, husband's sister, husband's sister's husband, sister's husband, foster brother, brother by a different mother.

It will thus appear, that the Bengalis distinguish, by separate words, ten relationships which we confound under the common terms *uncle* and *aunt* ; that they express by ten terms the relationships, which we lump together under the single term *cousin*, while they have many terms to express degrees of affinity, which we are content to designate by a long periphrasis. Long as this list is, it might have been greatly extended, by the insertion of a string of great-grand-fathers extending back to innumerable generations.

To return to the *Vocabulary*, we repeat that it is fitted to be exceedingly useful to all students of the Bengali language.

Memoir of the First Campaign in the Hills North of Catchee, under Major Billamore, in 1839-40. By one of his Surviving Subalterns. London. Allen and Co. 1852.

THIS little contribution to the recent history of India is so interesting, that we wish it had been divested of its controversial character. Major Billamore's campaign was so well conducted, and afforded so good a specimen of what can be done by British discipline and steadiness, that its history was worthy of being written, even if Sir W. Napier had not called out the author by "ignoring" the whole facts of the campaign, or implying that the result was the opposite of what it really was ; this being the alternative to which we are reduced by the assertion that his brother was the first man who led troops into the hill country North of Catchee without disaster.

Viewed in a controversial light, it certainly appears that the Subaltern has the better of the argument ; but we cannot help thinking that he might have done justice to his old commander and companions in arms, without introducing, into almost every page, some remarks

in disparagement of the Napiers. However, the book will well repay perusal, and will be useful to the future historian by showing him the other side of the question.

*Third Report of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society.
Bombay. 1852.*

THREE years ago certain students of the Elphinstone Institution of Bombay, with the aid of one or two of their Professors, established a Society for the diffusion of knowledge among their countrymen, and commenced a career of persevering labour, which, year by year, has raised them higher in the estimation of all who have watched their progress. From the very first they have shown a strong healthy vigour of purpose, far different from the indefiniteness of thought, the mental effeminacy which, in too many cases, checks all permanent improvement in Bengal. The students seem to know what they want and why they want it, and with that most necessary knowledge, have come to a quiet determination to secure the desired object. They do not consider themselves the most oppressed of human beings because they are not all appointed to Government situations ; and although anxious for State assistance—they would not be Asiatics else—they can wait and work on cheerfully. This is their third report, and we perceive from it, that the Society possesses a fund of about Rs. 20,309, and last year expended Rs. 8,631, of which Rs. 1,759 was for the payment of schoolmasters and their assistants, Rs. 1,656 for school-books, Rs. 2,000 for philosophical apparatus, and Rs. 1,020 for a collection of fossils, minerals, and earths. The exact number of members is unfortunately not mentioned, but the Managing Committee contains nine names, of whom two are Europeans, four Parsis, and three Hindus. Throughout the lists we do not observe a single Mohammedan name, although the Mohammedans form so numerous and wealthy a class in the island. Forty members were present at the meeting convened to adopt the report, which seems to have given general satisfaction. Although the great majority of the members are natives, the Society employs the English language almost exclusively, and all its proceedings are in that tongue ; but the evil, in so far as it is an evil, is remedied by an excellent system of affiliated associations, whose operations are confined exclusively to the Vernaculars. These latter are chiefly composed of the members of the parent association, and the system of superintendence, rather than control, which is maintained by the former, is thus described :—

We need not here repeat what we stated in former reports regarding the obvious advantages of the *Dnyān-prasāra* Societies as *diffusers of knowledge* among the uneducated masses, by lectures, discussions, and cheap publications in the Vernacular languages. The superintendence which this Society exercises over those bodies has, you are aware, been freely delegated to us by the Societies themselves.

Each branch is represented here by its President, who enters this Society as *ex-officio* Vice-President, and member of the Managing Committee. The Societies are entirely independent of this meeting as regards self-government, and the management of their internal affairs. But at the same time we shall always consider it our duty to express ourselves with entire freedom, whether in praise or in censure, concerning all matters, which are likely to exercise an influence on the interests of the commonwealth at large.

The means upon which the students principally rely for the diffusion of information among their countrymen, are female schools, essays, lectures, and publications in the Vernacular. We are not quite certain whether these expedients—always excepting the female schools—are not a little too Western in their origin and character. The few great movements in native society, which history records, have been brought about by very different means : but be that as it may, the projects of the students have been carried out with energy and perseverance. The essays in particular demand observation. We confess we are always weary of seeing the rising intellect of the country wasting its strength in purposeless disquisitions upon abstract questions, in which he who writes best must repeat the greatest number of truisms, and it is only by deviation into falsehood that any one can hope to be original. All such effusions, so dear to Young Bengal, read, from the very nature of the subject, like a series of moral copy-slips strung together, and rendered more than usually puerile by losing the succinctness, which is their only merit. Not much better are the interminable literary disquisitions in which young Babus undertake to reveal to an admiring world, beauties in Milton, which Macaulay never perceived, and archaisms in Shakspeare, which Halliwell never detected. It is something to turn from this literary blanc mange—sweet, smooth and tasteless, with tendency to turn sour—to the essays of the Bombay students, who “have oiled their limbs ‘to struggle with stubborn obstinate facts.’” The expression is an odd one, being apparently modelled after Mrs. Gamp’s celebrated opinion, that “facts is stubborn and not easy drove,”—but the feeling is in the highest degree creditable to the writers. The list of English essays read during the year is as follows :—

Besides two papers by the Secretary on the History of the Elphinstone Institution, seventeen essays were read and discussed during the Term. Of these, seven treated of educational and social subjects, three were historical, three scientific, and four literary and miscellaneous. Among those which excited the greatest interest, we may specify the following :—“A short history of the newspapers in Bombay, English and Native, together with remarks on the spirit in which the latter are conducted,” by Dosābhāi Frāmji (Editor of the *Jām-i-Jamshid*) ; “On the state of education among the Parsis of Bombay, before and since the establishment of the Elphinstone Institution,” by Bamanji Pestanji, (Gujarāti Vice-President for 1852) ; “On the present state of the Banians, with suggestions for improving their moral and social condition,” by Mohanlal Ranchoddas (now President of the B. H. Sabhā) ; and the first of a series of papers “On the metallurgy of India,” by Ardeshir Frāmji, of whose lectures on Chemistry, in the Gujarāti Dnyān-prasārak Society, favourable notice has more than once been taken by the English press.

We have placed the four in italics, because in Bengal, out of the

seventeen subjects, fifteen at least would have been connected with literature, and of these ten would have been on the merits of Pope, two on Milton's *Paradise Lost*—for Young Bengal has no idea of *Comus*—two on Shakespeare's tragedies, and one on Kalidasa—the last, the most interesting of the batch. The same spirit of practicalness pervades all the Vernacular publications, but of the sixteen subjects upon which papers are ready for the press, there is only one—meteorology—which we could willingly have dispensed with. Even that may possibly be of use to a people who believe that a falling star is a sinning spirit, which has lost its power of residing in the bright heaven, and whose ideas on the direction of the winds are by no means in accordance with the doctrines of Reid and Piddington :—

In Maráthi.—1, Applied Chemistry ; 2, Physical Geography ; 3, Physical History of Man, Part I. ; 4, Chronology ; 5, History of India ; 6, Superstitions ; 7, Private duties of life ; 8, Preservation of health ; 9, Statistics. *In Gujáráti*.—1, Zoology ; 2, Meteorology ; 3, Grammar ; 4, Logic ; 5, Political Economy ; 6, Government ; 7, History of India.

The members of the largest of the affiliated Societies, the Dnyan-prasárák Mandali exhibit precisely the same spirit. They have endeavoured to enlighten their countrymen by Vernacular essays, a report of which appeared in the local journals at the time, and excited an interest, which spoke volumes for the Parsi love of improvement. Only ten were delivered during the year, on the following subjects :—

The following is a list of the Essays read during the two Sessions ;—1, Early history of the British Empire in India, by Edalji Rustamji ; 2, Influence of Custom in India, by Edalji Nánábhái ; 3, What is Wealth ? by Dádábhái Náurozji ; 4, Disadvantages of Early Marriages, by Jehangir Hormazji ; 5, Unnecessary expenditure at Weddings, by Mayárám Shambhunáth ; 6, False Notions regarding Astrology, by Dádábhái Náurozji ; 7, Some of the Evil Customs connected with Ceremonies for the Dead, by Pránál Mathurádas ; 8, Sources of the Ancient History of Persia, by Jehangir Barjorji ; 9, Education of Parsi boys before the establishment of the *Elphinstone Institution*, by Bamanji Pestanji ; 10, Superstitious Notions, by Edalji Nasarwánji.

So deep was the interest felt in these discussions, that the debate on the fourth topic occupied four days, and the debate on the ceremonies for the dead resulted in the establishment of a new Society, which resolved to attempt to cleanse Zoroastrianism of all the extraneous customs and ceremonies, by which it has been corrupted, an effort which, if fairly carried out, can but lay bare the foundations of the structure. In addition to these subjects, Mr. Ardeshir Jamshedji delivered some lectures on Legerdemain, which created quite an enthusiasm in the Parsi community, and have had a powerful effect in dissipating certain superstitions. The monthly magazine of the Society embraces not only a regular account of its "transactions," but a series of papers on manufactures and arts, besides contributions on the ancient history of Persia, and the cave-temples of India. It has attained a circulation of two hundred copies in Bombay, and seventeen in China, the Parsis of Canton taking an extraordinary interest in the operations of the Society.

The ultimate object of the students being to effect a permanent

improvement among their countrymen, they early turned their attention towards the education of the women, for which they possessed peculiar facilities. The seclusion of female children at Bombay appears to be by no means so zealous as in Bengal, and the students were not obstructed by that undefined distrust, which perpetually obstructs the efforts even of European ladies in this direction. They have now under their superintendence three Parsi female schools, which contained, in 1851, 196 pupils. This number rose in 1852 to 371, but the daily attendance is much smaller, the carelessness and irregularity of the parents in this respect being one of the greatest difficulties with which the masters have to contend. Reading, writing, geography and arithmetic, embroidery and needle-work, appear to be the studies chiefly attended to, and in all, the progress of the little girls is decidedly satisfactory. The introduction of the monitorial system, by which the eldest and cleverest girls are made to teach the younger and themselves at the same time, has greatly relieved the masters, while it affords ground for hope, that at some future time a class of female teachers will be available. The Hindu schools, in which Marathi is the Vernacular, have not been quite so successful, partly from the greater indifference of this class of the population, and partly from accidental causes. There is still, however, a vast improvement upon the indigenous *patshalas*, of which Messrs. Ramchander Balcrushna and Vishwanath Narayan remark :—

Those vulgar exhibitions that are so constantly to be witnessed in the island, of a few wretched urchins huddled together in a dismal room (situated in some squalid gully without light or air) squatting round a Puntaji, himself stupid and half naked, and jabbering away mysterious paragraphs in barbarous Maráthi, of which neither they nor the teacher, who professes to be able to enlighten them, can explain two consecutive sentences.

An account of a visit to these schools inserted in the report is sufficiently interesting for extract :—

Imagine in a spacious room, furnished after the European fashion, some thirty or forty little girls, all drest in their best,—many of them laden with rich ornaments, anklets and ear-rings, seated, in order, around the room, gazing anxiously from their large, lustrous, and soulful eyes upon the strangers who sit at the table directing the examination, aided by the teacher, the superintendents, the worthy Shet and his kinsmen ; see behind them a crowd of Hindus in their flowing robes and picturesque turbans, their faces beaming with eagerness and delight, as they watch the answers of the pupils,—many of them relations, some even their wives ; listen also to the low and sweet voices of childhood, chanting in the melodious Gujaráti (the Ionic of Western India) the praises of education ; and you may be able to form some idea of the scene, and of one of the most pleasurable moments in the life of a new-comer.

There are four classes in the school. The course of the first class is reading *Dnyánbodhak* (Knowledge-Imparter), moral tales, writing, a little natural history, mental arithmetic, embroidery, and sewing ; that of the other classes descends, regularly, from this standard down to the alphabet. The little girls read, for us, by turns, and were then asked to express in their own words the meaning of the passages, which they did with ease ; they answered correctly some questions in arithmetic, requiring a knowledge of the first rules and of the money of this country, and showed some acquaintance with the names of the animals on the

school plates. The specimens of writing in the Nāgri character, that were shown, were very good, but written, of course, in a large hand.

The infant schools may possibly be of advantage, but we should like to have a rather more detailed account of their operation than is here supplied, as we have a strong impression that this is a department that requires very careful looking after, and that it may be the instrument of much good or of much evil. We believe that one main object to be attended to in the education of infants is the development of their limbs, that the main part of their mental and moral training ought to be of a negative kind, and that when we have taken steps to prevent their acquiring bad habits, the part assigned to us during the first four, five or even six years of a child's life, is accomplished. For these purposes, the development of the limbs, and the preservation of the child from bad example and from evil influences, infant schools may be of immense service ; but when they go out of this field, when the teacher is seized with the ambition of converting his charge into so many infant prodigies, they are sure to do harm rather than good.

Altogether the report is a pleasant one, as an evidence that in one corner of India, at least, the influence of European civilization has produced something nobler than mere imitations.

Notes on the North Western Provinces of India ; by Charles Raihes, Magistrate and Collector of Mynpuri. Dedicated to the Members of the Civil Service in India. London. Chapman and Hall. 1852.

MR. RAIKES, the author of the little volume before us, is a civilian of rather more than twenty years' standing, whose time of service has been spent mainly in the districts of Shahjehanpore, Benares, and Moradabad, in the Agra division of the Presidency. Having been in the habit of writing for the *Benares Magazine*, he has lately collected his scattered papers from the pages of that periodical, and has had them published in London in excellent type and on good paper, with the addition of one fresh article or chapter on the Police of Upper India. The book professes to give a "few simple details 'of the working of our Police and Revenue systems," and to set before untravelling readers in England "a popular description of the 'every-day duties which occupy their sons or brothers in the Indian 'Civil Service.'" The most important chapter is that on female infanticide amongst the Rajputs, the laudable means taken to prevent which, have been duly chronicled and praised in the up-country papers. The other chapters are mostly occupied with details of the Land Revenue system, notices of the village communities, the character and domestic history of Rajputs, and the duties of a civilian generally. At the present juncture, any work, especially one on the social condition of the people of India, will naturally

attract more or less attention, and Mr. Raikes' pages, which are written by one who knows what he is writing about, are of that stamp which carries a reader pleasantly along with it, and which makes the details of settlements and thief-catching easy to be followed and understood. Here and there, it must be said, we detect the presence of some Latin and French quotations, which we had conceived to have been by this time worn quite thread-bare, and it is impossible, on the most cursory perusal, to mistake the complacent self-satisfied smirk of the up-country civilian, who has settled down into the comfortable belief, that all the good done in India, is done within the limits of the Agra division of the Presidency, and that everything is barrenness elsewhere. The best thing to be done with an unpretending work of this kind is simply to set before our readers a few extracts from the most attractive parts thereof: they generally explain themselves and require little comment. Here is a description of the appearance of an up-country village, which forms an agreeable pendant to the more solid parts of Mr. George Campbell's excellent work:—

The traveller passing up towards the north-west, from the sacred spot where, under the walls of Allahabad, the Ganges and Jumna unite, must not expect to see anything like a beautiful country. For, in truth, whatever there may be of sylvan or rural beauty in the Doab, does not disclose itself to the wayfarer on the high road. The highway itself, with its stream of varied life, may interest; the general look of the country will only give disappointment. Yet, if you strike off the beaten path at any point from Allahabad to Delhi, you can scarcely go many miles without coming upon scenes of much quiet beauty. Villages, surrounded at one season with the richest vegetation, at another with golden crops, throw an air of rural comfort and abundance over the scene. The mango grove, the tank, the village shrine, adorn a landscape, which, if not beautiful, is at least pleasing to the eye. The most prominent object in such scenes is the old village fort, which has for centuries sheltered some clan of Rajputs, half-kings, half-robbers. Passing the underwood in which cattle are grazing, the lotus-covered pond, the groves and orchards which cluster around, you come to the stronghold whose rising towers look over the surrounding plain. The approach is by a rough steep track worn deep with the feet of men and cattle. The thick bambu jungle, which once surrounded the walls, has been cut down, the moat has been nearly filled up with the rubbish of a century, the massive doors have fallen into decay; but still there is a rough kind of stateliness, a sort of baronial dignity, hanging about the place. Pushing through a wicket, you come under a heavy gateway, into the quadrangular inclosure within the walls. Here all tells of rural abundance, and of the *dolce far niente* of country life. On one side are buffaloes and cows tethered, lazily chewing the cud, or eating their provender out of huge earthenware vessels let into the earth; on another side is a range of stabling for horses, bullocks, or other cattle. Here a long open passage is filled with the palanquins and bullock-carriages of the family; there stands a row of closed chambers, stored with the produce of the farm, heaps of grain, oil-cake, or sugar in great reservoirs of unbaked clay, defying damp and vermin. At the further corner of this inclosure is a rough stair, leading up to the flat roofs of the stables and storehouses below. Here are the lounging-places, the beds of the male members of the family, and chambered galleries, leading away to the more private abodes of the women. Your Rajput is not very choice about his bedroom or bed, and is satisfied with any corner in which the wind blows upon him, where he can find a place to hang up his trusty sword and buckler close at hand. For a seat he has a great clumsy wooden platform, or a cart-wheel set up upon legs. The most luxurious have nothing better than a carpet or rug, with great pillows of red cloth, stuffed with tow or cotton, of which the shape and size would make an English upholsterer stare. Furniture, besides what we have described,

there is none : but in the recesses of the wall you may see, perchance, a bundle of dusty papers, a powder-horn, an inkstand, and perhaps the picture of some god or hero. Pigeons fly in and out of little boxes fastened against the walls, and perhaps a stray, melancholy-looking peacock, stalks sentinel-like along the galleries. The sacred pipul or banyan-tree has been taught to climb across the roof, throwing a pleasant shade around. In a quiet corner, as you stoop to look into the deep cool well, the sudden dropping of a curtain, and the clank of a bangle, tell that the female apartments are not far off.

Here is a good description of some of the agriculturists of Upper India :—

After the Brahmin and Rajput cultivator in point of blood, but far superior to them in agricultural skill and industry, come the Jat and Kachi tribes. Then follows a variety of families, who are seldom found as proprietors, but who cultivate the soil in patches of varying extent in almost every village. Some of these nearly monopolise peculiar crops ; as, for instance, the Kahar or bearer caste, who generally grow the singhara in pools, and hemp in light soils, as well as the ordinary cereals. Taking these cultivators in the mass, they are, as we might expect, a lower race, perhaps morally, and certainly physically, than the owners of the land. Centuries of subordination to village tyranny have left these men servile, timid, and deceitful. They are, however, more sinned against than sinning ; humble, patient, and industrious, but withal slippery and cunning ; living from hand to mouth ; depending more or less on the favour of the village proprietor, and his creature, the village accountant ; we must not expect to find amongst them the severer virtues of our race. It is no small credit to them to say, that though often driven to satisfy their hunger by parching the unripe crops in the corner of a field, yet they generally pay their rents honestly. Their houses surround the fort in which the heads of the village dwell, and stretch out to the edge of the cultivation. The coarsest bread, with the rare addition of a little sugar, or ghi, satisfies their hunger. A cloth round their loins made in the village loom, and a rough woollen blanket made by the village shepherd for winter, complete their ordinary dress. A few brass pots, rude ploughs and well-ropes, form their capital ; a few toil-worn bullocks, with perhaps a milch cow or buffalo, form their live-stock. The early dawn sees thousands of these hard-working men plodding forth to their daily task in winter : the summer moon shines on their labours all night long. Like the patriarch of old, "in the day the drought consumes them, and the frost by night, and the sleep departs from their eyes."

Men who are fond of statistics may find some information in the following memoranda, which are taken from a pamphlet by Mr. C. C. Jackson, modified by the experience and observation of the author :—

RENT.*

Money rent varies from 15 rs. an acre to 1 r. 4 as. Average rents may be set down thus :—

Land of the 1st quality. The very best land, in which tobacco, poppy, caraway seeds, safflower, and garden stuffs are grown, lets at 3 rs. per village begah, or 15 rs. per acre.

Land of the 2nd quality. From 12 rs. 8 as. per acre to 7 rs. 8 as. Crops as in first quality, or wheat.

Land of the 3rd quality. From 5 rs. to 1-4 per acre. In this land all the more ordinary cereals, also sugar-cane, indigo, and cotton, are produced. Garden ground is seldom rented so low as this, except where there are no good masonry wells for irrigation. The proportion of each quality of land is about as follows :—

1st Quality,	2½ per cent.
2nd	6½ "
3rd	91 "

* We may remind the English reader that a rupee is worth about two shillings and contains sixteen annas.

LABOUR.

Ploughing in light sandy soils may be done at the rate of about one-half acre per diem; the hire of ploughman, plough, and a pair of small bullocks, being about four annas. A working day for one pair of bullocks is from sunrise to noon.

Irrigation.—One pair of bullocks in six hours, with three men, will irrigate one-fifth of an acre.*

Weeding.—In a country like India, where vegetation is so rapid, the weeds would destroy the autumnal crop but for constant weeding. Average hire of men, women, and boys, one with another, is little more than 1½ anna per diem.

Reaping.—The labourer gets one sheaf in twenty, and takes care to bind good heavy ones for his own use, which the owner winks at, unless he be more than usually churlish. But customs vary, the general rule being that the reaper gets 8 to 10 lbs. weight of ears of corn for his day's work.

Rent payable by the ryots or tenants to the superior landholders is either in money or kind. Payments in kind are becoming less common every year, and prevail most in the wilder parts of the country. In unhealthy rough parts (such as the belt of jungle under our mountain ranges, for instance) the tenant gets two-thirds, or even three-fourths, of the crop; in more favoured places his share is about one-half of the produce. The landlord's share is given to him as it stands, or divided at the granary, as may be most convenient; sometimes it is converted into money by appraisement. Like most purely agricultural folk, the ryot has an eye for valuation, which, when there is nothing to give it a bias, is unerring; he can tell to a few pounds' weight the out-turn of a crop of standing corn. One custom is curious and worthy of mention, as throwing light on the manners of the people. A proprietor who has a good opinion of his tenant's honesty will allow him to cut and store his grain without any restriction. When the harvest is over, the landlord takes as his share whatever the tenant gives him. This settlement, "*in foro comacenticia*," is called *Ram Kotulea*, or God's store, i. e., a share given fairly as in the sight of God.

The pert, confident, but at the same time efficient native official is not badly described in the following dialogue:—

I had made my usual march one morning, and was hearing my police reports after breakfast; old Sheikh Kullu was opening them in a corner of my tent, and reading, spectacle on nose, in the regular orthodox sing-song tone, interlarding his recitative with an occasional remark, generally complimentary to me, or the reverse of complimentary to any police official who might not happen to be in his good books.

Sheikh Kullu loquitur (very rapidly, and in the Urdu-Persic jargon of the Foujdarrî courts).—"No event of any importance noted from Thanah Junglepur—two old women tumbled into wells—one man gored by a bullock—one attempt at burglary—one little boy lost at the Dêvi mêlah—one burkundaz wants leave of absence:—" (sing-song ends—the Sheikh speaks in his blandest natural tones)—"The prosperity of your honour is so great, that to open these daily thanah reports is now almost superfluous. I remember the time when we used to have gang-robberies every month; and highway robberies, attended with wounding, every fortnight, but now, owing to the great good fortune." Here the Naib Nazir was interrupted by the entrance of a very important personage (in his own opinion), Rung Lal, acting tahsildar of M———, who stated that he had just received an express from the neighbouring police-officer of Junglepur, to the effect that a robbery of four thousand rupees had taken place at Mullowlie. Rung Lal expressed his desire to go at once to the spot, and to assist in the investigation. "Four thousand rupees!" said I: "impossible; I don't believe it." "Four thousand rupees!" groaned Sheikh Kullu; "this is the end of the year, and here comes a case of four thousand rupees—the criminal statements are utterly spoilt. Well, there is no struggling against destiny; what is to be, surely comes to pass; but, Sir, your

* It is supposed that the water is thirty-six feet below the surface and that one superficial inch of water is led over the land. The cost of the apparatus and labour of man and beast per diem will be about eight or ten annas.

slave always told you that the thanadar of Junglepur was a *Kum-bukt*—a man born under an evil omen ; and you, with your usual sagacity. . . .” “Now Sheikh,” I interrupted, “put up your papers, reach me my spurs, and go over to give my compliments to the Deputy Sahib : he must go with me.” In five minutes we were on our horses, and proceeding at a hand-gallop towards Mullowlie. *En route*, let me describe my companion, the tehsildar, Rung Lal. This man had been for thirty years in Government employ in the district, and for the last ten as serishtadar of the collector’s office. Formerly he used to take bribes, and to intrigue as much as other Kayeths generally do, but of late years (possibly with an eye to official promotion) he had been very guarded and correct in his conduct. He was a large, heavy-looking man, of great capacity for business, and much experience. But his late promotion to the office of tehsildar had turned his head a little ; and as we rode along, he delivered himself of a constant stream of self-gratulation.

Rung Lal.—“It was high time for you to send me out to M———; what do you think I found there at the tahsily ?—seven burkundazes ; yes, Sir, seven, too old to walk, and riding about on ponies to collect the revenue ; no regular office hours, and two hundred and seventeen bats ; yes, live bats in the Government Treasury ! Then, Sir, there were. . . .” (here Rung Lal stopped short, observing, perhaps, a cloud on my brow, and almost a tear in the eye of his predecessor, a fine old man, who having grown grey in the service, and expecting a pension, was on a smart pony close behind us, listening to our conversation.)

Collector.—“Well, Rung Lal, we will talk about that another day. You have had a good harvest, and the spring-crops look well.”

Rung Lal.—“By your good fortune, Sir, since I came here, there has been a wonderful crop ; and as for the revenue, which used always to be behind, it is paid up to the day.”

Collector.—“Good ; how do you like the people ? I hope you get on well with them ?”

Rung Lal.—“Well with them ! Indeed I do ; they are *shurt* (rebellious), very *shurt*, but they are afraid of me ; besides which, I put them to no expense ; when I go to the villages I won’t even take a drink of water from them ; in short, I”

Collector (getting tired of Rung Lal and his puffs).—“What is the name of this village ?”

Rung Lal.—“Mobarikpur. I have been in this pergunnah four months and ten days only, but I know the name of every village in it. Mobarikpur is a famous place for tobacco.”

Collector.—“What are those blackened earthen pots stuck upon sticks in the tobacco ? They look like scare-crows, but surely neither bird nor beast will touch the tobacco.”

Rung Lal (with a subdued chuckle).—“No, Sir, those are not scare-crows, but charms. The crop, you see, is good, and those pots are put up to catch the envious (or evil) eye of the passer-by ; by the goodness of Providence I am versed in all rural customs, though I have lived so many years in a city.”

Just here we met the owners of the village, who, on hearing that a *hakim* was passing by, had hurried out to make their salaams. “What,” cries Rung Lal, “come out without your turban to see the Collector ! For shame !”

Collector.—“Never mind.” (To the zemindars, who were looking rather abashed).—“Well, my men, you have some nice land here, and a fine village. Have you a school for your sons ?”

Zemindars.—“We are poor men, my Lord ; are we to eat or to send our boys to school ? The tehsildar Sahib knows. . . .”

Rung Lal.—“I know you to be a pack of ill-fated asses. Although I attend punctually to every part of the duties of the ‘Compani Buhadur,’ if there is one thing I pay more attention to than another, it is the promotion of education. But these men, and such as these who prefer food to knowledge, oppose me. However, I could get on well enough but for the old women and the putwarries, who are always putting some new idea into people’s heads. When I first came here, nothing would please them but that the Government would make

Feringis of all the little boys. When the people gave up this notion, a new fancy was brought out : sixteen schools out of four-and-twenty in the jurisdiction of your humble servant were stopped ; yes, absolutely closed ; and what, Sir, do you suppose was the reason ? The old women spread a report that the Ganges canal, which has been so long cutting, would not *chul*, that the water would not run in it, and that the boys were not really wanted for *education*, but for *sacrifice* to propitiate Gunga-ji ! The schools, as I say, were deserted until I went round to the villages, and swore upon the Ganges water that there was no real cause for alarm."

But enough of Rung Lal and his prising—to do him justice, he has made a very good tehsildar so far, and will do well, I doubt not.

We must close our notice of this little work with two more extracts, which will show first the difficulty of entirely putting an end to affrays amongst men of hot and excitable passions, and next the ill effects which may proceed from the issue of one rash and inconsiderate order by a magisterial officer. How many an affray, attended with wounding, or even a loss of life, has arisen from damage done by the cattle of one man to the growing crop of another ! as in this instance :—

Shere Singh, a violent, proud, and ignorant young Rajput, sees a goat trespassing on his sugar-cane or corn-field. Urjun is the owner of the goat, second cousin to Shere Singh, with whom he played as a child, with whom he climbed trees as a boy, and whom, as a man, he is ready to defend against all the world, out of his own village. But the fathers of these young men live and eat *separately*, the grandfather of one killed the grandfather of the other half-a-century back, and the lands and interests of the two families have long been divided. Shere Singh feels that Urjun's goat has no right in his field ; he picks up a clod of earth or a stick, flings it at the animal, which goes limping home with a broken leg. Urjun's father had watched Shere Singh ; he comes down from the roof of his house, and abuses the offender at the top of his voice. Urjun comes home, sees the goat which he had bought for his sick child lying helpless on his threshold, sallies out, hears Shere Singh abusing his female relations, and runs to fetch his sword. The villagers gather round ; there is a rush, a scuffle, a fight, and before the sun sets, Urjun and Shere Singh are carried off to the police-office on charpoys in a moribund state, with broken heads and mutilated bodies. Twenty others of the family had been engaged in the *mêlée*, but nobody will tell the police who they were ; the wounded scuffle off to the neighbouring villages, the dead or dying are given up to the authorities. Let the village watchman be called, he will give no information, and unless the magistrate succeed in hunting up some stray witness unconnected with the village, the whole affair is left in doubt. So great are the difficulties when the landholder and the police do not pull together.

The last extract tells a piteous tale.

The author, or a friend of his, when magistrate of a district, which shall be nameless, in a year, the precise date of which is not given, finds the following evils to have resulted from a hasty order to cut down a tree given by an unlucky *joint-sahib*, who is not otherwise distinctly specified. Walking through the wards of the jail, the narrator discerns an odd-looking individual, with small red eyes, grizzled hair, and an excited manner, just the sort of person whom Dickens would have made the principal character in some moving tale. The man was waiting his trial, and kept reiterating that without fault or crime they had "killed his child." The child, it appeared, was a pet tree, and on enquiry, the following particulars are told by a

native visitor, who probably heightened the effect of his narrative, but whose facts were in the main correct :—

Birbul, who is now in your honour's gaol, and about to take his trial for murder before the sessions-judge, is a bhurji, or parcher of grain, by profession. He was always considered a quiet, decent man. Next door to him lived a Marwarrie money-lender, named Putni Mul, a banian by trade, but with a heart like a butcher, and so famous for avarice, that if by mishap any man took his name in the morning on an empty stomach, he would get no dinner that day unless he beat his shoes five times on the ground, crying "God forgive me" each time. Putni Mul grudged to spend an anna, even in the funeral ceremonies of his own father, but could always find a few rupees to bribe the police to worry his neighbours. Well, as I said, he lived next door to the bhurji, and, as a matter of course, they hated each other. The bhurji had no children; he was an odd reserved sort of man, and cared for nobody except his old wife, and for nothing except one pet tree, which he had planted when a boy, and married, after his own marriage, to a well in his courtyard. Every morning he and his wife, after their daily ablutions, poured water over the tree; which, in short, they looked upon as their child. As bad luck would have it, a branch of this tree grew gradually over a part of the Marwarrie money-lender's roof. When the water dropped from this branch in the rainy season, it washed away a small portion of the mud plaster, and the repairs cost Putni Mul two pica. This was ruinous; so he went to the bhurji, and told him to cut the offending branch of his tree off. The bhurji got angry at the idea of mutilating his beloved tree, and gave Putni Mul a cross answer.

Off went the money-dealer to the thanadar, and, putting five rupees into his hand, begged him to report to the magistrate that the bhurji's tree opened a road for thieves to his house, and ought to be cut down. The report went before the *junt-sahib* (joint-magistrate, whose experience, be it said with respect, is limited), and the order came for cutting down the tree. Two *burkundazes* were sent to the village, who laid hold of a couple of labourers, and cut down the tree, whilst Putni Mul looked on with a satisfied grin from the roof of his house. In the evening the bhurji came home, with a basket of leaves for his oven on his head, found his wife crying and beating her breast, and his doorway blocked up with the fallen tree. Putni Mul called out to him, "Well, Birbul, will you do as I bid you in future, or not?" Birbul was silent; but murder was in his heart.

Next morning, as Putni Mul came out in the early dawn with his *lotah* in his hand, he saw what looked like three lights under the wall of the bhurji's house; two of these were the blood-red eyes of the bhurji, the third was his match. The next moment the Marwarrie was on the ground, with four bullets from Birbul's matchlock in his heart.

With a yell of triumph the bhurji sprung on his prey, and, ere yet the death-struggles were over, drew his rusty sword, and hacking off the arms and then the head of his victim, stuck them on the mutilated trunk and branches of his darling tree. He then bent down over the dead body and drank, out of the hollow of his hand, three mouthfuls of his enemy's blood. This done, he re-loaded his matchlock, and, armed with it, with sword, dagger, and bow and arrows, took his post on the roof of his house. "Now," he cried, "let the thanadar come who dared to rob me of my child, my only child, and I'll serve him as I served this cursed Marwarrie."

Hours passed on, but none were found bold enough to seize the bhurji, whose matchlock was pointed at any human being who came near. Towards evening a dog came to smell at the body of the Marwarrie, but Birbul pinned him to the ground with an arrow.

The police surrounded the place, and the thanadar had a charpoy put for him under a tree beyond the range of Birbul's matchlock. All Putni Mul's money-bags would not have tempted him within the bhurji's reach. So passed the day, and so the night. Next day the voice of the woman could be heard encouraging her husband, as she handed him up a pitcher of water and a cake of bread. "Well done, rajah! die like a man, and never let them tie your hands." Well, sir, to make a long story short, the bhurji was caught at last, but not by fair means.

When the news of his resistance reached the sudder station, various expedients for taking him alive were discussed. Everybody had a plan, but nobody's plan was approved. At last a little Mahometan writer, named Jan Ali, belonging to the collector's office, stepped forward and said, "If the junut magistrate sahib will order his slave to go to the aid of the police, the bhurji shall, by the good fortune of the Kumpani Buhadur, be captured." The junut sahib assented, and the by-standers applauded Jan Ali for his devotion. "Here is my sword," said one; "here is my pony," said another. "I want no sword," said Jan Ali; "but give me that old book of medicine belonging to the dufuri: I want nothing else."

"He is going to work some sort of spell," said the bystanders: "well, contrivance is better than force, especially when one has to do with such a *haji* as this bhurji." Such were the criticisms passing round as Jan Ali set off, with his thin legs sticking far out of his broad white trowsers, whilst he kicked his heels into the nasir's pony, one hand on the mane, the other clasping the medicine-book.

When he arrived at the scene of Putni Mul's murder, the shades of evening were closing in. The bhurji had been two days and a night watching his enemy's corpse, and began to get rather tired. A villager was sent to scream out to him that a message had come from the magistrate. The bhurji put down his matchlock and invited the messenger to a parley. Jan Ali came, book in hand, and saluting Birbul, informed him that the magistrate, admiring his courage, had offered a pardon, if he would come quietly down from the roof of his house. (This, I need not inform you, Sir, was a device of Jan Ali's, and not any order of the magistrate's.) "Who are you?" said Birbul. "They call me Syed Jan Ali," was the reply, "and I am the chief Kazi of——." "A Syed, are you?" replied Birbul; "will you swear that my hands shall not be tied if I come down?" "On the Koran," said Jan Ali, producing the medicine-book, and reverently holding it out on the palms of his hands, with his eyes turned up to heaven. The bhurji came down, when four burkundazes pounced upon him, kicked him, and, tying his arms with a strong rope, led him away like a wild beast. "Oh!" said he, "Kasiji, I thought my arms were not to be tied." Jan Ali replied, with a smile, "That is the way we catch murderers;" and so the bhurji was carried off, the policemen looking very big with drawn swords and lighted matches all round him.

Here ends the story of the narrator. The case came on at the sessions: the civil surgeon thought Birbul insane, but it was shown that at the time of committing the act he was capable of distinguishing right from wrong, and the matter ended by Birbul's crossing the "black water" for life: and thus one man was killed, one transported, and two families ruined by a rash order to cut a tree.

We can recommend Mr. Raikes' little volume to all men who wish to learn something of the manners and customs of the natives of Upper India.

Falconry in the Valley of the Indus. By Richard F. Burton, Lieutenant, Bombay Army, Author of "Goa and the Blue Mountains," &c. London. 1852.

It is a happy thing that furloughs come to an end; and we should suppose and hope, that that of Lieutenant Burton must be approaching its termination; otherwise we see no prospect of a cessation of that stream of publications with which, for some time, he has been

inundating the community, and on whose banks the poor reviewer is constrained to sit in an attitude of expectancy, like that attributed by Horace to a singularly verdant rustic. And the worst of it is, that each of his publications is inferior to its predecessor. This is easily accounted for. At first, Mr. Burton wrote because he had information to communicate. Now, we fear, he writes, because he has contracted a habit of writing, and therefore he sets himself to the solution of the problem, to spread a minimum of matter over a maximum number of pages. Dr. Johnson absolutely refused to hold intercourse with a man who had written more than he had read; and we do trust that Mr. Burton will now, for a short time, lay aside his pen, and pore again over that volume, of men and manners and scenery, that he well knows how to decypher. If he will adopt this course, we can confidently predict that he will fulfil the promise held out by his earlier works; otherwise he will certainly sink lower and lower in the literary scale—a consummation which we should sincerely regret.

Rough Notes of a trip to Reunion, the Mauritius and Ceylon, with Remarks on their eligibility as Sanitaria for Indian Invalids; by Frederic J. Mouat, M. D., Medical Staff. Calcutta. Thacker, Spink and Co., 1852.

OUR local press has seldom produced a more interesting, or truly useful little work, than the one before us. Doctor Mouat has rendered good service in publishing his notes, and in thus fixing the vague ideas hitherto prevalent as to the eligibility of these ocean isles, as suitable sanatoria for Indian invalids.

Whilst our author, as he states, does not aim at literary excellence, or attempt researches into the arcana of science in any of its departments, but simply to guide others in the path which proved so eminently beneficial to his own health—he has succeeded in producing a little vade-mecum, which may be read alike with interest by the ordinary reader and by the enquirer in search of a beneficial change of climate.

“It is not I believe generally known,” (remarks the author,) “that there exists in the little island of Bourbon, within a few days’ sail of Calcutta, one of the finest and most healthy climates in the whole world; grand and beautiful scenery, and mineral waters of rare virtue and efficacy. The Mauritius being a British Colonial possession, carrying on an extended intercourse with India, is much better known, but comparatively few are aware of its great advantages as a resort for Indian invalids.” The former island, however, possesses such superior qualifications as a sanitarium over the two others

visited by our author, that in the brief notice we can here take of the subject, we must confine our remarks principally to it, recommending our readers, nevertheless, to the work itself, and assuring them they will find full remuneration for their trouble in its interesting pages.

Bourbon, or Reunion, is described by Horsburgh as an island of "round form, about 14 leagues from N. W. to S. E., which is its greatest length. There is a volcano near the S. E. part, and the high-peaked mountain, near the centre of the island, is in about Lat. $21^{\circ} 9'$ South. Although this island is larger than Mauritius, it is only a great mountain, in a manner cloven through the whole height in three different places. * * * According to Bory de St. Vincent, Bourbon is composed of two volcanic mountains, originating at different and distant periods—a heaping of Pelion on Ossa. In the southern part, which is the smaller, the subterranean fires still commit ravages."

"It rises rapidly from its iron-bound inhospitable coast to its highest point, the Piton des Neiges, nearly in the centre of the isle. This snowy peak is the crest of a bold, bare rocky ridge, dividing the Cilaos from the Salazie range of mountains. It is, I believe, higher than even the summit of the volcano, and has frequently been seen on a clear day from the neighbouring island of Mauritius, at a distance, very little, if any thing, short of a hundred miles."

Although Bourbon and Mauritius possess every where a pure atmosphere, and absolute immunity from all diseases of the malarious class, it must still be borne in mind that they are within the tropics, and the portion situated near the sea-coast, having all the tropical characters and high temperature, modified alone by the ocean breeze. It is to elevation we must look for diminished temperature, and that invigorating coolness so essential to the restoration of the impaired health arising from long residence in warm climates. Independently, therefore, of its mineral springs (for Mauritius boasts likewise of its medicinal waters), Bourbon has greatly the advantage over the sister isle in respect to the possession of habitable localities of superior elevation.

The general outline of Mauritius is that of a blunt or flattened cone, having several (five) distinct chains of mountains arising abruptly thereon, the highest point amongst which reaches to 2,717 feet. The height of the general central plateau of the island does not exceed 1,800 feet. From this configuration it happens that Mauritius, although much smaller than the sister island of Bourbon, possesses a much greater extent of arable surface—soils of superior fertility, and is, in consequence, a far more productive and valuable colony.

It possesses, moreover, an unusually large proportion of bays and harbours, suited to vessels of every class, a qualification in which Bourbon is in the other extreme; actually not possessing a Bay or harbour around its extensive coasts; whole regions otherwise fertile are thereby rendered of little utility to man.

The great Bourbon mountain, or mountains, tower to an elevation of 10,000 feet, presenting almost everywhere a rapid declivity towards the sea : a formation ill suited to retain the soil or eliminate its products, but delightful to the tourist, or the invalid seeking the pure breezes from the ocean. We have stood mid-way up the mountain, with the blue sea, though miles away, apparently rolling at our feet, enjoying the crisp breeze of the south-east trade, with such feelings of elasticity and recovered energy, both bodily and mental, as such a situation alone can inspire, and to which our Indian mountain sanatoria can afford no parallel. Happy the man who can select one in lieu of the other.

The geological formation of both Bourbon and Mauritius are identical ; both islands are, probably, of one origin and connected ; and it is said soundings exist across the channel between them.

Volcanic rocks and basalts, in great variety, prevail everywhere, producing, by their decomposition soils of unsurpassed fertility. In the Mauritius, the districts of Moka and Plain Williams, towards the centre of the isle, are generally sought by those in search of a change of air, at an elevation of 15 to 1600 feet, where a delightful temperature may be attained in a few miles' drive, over the finest roads, from the heats of Port Louis, and the sea level generally. One may thus enjoy all the conveniences or amusements of the town, with the advantages of a temperate climate.

The celebrated sanatoria of Bourbon are Salazie, and Ciloas, not quite so conveniently situated, but possessing more valuable qualifications for the invalid. Our author gives a most graphic description of his travels and perils from Port Louis to St. Denis, and thence to Salazie,—a portion of the work we cannot here stop to notice, but recommend to the perusal of our readers—and then proceeds as follows :—

At four in the afternoon, although we had strolled along leisurely, we reached the Salazie itself, not a little tired by our wet and weary walk.

Madame Cazeau, with the aid of her black-eyed daughter, soon arranged a pavilion for our accommodation, in which the travel stains of the road were rapidly removed. We then descended along a steep, winding path, as pretty and picturesque as any we had passed in coming up, and at length reached the 'Source,' as the issue of the mineral spring is termed.

In a small, circular and somewhat dilapidated summer-house, we found a gay party of ladies assembled, one in complete Swiss costume, which not only accorded well with the surrounding scenery, but exhibited as symmetrical a figure, and unexceptionable a foot and ankle, as any lover of the sublime and beautiful could desire. In front of this fairy bower, and beneath it, a clear, limpid, sparkling jet of water was rising from a narrow pipe. On a small ledge near it were a couple of tumblers, and beneath it a little excavation in the ground, coated with the ferruginous looking deposit of the medicated streams. Here the pilgrims drink the waters, and talk over the various topics of interest that arise in the restricted circle of a knot of valetudinaires.

The water is bright, clear, sparkling, and tastes not unlike tepid soda-water : if anything, however, it is more palatable and pungent, with the smallest possible soupçon of a ferruginous flavour. It has more than once been analyzed with care and skill, so that its properties and constituents are well known. The most careful and trustworthy examination is that of an able and excellent Chemist, Monsr.

Marcadieu, to whose kindness I am indebted for the result of his investigations carried on at the Source itself. It is contained in a subsequent portion of this sketch.

So far as the limited means at my disposal permitted, I verified the accuracy of Monsr. Marcadieu's examination. The ordinary amount taken by a moderate consumer is six or eight glasses during the day, beginning at an early hour of the morning. Some went as far as twenty-two tumblers in the same space of time, with benefit, and without nausea or sickness. The large excess of free carbonic acid present, renders palatable what would otherwise be a disagreeable draught.

The climate of Salazie is so invigorating, that what would elsewhere be deemed unbearable discomforts, are submitted to without inconvenience or complaint. Still there is strong room for improvement, in the rude comfortable shanties constructed for the convenience of visitors.

These are at present as primitive as the log-houses of the backwoods of America, and deficient in the thousand-and-one cheap little contrivances to which the English in particular attach so much importance, as ministering to comfort and contentment.

Some of them are prettily perched on romantic nooks like eagles' nests on the hill side, and the daily climbing up and down to the central point of gathering affords a fair amount of active exercise in the open air.

The little station is beautifully situated. It appears to form the flat bottom of a semi-circle of lofty hills, covered with forest trees, with the exception of the Piton des Neiges, which towers up into the clouds, bold, barren, dark, and unclothed with the remotest trace of verdure or vegetable life. There are many accessible and agreeable strolls in its vicinity, that to a sociable, enterprising band would be the very paradise of picnics. Even the summit of the Snowy range is practicable for ladies, and the view from the crest is said to be magnificent. It there forms a broad ledge of table-land, from which the Cilaos range may readily be reached. It was my intention to have undertaken this trip, but the limited duration of my leave, and the uncertainty of finding my way back to Calcutta within the prescribed limits, prevented my accomplishing this, and one or two other excursions that I would gladly have made. The Cilaos station is more wild, primitive, and inaccessible than Salazie. The waters are more abundant, and richer in mineral ingredients. An extemporaneous bath may there be formed at any moment by scraping out a hollow in the sand. I regret much that I did not see it.

At six o'clock we were summoned to the cleanest and most tempting repast that we had seen, away from the amenities of private life in the large towns. A magnificent, tasty turkey, excellent vegetables, capital bread, and the whitest of napery, formed a banquet for a Sybarite, to which we hungry travellers did ample justice. The wines were fair, and we all fell in love with Madam Cazeau, her fair daughter, and their unexceptionable housewifery.

The accommodation was scanty, but neat, and likewise of the cleanest,—priceless boons to those accustomed to the prodigal cleanliness of an Indian home.

Should other pilgrims in search of that greatest of all blessings, health, be tempted to wend their way to Salazie, Madame Cazeau will receive and accommodate them on the following terms, a literal translation of a memorandum which she gave me at my request :—

"Madame Cazeau of Salazie will receive invalids from India on the following terms :—

"Board and lodging for grown-up persons, eight rupees a day, children from four to twelve years of age, three rupees.

"The table will always be liberally supplied—the wine of good quality, half draught and half bottled—Champagne twice a week, at the rate of a bottle for four persons.

"Medicines extra.

Means of transport

"An arm chair (tonjon) with six bearers, from the Escalier to the Source,

fourteen rupees. Ponies, mules, or donkeys, six rupees. Luggage porters, two rupees, or a dollar for every fifty pounds weight.

"When a family is numerous, a reduction will be made, especially if an expensive table is not required. The table will be served exactly as for the English visitors in May, 1851."

Turkeys and poultry with nice bread, and an abundance of excellent vegetables, are the staple articles of consumption. Beef and mutton are of course out of the question, unless taken up at considerable expense. A diligence leaves St. Denis for St. André twice every day, and at all times, the Source can be reached without distress or inconvenience in twelve hours.

The height of the mineral springs at Salazie is 872 mètres, or 2,616 French feet, which are equal to about 2,861 English feet.

Those of Cilaos are 3,343 French or 3,655 English feet in elevation. This, with the latitude of the island, rather more than twenty degrees to the Southward of the Equator, will give a tolerably good idea of the mean temperature of those delightful spots. The variation in the range of the thermometer during the twenty-four hours is not so great as at Newera Ellia, the celebrated Ceylon Sanatorium, and the climate is quite as cold, if not colder, notwithstanding that the Cingalese plain is six thousand feet above the level of the ocean. On the whole, with the undoubted efficacy and value of its mineral waters, I prefer Salazie as a Sanatorium to any place in the East with which I am acquainted, and for the permanent cure of many Indian diseases, I am convinced that it must be far superior to even the healing and genial climate of the Cape. It has the greater advantage of a shorter and less expensive sea voyage, with equally pure air, and mineral treasures which the other does not possess. It is a new country to the Indian resident, has many claims peculiar to itself, and none will, I am convinced, regret a visit to its hospitable inhabitants.

"That I have in no degree exaggerated the physical beauties of this happy valley, a fit abode for Hygeia, will appear from the report and description of Monsieur Leissègues, the principal Medical Officer of the Colony at the time, deputed by the Government to select a suitable spot for a convalescent hospital."

Salazie forms a great basin, about four leagues in diameter, circumscribed by the Salazie mountains. It is an extremely rugged, hilly, uneven country, by which although its surfaces are multiplied, its communications are rendered difficult. It has now, however, been so much cleared as considerably to have diminished its distance and difficulties. It is exceedingly woody, and watered by a multitude of fresh running streams, as well as some mineral springs, both hot and cold. The temperature of the valley is mild, resembling that of France in the month of May. It is a perfect paradise for the geologist, who would be transported with admiration in scaling its mountains, or scanning its ravines, genuine abysses, to penetrate into the very interior of the earth. The young botanist would experience the sweetest emotions in examining its endless variety of plants and flowers, with their elegant corollas, simple or multiple pistils, and more or less numerous stamina, by their means identifying from among their sisters, those daughters of the wood who embellish with so much grace and beauty the great herbal of nature. Blind indeed must he be, who, unmoved by the divine influences surrounding him, could attribute them to chance—chance which is nothing! No! No! At Salazie, above all, the man of feeling is compelled to avow that every thing in the universe raises its voice to the Creator, and compasses the hymn of gratitude sent up from earth to heaven! Of a surety, if bliss is to be enjoyed in this sublunary sphere, it is at Salazie, a charming country, a new land of promise, where, were they so disposed, its happy denizens could soon send down to the neighbouring towns, rivulets of milk and honey. To accomplish this, they have only to prepare artificial meadows or to sow good pasturages, an easy task where moisture is so abundant, and a perpetual spring, with its moderate heats reigns supreme. By this means they could multiply flocks and herds; and cause

gatherings of the busy bee sufficient to produce a large supply of the finest honey in the world, as experience has proved that they thrive well in this paradise.

"Nevertheless, the contemplation of the surrounding beauties, with the exquisite sense of delight it calls into being, is alloyed by a feeling that something is wanting. The flowers, ravishing to the sight, are little scented, and there is no harmonious concert of birds, to break the sombre silence of the woods. The sage has said 'the eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear filled with hearing.'"

To the Indian visitor to these islands, there is nothing amongst minor matters more strikingly agreeable than the total absence of noxious animals, snakes, or reptiles of any description; he may wander at night amidst jungles, or repose by day on grassy banks, without fear of the "creeping horrors of the tropics." It is a remarkable fact, however, that snakes do exist on one or more of the small group of islets lying within a few miles of the north-eastern shore of Mauritius. It is a harmless variety, and easily caught by the curious in these matters. Numerous specimens may be seen in collections on the main island, where it is said they cannot exist.

Ceylon is, par excellence, the land of reptiles, the small land leech taking the lead amongst such nuisances, and rendering all excursions amongst forests, or even a promenade in gardens, a doubtful amusement.

The waters of Cilaos, which are situated at a level of eight hundred feet higher than those of Salazie, are richer in the proportion contained in them of the same mineral ingredients, and are of higher temperature, being in the baths formed extemporaneously by excavating a suitable hollow in the surface of the ground, about 102° of Fahrenheit. This was found to be a constant result.

The Salazie waters are very nearly identical in composition with those of the celebrated springs of Vichy in France, which have been renowned for ages, and are much resorted to by dyspeptics and invalids generally from all parts of Europe.

The diseases for which the French reporters considered the Salazie waters to be curative and proper, are, chronic enlargements of the liver and spleen, biliary concretions, various renal and vesical affections, particularly those dependent on derangement of digestion, nephritic colic, chlorosis, amenorrhoea, habitual vomiting, intermittent and remittent fevers,—especially those complicated with abdominal obstructions. They are also supposed to be efficacious in certain affections of the joints, in the stiffness and immobility resulting from long disuse of a limb, and in certain cases of partial palsy.

As I have no intention of writing a professional treatise, and moreover have nothing new to advance upon the subject of the use of mineral waters, or of the effects of climate in the removal of disease, I do not dilate upon any of the above-mentioned topics in this place.

The greatest care and discrimination are necessary in the selection of sanitarium, and particularly in the cases which are sent to them for cure or amendment. In these important matters I strongly recommend every Indian invalid to be guided by the opinion of his professional advisers, and not to trust to his own judgment and fancies, which are most likely to mislead him.

The climate of Bourbon is admirably adapted for restoring the health of those who have suffered from the endemic diseases of India. In addition to a sea voyage of moderate duration in the delightful track of the trade-winds, it presents a considerable variety of climate, from the level of St. Denis on the sea-coast, to Cilaos and Salazie in the mountains.

The fine season commences in May, or about the latter end of April, and outlasts the unhealthy and trying seasons in Bengal. The traveller from India, leav-

ing late in February or in March, would most probably avoid the chances of storms or hurricanes, and reach Bourbon at the beginning of the cool weather. The distances in the island are short, the places of resort for invalids easily accessible without much fatigue or exposure, the cost of living within the compass of most Indian officers, and, in all respects, it is a most desirable and eligible refuge. When to these advantages is added the inestimable value of its mineral waters for those cases in the cure and removal of which they are known to be efficacious, I am strongly persuaded that in many respects it will be found a more eligible resort, in a mere sanitary point of view, than even England itself.

The condition which is most likely to be benefited by the sea voyage, climate of Bourbon generally, and mineral springs of Salazie and Cilaos in particular, is the state of pallor, languor, and prostration of mind and body, that is the most frequent condition of Europeans who have resided long in India, or suffered from its severest maladies.

The sallow, ex-sanguine countenance; dull, pearly, lifeless eye; listlessness, torpor, despondency, irritability, and utter incapacity for the performance of official duties requiring mental energy and application, with the imperfection of digestion and its train of attendant ills, down to the occurrence of severe neuralgic pains in various parts of the body, found in these cases, are all removed, and the functions restored to a state of healthy, vigorous action, unknown to the 'lean and slippered pantaloon,' since he came out a fair, rosy, laughing cadet, or a roistering inmate of the College of Fort William.

It is still more directly and certainly favourable in the whole host of maladies to which ladies are liable, and which may properly be denominated 'female complaints.'

The life of inactivity, seclusion, and utter ennui to which most of the fair sex are doomed in India, rapidly converts their roses into lilies, and leaves them pale, and etiolated as a flower deprived of light.

It is scarcely possible to imagine any habits more certainly destructive of health than those of the wives and grown up daughters of European sojourners in this land of the sun. Those who rise early, and ride or walk before his scorching rays drive all who are not compelled to brave and 'mock his majesty,' to seek the protection of the shade, are comparatively few. The majority seldom stir abroad until the evening; pass the day in the most enervating, inactive occupations, and the whole exercise they take is the gentle movement of a carriage in the daily drive. The evening is devoted to a hot, heavy, unwholesome dinner, at which the guests are more likely to die of ennui than from repletion, and occasionally polkas and waltzes are performed with the thermometer at 90° F. under the punkah; the whole operation being not an unapt representation of a dance in a vapour bath.

And yet it is expected that such an utter disregard of the simplest dictates of nature, and violation of her most evident and intelligible operations, should be consistent with a state of health.

In short, the ills which are susceptible of being permanently and radically cured by the course I recommend, are, all incipient diseases of a functional nature, the most common sequels of every variety of fever common to or occurring in India, where the important and vital organs of the body are not spoiled by irreparable changes in their structure; the ordinary results of cholera, liver disease, prolonged fluxes, rheumatic affections, and the state called 'cachexia' by the faculty. It does not appear to be so well adapted for confirmed pulmonary affections, and is necessarily of no use in malignant diseases, or in the wasting of advanced years.

It is not our intention to continue these extracts much further; our principal object being fulfilled, if we succeed in calling the attention of our readers to the useful little book itself, and in fixing the vague ideas which exist on the important subject of the best sanatoria, within reach of Indian residents in search of health. Steam has now

so far annihilated space, that it will probably be found of easier accomplishment, and equally economical, to proceed to any of the ocean sanitarium in question, than to reach any of our hill stations, which moreover do not offer a tithe of the advantages as connected with the main question—health. Mauritius is now brought within eighteen days steam of Calcutta, a distance in point of time less than from the latter to Allahabad. Mauritius possesses some peculiar advantages—amongst others, that of having the English language in current use; the search of health may moreover be pursued without much difficulty, as all its favorite places of resort may be approached in carriages, a point which may have its value in the eyes of the aged, the infirm or of the indolent. Of its general character, our author offers the following remarks. In reference to Port Louis, he states:—

I have never seen a town of similar dimensions, with so much of the genuine elements of the great business of life, or exhibiting on so small a scale so large an amount of healthy activity. Although a latent spirit of the old French and English antagonism is deeply grafted in its constitution, and occasionally exhibits itself in an unseemly brawl, or an ominous growl; yet does it appear, on the whole, to be a thriving, prosperous, and tolerably united settlement. One is apt to wonder where the numerous shops that crowd its well-peopled streets, can possibly find customers to dispose of their multifarious, and, in general, extremely dear wares. Its well-regulated, clean and inodorous market-place is by far the best thing of the kind in the east, and a striking contrast to the dirty, noisy, ill-regulated bazars of Calcutta. The plentiful supply of sparkling wholesome water, distributed in every direction through neat and tasteful fountains; the order, decorum, and cleanliness of the rectangular streets; the number of well-dressed, good-looking ladies perambulating its busy thoroughfares; and the stand of carriages for hire in front of the Government House, some of them with no mean pretensions to elegance, strike the visitor from India as something more suggestive of home, and pleasing, than even the imposing wealth of the City of Palaces, the fine roads and park-like compounds of Madras, or the pretty and picturesque appearance of the well-watered capital of Ceylon, with its cinnamon gardens, lakes, and islands!

Invalids need stand in no fear of starvation in the Mauritius, and there can be no doubt that the establishment of steam communication, by keeping the demands of the Colony constantly known, will regulate the supply, and render it, in future, much less subject to fluctuation than it has been heretofore.

There is a good table d'hôte at both the hotels d'Europe and Mascie, and from the latter, dinners can be obtained by those who prefer living at home in lodgings of their own. The greatest want of the colony is servants, and these it is nearly impossible to obtain at any cost.

Those in India who have old and trustworthy attendants should take them with them, paying them at the current rate of wages in the island, which is more than double that of this country. Madrassese and Cingalese are preferable to the servants of Northern India. They are less given to prejudices of caste, are more generally useful, and have no objection to sea voyages. The Mauritius has now, however, become so well known as to have ceased to be a bug-bear, and little difficulty will be experienced in inducing natives to follow their masters. For ladies with families visiting the colony, it is absolutely necessary to take every species of female attendant with them. Those procurable are of an order seldom or never employed in India, have generally engrafted colonial upon native vices, and are usually more troublesome than useful, in addition to rating such service as

they are capable of performing, at an unduly extravagant estimate. The Creoles of the inferior classes are little, if at all, better. The only European female servants available are soldiers' wives. They are few in number, as well as too commonly given to gin, bitters, and barrack habits, to be tolerated in a quiet household.

There are, doubtless, exceptions to this statement, as there are to every general rule ; regarding the mass it conveys the conclusion which I deduced from the information gathered in many places.

There are public baths on the Chaussée of Port Louis, opposite the Company's Garden, which are open every day, and good of their kind. The two hotels also furnish hot and cold baths. The majority of private houses are not furnished with baths of any kind.

For sea bathing, a strip of beach near the old salt pans, and within a short distance of the mouth of Grand River, has been appropriated. Small thatched huts have been erected there for the accommodation of ladies, and as the bottom is smooth, sandy, and slopes gradually towards the reef, within which, free from any danger of the invasion of sharks or other sea monsters, whose acquaintance is undesirable, this forms a sheltered and delightful spot for the most healthful of all recreations. The favourite bathing places for gentlemen are the creek at the mouth of Grand River, and a place alongside of the Tromelin causeway.

The Mauritius must certainly be among the healthiest portions of the earth for Europeans, if immunity from some of the most severe and dangerous diseases of other countries be taken as an evidence of salubrity. To the drunken and depraved there is no safety in any climate, and they are as liable there as elsewhere to pay the penalty of their folly and vices ; but for those who lead well-regulated lives, and are possessed of the means of living in comfort, the chances of prolonged existence are as great in the Mauritius as in the most favoured regions of the globe.

The formidable types of Indian fever are nearly unknown, and those of European character are so mild as to be less severe and fatal than in any other place in the world in which British troops are quartered. The mortality of those attacked is less than 1 per cent., and when the reckless habits of European soldiery, from whom the calculation is made, is taken into account, it is an indisputable proof of the singular healthiness of the climate, dependent in some degree also upon the absence of most of the causes of a class of disease too well and fatally known in India.

Of Ceylon, in conclusion, we can have little to say. It can never rival either of the lovely isles previously referred to, either in point of salubrity or general eligibility. Its sanatoria, like our Indian hill stations, are mere watering pots. Bourbon unquestionably stands at the head of the list, and the sister island will, in almost all cases, form the head-quarters of Indian visitors, thus adding the charm of variety to the other advantages of such a voyage. We should strongly recommend visitors to Bourbon to make themselves up into little parties, this disposition would render the arrangements complete, and obviate the inconveniences generally experienced by parties unacquainted with the language, and offering in other respects benefits on which it is unnecessary here to enlarge.

We conclude, as we began, by recommending these Rough Notes to all who are deliberating as to the quarter to which they shall turn their steps in pursuit of health. If they decide on following in the footsteps of our author, they will not fail to make his notes their guide-book. To the general reader, who seeks merely a lively book, des-

criptive of men and manners, and the places of their habitation, the book will be an acceptable one. It is unexceptionably printed and "got up;" and the lithographed illustrations are very creditable to Mr. C. Grant, whom, we believe, we may call the inventor of a method of illustration that we have seen adopted with good effect by artists in England, and which, we believe, will be extensively used ere long.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

Journal of a tour in Ceylon and India, undertaken at the request of the Baptist Missionary Society, in company with the Rev. J. Leechman, M. A., with observations and remarks. By Joshua Russel. London. 1852.

WE have much pleasure in noticing this work. It is one of very little pretension, but one that we think likely to be of great use among a certain class of readers at home. Of those who take an interest in missions, a great proportion, we believe, belong to the unlearned and industrious classes. To this numerous and most important part of the Christian community at home, general works on India, and other foreign countries, are comparatively unknown; and we extend the remark even to such lighter works as journals of travellers, letters from abroad, and the like. And yet the persons of whom we speak do take an interest, more or less deep, in foreign countries, and especially in those in which are established the missions to which they are accustomed to contribute their money and their good wishes. And it is precisely to meet the wants of that class of readers, that the now prolific crop of Christian travellers' journals, Christian letters from abroad, Missionary Annuals, &c., has sprung up.

But we regard the book before us as belonging to a class which has peculiar attributes and, (we believe) for the class of readers referred to, peculiar attractions. It is a book about foreign missions, missionaries, and missionary life, by one who has seen for himself on the spot, and has formed his own independent judgment of every thing after personal investigation, *but who is not a missionary*. We hold this to be a great advantage, which missionary books of this kind have over those which are written by missionaries themselves. Books of this kind have certain advantages, which books of the other and more numerous class cannot have, and therefore the well-wishers of missions ought to rejoice in every addition that is made to the catalogue.

Missionaries in general go out (say to India) when they are young and inexperienced. And, although their youth may have the effect of exciting a feeling of paternal interest, as it were, in the minds of the elder portion of the Christian community at home, still the mere fact of their youth renders it impossible that they should be much more than strangers to all the members of the Church or Society with which they are connected, excepting their own personal friends, and the few congregations to which they may have once or twice ministered before going abroad. What we mean to express is, that there is a sort of severance made between the Church at home

and its missionaries abroad, which it would be well to get rid of. It is true, that now and then a missionary goes home in bad health, and tells the good people of what he and his brethren are doing among the heathen. But to most of the people whom he addresses he is a stranger; and after all is most likely a broken-down invalid, at least for the time being, and more fit for a quiet sojourn in the country or by the sea-side, than for the stirring and laborious work of speech-making, which seems somehow to be regarded as the natural vocation of the missionary on furlough. Now, apart from the cruelty and impolicy of asking a man to rush hither and thither, and to be always ready at a moment's notice to speechify by the hour, or (what is worse) to do the talking at some good but weak old spinster's tea party, when he ought to be exercising his feeble frame and resting his weary lungs amid the reviving and soothing influences of a quiet country life,—we ask, apart from the cruelty and impolicy of such a course, is it the best that could be adopted to secure the end in view? We submit that it is not.

The end in view is to render more intelligent and more intense the interest which the Christian people at home take in the progress of missionary work abroad. Now, it is true that the best man to render that interest more intelligent is certainly the missionary himself, who is able to answer all questions, to clear up all doubts, and to rebut and expose all mis-representations. But what we maintain is this, that his testimony would, in most cases, be vastly strengthened, and rendered much more likely to reach the hearts, and, perhaps, the understandings of those whom he addresses *as a stranger*, if they also had their own man standing by—the man whom they had known and revered for years, and who could say to them, “You bade me go and see those things, I have gone and seen them, and I can assure you, that all that my friend (as I now can call him) has told you, is true, and much more which I can tell you, although his modesty leads him to ‘pass it over.’”

We do not mean to insinuate that there is in general any inclination on the part of Christian people at home to doubt or disbelieve the accounts given by missionaries of the people among whom they labour, and the nature of their labours, difficulties, trials, &c. Neither do we mean to insinuate that missionaries are in general apt to err (unconsciously, we mean of course) in the way of mis-statement or exaggeration. We believe that in general the contrary is the case, and that missionaries are more careful in guarding against exaggeration of statement than the Christian people at home are in guarding against too facile belief. But still we hold, that there are many advantages in the plan adopted by the Baptist Missionary Society, of sending out a deputation to visit their mission stations, and report at head-quarters, the results of their personal inquiries. In the present instance, the deputies, Mr. Russel and Mr. Leechman, were instructed to visit the Society's stations in Ceylon and India, and to report. Mr. Leechman, we believe, was formerly a missionary in Bengal himself, so that Mr.

Russel possessed the great advantage of having for his companion one who could interpret for him, and lend him the aid of his former Indian experience in all those little difficulties in which a stranger to the country is apt to be seriously embarrassed and annoyed, especially when the stranger is an elderly gentleman, and accustomed further to the unadventurous life of an English minister of the Gospel. It is not many old gentlemen that would be willing to leave home, and go through all the fatigue and botheration of an Indian journey of several thousands of miles, for any purpose whatever ; and we are sure that very few indeed would go through the fair and foul of eastern travel with the cheerful old-school equanimity that Mr. Russel seems to have carried with him. He sleeps one night in the upper saloon of the *Hindustan*, and in the morning falls through the ventilation-hatch into the lower saloon. This somewhat perilous adventure he quietly dismisses with the remark—"I fell on my feet, which were much 'bruised' ; but otherwise received no hurt." Near the end of his travels, his palkee falls, and he wonders that this is only his second accident of the same kind. And so on, throughout the whole journey, he is always ready to take every thing by the right handle, to look at things that might be vexatious on the brighter side, and when occasion offers, to give vent to a vein of old-fashioned humour in a quiet, fatherly sort of joke. But he seems never to have lost sight of the serious business on which he was bent, or to have forgotten the spirit in which such a business should be gone about.

Now we conceive, that the report of a sober-minded, experienced, elderly gentleman, sent out on such a mission, is fitted to be very satisfactory both to the directors of a Society at home, and to the members generally. There are a thousand things that can be made plain in a few words by a disinterested eye-witness, which a voluminous correspondence would fail to clear up, even if they were worth the trouble. And, perhaps, the greatest demand for such explanations relates to money matters. It is not easy, for instance, for people in England, to understand how three hundred a year in Calcutta is no more than a hundred and fifty in Newcastle or Manchester, and how the parson in India must keep his carriage, while the parson at home walks on his feet. We have heard some amusing stories of the complaints sometimes made of Missionary extravagance. One man, we have heard, asked with up-turned eyes, if it was true that Bengal missionaries had poultry on their tables almost every day ! Another inquired whether they had servants to fan them ; while a third hinted something about silver tea-spoons and Britannia-metal forks. Now, a man of sense, who has visited the country, will be able at once to clear away all such nonsensical misunderstandings from the minds of the honest, beef-eating, sea-coal-consuming, folks who entertain them. We say a man of sense, for we have heard of an inspector of missions, who put down the hospitality which was shown to himself to the account of missionary extravagance, and who voted gharis and buggies a sinful indulgence. We believe, that he was cured of the

last mistake by a five-mile walk *in the sun* (as we say in English) with a padre who had sold his buggy, to pay the expenses attending some sickness, or incident of one kind or another in his family. Of course we do not look for much of this sort of discussion in a book ; but it is well that there should be some men at home—men whom their fellow Christians know and respect, and who have themselves felt the heat and thirst and fatigue of Indian life, and who have seen the missionary at his work, and the heathen at his idol worship. And we think it would be well if other Missionary Societies and Churches would follow the example set by the Baptist Society, and send out, from time to time, deputations of the “elders” on such missions of inquiry and encouragement ; for we cannot conceive that almost any thing is better fitted to encourage the missionary amid his exile, with all its monotony and trials, than a friendly visit from one or two of the men most respected for wisdom and goodness in his particular Church. The missionaries can explain many things to the deputies, and the deputies to the missionaries, and again to the directors at home, which years of correspondence might fail to clear up to the satisfaction of either party, and thus the confidence of the directors, and the comfort of the missionaries, might both be increased, and the missionary work in a corresponding measure more vigorously and heartily prosecuted.

Again we say, we have much pleasure in noticing this book, and heartily wish we had many more of the same class to notice.

Report of the Board of Education, from May 1, 1851, to April 30, 1852. No. X. Bombay. 1852.

We presume that there is a slight mistake in this title, and that the goodly, cloth-bound, four-hundred-and-seventy-five-paged volume before us, while it is the Tenth Report issued by the Bombay Educational Board, is the first, and is meant to be the last, relating to the official year 1851-52, instead of being, as its title seems to indicate, the tenth relating to that year.

It appears from the Report, that an annual grant of Rs. 1,25,000 is put at the disposal of the Board. But they allude also to a Reserved Fund (whence obtained we do not know, though we suppose that previous Reports of the Board, if we had access to them, would afford us the information), which is capable of bearing “for a few months” a drain of an annual excess of Rs. 19,681-11-6 of expenditure over regular income. The Board very properly point out the fallacy of supposing that this sum, of one and a quarter lakh of rupees, is giving an education to the people of the Bombay Presidency generally. The contrary fact is strikingly evinced by the statement that, “by early dispositions of Government, no less a sum than Rs. 44,740, out of the Rs.

' 1,25,000, has been allotted to the island of Bombay alone, i. e., to ' the wealthiest portion of the Presidency," while the remainder is of course mainly given to the districts, where the desire for education is strongest, and consequently most is given where least is needed, and none at all where most is needed. This is a serious evil, which attaches to the Government scheme of education in all the Presidencies. The few, who are both able and not unwilling to pay for their education, are educated at the expense of Government, and nothing is left for the establishment of schools amongst those who have the most need for schools to be maintained among them.

We think that our Educational Councils and Boards might take a valuable hint on this point from their brethren in the Abkari department. A few years ago there was just as little desire amongst the people of India for strong drink as there is now for education. But by a *judicious* system of establishing grog-shops, and making it the interest of the Abkari officials to promote their success, the Government have succeeded, not only in creating a desire for liquor in the most unpromising districts, but in deriving from the desire so created no inconsiderable amount of revenue. This is a simple fact. Now no one can doubt that the mere establishment of a few Gin-palaces in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, however richly they might have been endowed, would have gone scarcely a single step towards the diffusion of the taste in question throughout the land. We offer this hint, with considerable confidence that wise men may turn it to good account.

The Board, however, solicit the Governor in Council, to place an additional lakh of rupees per annum at their disposal, which they propose to expend rather in the encouraging of existing native schools, and placing them under their own superintendence, than in the founding of new schools. We know not how it may be in the Bombay Presidency ; but we are persuaded that this method would fail in Bengal. The native schools are hopelessly and irrecoverably bad, and incapable of being turned to any good account in supplying the educational wants of the people. The money that might be granted to them would be completely thrown away ; and any superintendence that might be assumed over them would be nugatory.

As to the existing colleges and schools, the Report glows throughout with the brightest *couleur de rose* dye. The Board are thoroughly pleased with Principals, Professors, Teachers and Scholars ; the Principals with Professors, Teachers and Scholars ; and the Professors and Teachers with their Scholars ; and, if we are to judge from the questions proposed, and the answers given at the examinations, we should say that all have abundant reason to be pleased with all. Take for example the following list of mathematical questions proposed to the students of the *first year* :—

" *Mathematics*.—Prof. Patton—from 11 to 2.

" 1. If from any point in the circumference of a circle four lines ' be drawn to the angles of an inscribed quadrilateral, the *anharmonic*

' ratio of the pencil thus formed is represented by the ratio of the rectangles under the opposite sides.

" 2. The points of intersection of the opposite sides of a re-entrant hexagon, inscribed in a circle, lie on the same right line.

" 3. If a right angle revolve round a fixed point within a circle, required the locus of the middle point of the chord it subtends.

" 4. Describe a circle touching two given circles, and passing through a given point.

" 5. Prove the formula for finding the angles of a spherical triangle when the sides are given.

" 6. When two sides and the contained angle are given, how are the other parts found ?

" 7. Thence find the distance between London and Calcutta, their respective latitudes being $51^{\circ} 31' N.$ and $22^{\circ} 34' N.$, and their longitudes $0^{\circ} 6' W.$ and $88^{\circ} 26' E.$

" 8. Given the ratio of the sines, and the ratio of the tangents, of two angles, find them, geometrically or trigonometrically."

Such was the three hours' work prescribed to first year's students ; and within that time answers were actually given by some of the students to some of the questions. We have witnessed, with no little interest, the teaching of mathematics in Europe, in Asia, and in Africa, but we can safely say, that nowhere have we found such proficiency amongst first year's students as that indicated by this fact. But this is not all. Referring to Prof. Patton's report, we find that these students have had, not a year's, but only six months' training in the college : and referring again to the Report of the upper school, we find that on their entrance to the college, the amount of their acquirements must have been the first six books of Euclid, and Algebra as far as quadratic equations. It must be interesting to all mathematicians, to trace the process by which such a wonder (for we can call it by no other name) has been achieved. Here then is Mr. Patton's account of the matter :—

" FIRST YEAR'S STUDENTS. This class, during the six months that elapsed since they entered the college, have revised their geometry, and have studied in addition, a large collection of deductions and examples, given to them in the class from my own note-books. On account of my absence for some time from ill health, and on leave, I was compelled to entrust the class to Assistant Professor Dadabhai Naoroji, during the time they were studying Plane and Spherical Trigonometry ; and I take this opportunity of testifying to the excellent manner in which he executed his duty, as shown by the result of the examination. The application of Trigonometry to Astronomy was taught by myself."

Elsewhere, we find that the period of Prof. Patton's absence was confined to the month of October ; and this was the time expended by the Assistant Professor in indoctrinating the class into the whole mystery of Plane and Spherical Trigonometry.

We have thus, by a somewhat tedious process, got a glimpse of

the truth in this matter. With respect to it, we shall only say, that it was not thus that *we* were taught those subjects, and not even the sight of the examination-papers before us—highly creditable though they be—can make us wish that our son should be so taught them.

We know not how it is in Madras ; but we grieve to say that in our own Presidency, and in Bombay, there is, on the part of the managers of the Government educational institutions, a sad desire to impart a superficial acquaintance with many subjects, instead of that slow and gradual training of the faculties, which is the essence of good education. “Plane and Spherical Trigonometry in the month of October” is the brief formula by which we shall henceforth designate the treatment in virtue of which “Young Bengal” and “Young Bombay” are reared.

Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society. From September 1850 to June 1852. Edited by the Secretary. Volume X. Bombay. 1852.

It seems a somewhat remarkable coincidence, that we have precisely the same remark to make on this title that we made on that of the work which formed the subject of the immediately preceding notice. We presume that we have before us the *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society, Vol. X., from September, 1850, to June, 1852*. Be this as it may, the volume before us is a very interesting one, both as giving a favourable view of the activity of our friends in the West, and on account of the intrinsic value of the articles that it contains. The proceedings of the meetings of the Society contain a vast mass of important facts, a perfect feast for a proper Baconian mind ; while of the six articles all are good, and some of very great value and importance. We would especially notice, without any disparagement to the others, Art. II.—“Researches in the Vicinity of the Median wall of Xenophon, and along the old course of the River Tigris. By Felix Jones, Commander, Indian Navy.” And Art. III.—“The Volcanoes of India. By Dr. Buist, F. R. S. L. and E.” These articles, and indeed the whole volume, will well repay perusal. We cannot do better than give our readers a specimen of the style of Commander Jones in the following extract :—

The Majummah, as the name implies, are a large tribe congregated from minor families of Arabs, who are individually so small as to be unable to protect themselves, and parts of larger hordes who have originally migrated from a distance on account of feuds or oppression on the part of the Government. They lead both a pastoral and agricultural life, and are only so far nomads as to wander over the territory assigned them, which is the most northerly of the cultivated district bordering the Tigris and Dijel. Parties of them are found in the Khális dis-

strict, East of the Tigris, whither they have gone in search of employment ; but by far the greater portion have their residence on the west of the stream, and extend from Sumeycheh to opposite Samara. They bear the character of most arrant and expert thieves, not in the Bedoin sense of the term, who, like the Borderers of old, "lift" whole droves of cattle at a time, and reckon "border theft and high treason" true gentlemanly accomplishments ; but as petty larcenists that, like the shark in the wake of a ship, will follow caravans with a prying eye until they observe something worth purloining, which they seldom fail in the end to secure. On these expeditions they are generally well known, and precautions are therefore taken when a Majummah is seen marching in company along the road. Not unfrequently they receive desperate wounds in following their favorite pursuits, and this evening, we have one of the principal men craving a remedy for deafness, and a singing in the left ear, which he says, is the effect of a blow on the head inflicted on him while sitting innocently down in a camp at Samara, by a native of that place. On enquiry we find his brother had been shot "flagrante delicto" while removing the contents of a saddle-bag from a caravan at night, and this individual, from a sense of duty inculcated by the law of blood, notwithstanding his brother's crime, was at the time of the blow in search of the slayer, to take his life, in return for that of the guilty dead. The party, however, had received a hint of the design of our friend, and was before hand with him, by felling him with a heavy stick, that would have split any ordinary skull into pieces, as he sat on the ground, patiently awaiting the time for his purpose. The blow rendered him insensible for the moment, and paralytic for months after ; but although he has not been able to meet the principal in the affair since, he quietly informs us that he has had partial satisfaction by the deliberate murder of two of his relatives. So vindictive indeed is this spirit of revenge, that this man openly avows his intention to continue the slaughter as he finds opportunity, for, as he says, his "brother's blood is still crying unto him for vengeance" on the murderer, who, if lucky enough personally to escape the search which this worthy purposes to institute again in a few days, will have to lament the death of many of his tribe, before his offence—that of killing a highway robber, be expiated. Interested in the subject, we asked how many lives, in the event of his not meeting with his real enemy, would suffice to atone for the blood of his brother. He coolly responded—"Five, and as I have shot two, there remain but three more, whose days, Inshallah ! are numbered." Such a confession of premeditated and wholesale murder did not surprise us, knowing that the Arab, at a distance from the capital, consults only his own passions, in the commission of any outrage of this nature, and even there, the price of blood is not confined to the strict law of "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, or a life for a life," owing to the apathy of the Government, and the influence of party. The Jew and the Christian indeed may be slain by the Mahomedan with comparative impunity, certainly at no risk that his own life shall be forfeit for the slaughter of one of his species, whose difference of creed alone, causes him to be ranked in the eyes of Islam, as but little better than carrion. With the tribes, however, the evil is not without its good, for "blood for blood" prevents the commission of murder in many cases, from a dread of the consequences involved in the act. After examining our friend's head, we commended his resolution of proceeding again to Samara, adding that we had no better prescription for the cure of his malady, than a similar blow on the other side of the cranium, which he was likely enough to meet with there, and which, doubtless, would effectually prevent a return of the "singing" he complained of, by rendering him for ever unconscious of either feeling or sound. It was sometime before the drift of this was perceived, when a faint smile overspread his sullen features, and the miscreant took his leave, by no means pleased with the result of his visit. After his departure his own party condemned the blood-thirsty spirit he evinced, which is not indeed usual to the extent of this fellow's disposition ; and a fear of being involved in his acts had already led most of them to pitch their habitations at a distance from his tent, which, I am told, seldom contains any other than his innocent wives and children ; for he himself is constantly abroad—not so much on account of the vow he has made, as from dread of a similar fate awaiting himself, at the hands of the other party, only to be avoided, as

he supposes, by a constant change of locality. The brand of Cain is, indeed, upon him, and marked as he is, he resembles a wild beast at bay, whose aim before he falls, is to perpetrate as much mischief as he can.

This extract is selected quite at random, from a paper of no ordinary interest. Upon the whole, we must confess that this volume goes far to heighten our estimate of the zeal and talents of our fellow-countrymen in India. A small community, like that of the Europeans in the Western Presidency, which can in less than two years produce such a volume as this, must contain a large proportion of talent and energy.

We should mention that the volume is profusely illustrated by colored sketches and maps, which, though not very artistically executed, serve the purpose sufficiently well.

On the Vital and Medical Statistics of Chittagong. By J. R. Bedford, Civil Assistant Surgeon. (From the Journal of the Statistical Society of London, June, 1852.)

MR. BEDFORD is well known as an intelligent and active surgeon. The present publication is highly creditable to his zeal in the investigation of facts respecting the rates of human mortality—an investigation of great consequence in many ways. Considering the amount of difficulty under which he had to pursue his knowledge of the vital statistics of his station, the pamphlet before us, independently of any value that it may possess as a record from which the actuary may derive data for his calculations, is important, as showing to the author's professional brethren, how much they might do with very limited means. In point of fact, however, the results of Mr. Bedford's enquiries will not be of great value to the actuary. This is partly due to the defective means, which alone were available to him, of ascertaining the number of births, and partly to the peculiarity of Chittagong, as a trading town, where, as in Calcutta, a great portion of the population are merely temporary sojourners. They do not bring their wives with them, and consequently the number of births, even if all were reported, is less than is due to the population; and they all endeavour to leave the station, and return to their proper homes, before the approach of death, so that the number of deaths is also disproportionate to the number of the people. It would appear that the former cause of error, being more under human control than the latter, operates more extensively to vitiate the results, as is evident from the fact that Mr. Bedford's tables give very nearly twenty-seven deaths annually for every thousand of the population, and little more than seventeen births. This sufficiently indicates that any deductions that may be made from the tables can be of little value. Still, any information at all, provided

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only it be correct so far as it goes, is better than none ; and we hope that Mr. Bedford's example will be extensively followed by the Civil Surgeons of the various stations throughout India.

A Treatise on Remarkable and Mitigable causes of death, their modes of origin, and means of prevention ; including a sketch of Vital Statistics, and other leading principles of public Hygiene in Europe and India. By Norman Chevers, M. D., Bengal Medical Service, &c. Vol. I. Calcutta. 1852.

THIS is another production of a Bengal Surgeon, who, though still young in the Service, has achieved for himself not only a local, but a European reputation. It is a work of very varied and extensive research, and will not fail to take a high place amongst the standard authorities on a subject that is at last beginning to attract a due share of public attention. On the appearance of the second volume, we shall devote an article to the review of the work. In the mean time we commend the volume before us to the perusal of all classes of our readers.

Christianity opposed to Priestcraft in every form. A Lecture delivered to educated Native young men. By the Rev. T. Boaz, L. L. D. Calcutta. 1852.

AMONGST the means employed by the Missionaries in this city, for the purpose of directing to the message with which they are charged, the attention of the people to whom they are sent, one of the most important is a Christian education through the medium of the English language. By this means a large body of young men have been trained, and are now in all parts of the country, as living epistles, exhibiting by their character and deportment, at once the excellencies and the defects of the system adopted. In addition to these there is about an equal number of young men who have been trained in the Government schools and colleges. Both these classes of young men are in a different position from their fellow-countrymen, and require to be dealt with in a different way. They do not need to have the structure of idolatry and superstition broken down in their minds, for that has been done already ; but they generally require that something other and better be erected on its ruins, else there is danger that their latter state may be worse than the former. It was to this class of youths, then comparatively small, that Dr. Duff, twenty years ago, addressed a course of lectures, whose delivery did more towards stirring up the stagnant pool of the native mind, than aught that had been done before. The same method of delivering lectures,

specially addressed to this class, has recently been revived by the Calcutta Missionaries. Two years ago, a course of nine lectures, by as many lecturers, was delivered under the appointment of the Missionary Conference. About the beginning of the present year, a short course was given by several Missionaries and others. At present, a third course, also under the appointment of the Conference, has just been brought to a close.

The pamphlet before us formed one of the lectures that made up the second of these three series. The subject is a very important one in itself, and one well suited to the character of those to whom it was addressed, inasmuch as they, recoiling from the religion of their ancestors, which they have perceived to be a system devised by the priesthood for their own selfish purposes, are peculiarly apt to fall into the snare of such as represent all religious systems as equally intended to promote such base ends. The subject is treated by Dr. Boaz in a lively and attractive style, and with a candour and honesty that must have commended the lecture and the lecturer to the acceptance of the youthful auditory. He does not try to conceal that priestcraft has often worn a Christian mask ; (on the contrary he dwells, as some might think, disproportionately long on this part of his subject,) but he shows that the genius and spirit of the Gospel are in direct opposition to all such claims on the part of its teachers as are designated by the term Priestcraft. Altogether we regard this as an excellent lecture, and we hope, that it will induce those to whom it was addressed, and those of the same class into whose hands it may fall in its printed form, to claim for themselves that liberty to which all are entitled, and which is only to be secured by receiving it at the hand of Him who said of himself—" If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed."

We may be allowed to point out one or two slips, that are probably due to typographical errors, but which seem to vitiate the sense of the passages in which they occur. For example, the lecturer is made to speak of the United States *and their colonies*. So also he is made to speak of the persecution that Bacon and Milton suffered from the priestcraft of their day. Now we do not think that either the one or the other suffered at all from any such cause. But these are slight blemishes, and will not materially interfere with the usefulness of the lecture.

Sermons by the late Rev. John James Weitbrecht, Missionary of the Church Missionary Society at Burdwan: with a short Memoir of the Author prefixed. Calcutta. 1852.

THIS is a posthumous publication : a collection of excellent sermons, intended to serve mainly as a memorial of an excellent man, who was recently removed from the midst of us. This purpose they are well fitted to serve, as the sermons are more than usually like the man.

"Simplicity and Godly sincerity" are their characteristics, as they were his. Mr. Weitbrecht lived as he preached, and preached as he lived. What he was in the pulpit, he was, to an unusual extent, in his ordinary social intercourse with all with whom he was brought into contact. We need not recommend this volume to those who knew its author, for all of them are probably in possession of it ere now. But we would recommend it to that numerous class of our countrymen in India, who are far remote from opportunities of public worship, and who seek to remedy this evil, to as great an extent as it may be remedied, by the reading of a sermon in their families on the Lord's day. Such men have often difficulty in finding sermons well fitted for this purpose, and we know no volume that will be more acceptable to them than that before us. The sermons are short, plain and practical, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the Gospel; and then they have this advantage over almost any others for this purpose, that they were originally addressed to a congregation in India, and consequently are more adapted to the circumstances of the members of those household congregations that we have referred to, than almost any volume of European origin can possibly be.

The Memoir gives additional interest to the volume, and is well worthy of serious perusal, as a simple record of a good man's life.

Rough Pencillings of a Rough Trip to Rangoon in 1846. Calcutta. 1853.

As to the roughness or otherwise of the *pencillings*, we shall have occasion to speak anon:—but as to the roughness of the *trip*, there can be no manner of doubt or difference of opinion. Mr. Grant left Calcutta as a passenger in the brigantine-rigged craft, the *Flora Macdonald*, Gamble, master, of forty tons burthen! She draws but seven to eight feet of water; yet she managed to "take the ground" five times in going down a river where ships drawing nineteen to twenty-one feet, are continually passing and re-passing, without danger! On one of these occasions, the *Lion* tug-steamer, having come to her aid, she held fast so strenuously, that a four-inch hawser was broken at a dead pull; and the more she was solicited to leave go, the more determined to hold fast. On another of these occasions of grounding, she unshipped her rudder, but picked it up again, and proceeded as if nothing had happened. Immediately on parting with her pilot, she carried away her fore-top-mast, and the main-top-mast being lowered with a view to its being pressed into the service as fore-top-mast, was found to be so sprung, as to be utterly unserviceable. Almost immediately she was caught by a cyclone, and for five dreadful days and more dreadful nights, she had to bear the full brunt of a terrific gale. The men (lascars, we presume) at one time gave up all for lost, and refused to do their duty. After

the gale had subsided, the *Flora Macdonald* walked right into a *cul de sac* of "sunken rocks," for which her Captain had been looking out all the night, and had just gone below, in the confidence that the danger was past. So thoroughly had she got into the bight of the rocks, that she had barely space to turn on her own bottom, stand out to sea, and wait for morning. After all this, by some strange and unaccountable accident—one of those things that are so contrary to all the probabilities on which men make their calculations and ground their expectations, that they would be deemed impossibilities, but that they do occasionally happen—the *Flora Macdonald* actually did make the port of Maulmein. The noble heroine, from whom the craft derives her name, did not encounter more perils in her chivalrous journey from Benbecula to Portree, than did her namesake in this voyage across the Bay of Bengal. In both cases, all the chances were, humanly speaking, against them; but in both cases, a kind Providence, upholding gallant hearts, brought them safely through.

And this ought to be told, for the credit of our author and his shipmates, that the same cheerful spirit that was manifested by the noble but unfortunate protégé of the first *Flora Macdonald*, was displayed in no less "creditable" circumstances by the party in the cuddy of the second. We cannot do better than present our readers with a short extract from that part of our author's narrative which describes the "taking off" of the storm:—

"It is needless attempting to detail all the misery we endured during the continuance of this gale, and after it. For myself, unaccustomed to such a life, I may fairly say, that for six days I had no sleep by night, except in broken, occasional naps of half an hour, nor rest by day. Nor can I be said ever to have had dry clothes on me from the beginning to the end. As for shoes and stockings, and such superfluities, they were vanities of which none of us ever dreamed, for, at least, nine days. Independently of the wretchedness of being below in our crammed cabin, (which, I need hardly tell you, was never got "to rights") now additionally stuffed with wet sails and wet clothes, and where, even yet, I hardly ever felt free from sea sickness—various promptings kept me on deck all day, and much of the night. There, saturated by the pelting and chilling rain, I have even been glad when a sea, breaking, would wash over me, to warm me and prevent the ill effects of a fresh-water soaking. The only necessary care upon such occasions was to secure a good hold, lest the salt-water preservation should prove more lasting than desirable.

"You will not suppose that, during this time, we permitted all the water that was either under, above, or about us, to damp our spirits, or rob us, when not ill-timed, of our jokes. Such occasions, indeed, are generally productive of a large share, and often have we wished that some of our friends could have seen us at our brief meals, mocking the refinements of shore life, "dodging" a squall of rain, or a sea, or patiently sitting under both, despatching our food

‘ with all despatch, lest a fresh squall or a fresh sea should despatch it for us.

“ Enough—‘ getting worse, Sir !’ had been the accustomed response to the one all-important and oft-repeated query : the men, losing heart, refused at one time to venture out on the fore-part of the ship, until stimulated by the courage and example of our mate, Mr. Friedman ; whilst an anxious eye had been kept to leeward, the appearance of which threatened a return wind and a cross sea, which must assuredly have engulfed our little barque. But when things are at the worst they oft-times mend. On the fifth day the gale abated, and we once more showed a little low canvass, and proceeded at a rattling pace on our course—as well, that is to say, as the want of observations enabled us, for, during all this time, you may suppose, we never saw the sun.”

It is sufficiently evident, from Mr. Grant’s description of this terrific gale, that it was a regular and proper cyclone ; there was no reason to fear a “ return wind,” for the *Flora Macdonald* had now gone through the cyclone, and not merely reached its centre. In fact, we are not sure that it was not precisely from the centre of it that our voyagers started at the Sand-heads. They had there a change from a north-east breeze to a south-west gale, after an interval of “ a dead and portentous calm, the sails loudly flapping against the masts, the main-boom jerking from side to side, and the vessel, to our extreme annoyance, rolling to a degree that would worry the patience out of a stoic.” All these symptoms closely resemble what ought to be experienced in the centre of a cyclone : and it is evident that if this were the position of our voyagers, not all the skill of Reid and Maury and Piddington united, could have saved them from what they had to encounter. They were in it, and out of it they must get. We suppose the best thing that they could do was just to keep the head of their little craft as near the wind as possible, and trust to the strength of her build, and to a kind Providence.

Having now landed our author on the shores of Burmah, we must refer our readers to the work before us, for an account of all the hospitality that he there received, and of the treatment he met with at the hands of the Burmese authorities, who chose to deem that his sketch-book and pencils boded some dire calamity to the Lord of the golden foot. Suffice it to say here, that he escaped from the hands of these worthies, at a somewhat cheaper rate than Messrs. Lewis and Sheppard at a later period, and that he shortly after set his face Calcutta-ward, with invigorated health and a well-filled portfolio.

We presume that it is the interest that now attaches to Burmah, that has induced Mr. Grant, at this late period, to have recourse to his Burman Sketch-book, and to present the world with the elegant “ pencillings” before us. They are by no means worthy of the depreciating epithet that he applies to them. The views are well chosen, and the sketches are accurately drawn and well lithographed. In fact, if we were disposed to find fault, we should say, in respect

to a few of them, that they are scarcely so rough as we should have liked them. A bolder and a rougher style would, to our thinking, have suited better the character of some of the subjects. But altogether we are persuaded that the public will agree with us when we pronounce our opinion, that the sketches indicate the possession, on Mr. Grant's part, of a very high degree of taste, and the power of expressing that taste in pictorial language ; and that this publication,—his first essay, as we believe, in this line of art,—will bring no discredit on a name that has long been favorably known amongst us, as well for the numerous private portraits that adorn so many of our halls, as for his various published works.

As to the literary merits of the work before us, we are glad to notice a very decided improvement in Mr. Grant's style, since the publication of his *Anglo-Indian Domestic Sketch*. The composition of the present work is less ambitious, less labored, simpler, and decidedly better.

We have only further to say, that Mr. Grant's efforts to produce a handsome and attractive book, have been ably seconded by the printers and the binders, and we have no doubt, that a remunerative sale will be the speedy result.

The Cultivation of Cotton.—Can India grow Cotton of a sufficiently good quality to compete with the produce of the United States ? London. 1852.

The Deccan Ryots and their Land Tenure. By H. Green, Professor of Literature at Poona College. Bombay. 1852.

AT present we merely acknowledge the receipt of these two pamphlets, reserving a full notice of them for a future number.

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

CONTENTS OF No. XXXV.

[*Published in September.*]

1. The Patronage of the East India Company.
2. Bengali Festivals and Holidays.
3. The Himalaya in Kumaon and Gurhwal.
4. The Honorable Company's Ecclesiastical Establishment.
5. Ancient Indian Ballads.
6. India as a Mission-field.
7. Dr. Moore on Cholera.
8. The Burmese War.
9. Miscellaneous Notices.

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